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here are the face and *darījān*[1] of Mars, the *nuhbahr* of Jupiter, *ādar-ān* and *haftbahr*[2] of Mars, twelfth of the Moon and detriment[3] of Saturn. The degree is masculine and lucid, free from misfortune. The Sun is dominant over the Ascendant with intent toward Virgo. Admittedly alliance with Saturn. Venus is in 6° 23′ 37″ 50″; that of wealth, 25° 7′; tha e Part[4] of children is 24° 23′ (Virgo is 24° 44′) of brethren 8° 47′; and that of t deaths of brethren 23′ is 2° 1′ Aquarius. 50.

Mercury's death the Seventh House house is 28° 43′ Virgo; it is the Ho 24′ term of Saturn term of Saturn. The Moon is mas number of brethren 14° 12′ ship with Saturn ship with Venus and the *doryphory*[5] The cusp of the Second Moon, the *nuhbahr* of Mercury, *darījān* of Ve and exaltation of Mercury *haftbahr* of Jupiter the Sun, *haftbahr* and fall on. of the triplicity in company this House in Moon is dominant with Mercury Mars. There are the companions of darkness or l The degree and *ādarjān* of the Moon, two of good or bad fortune. The Part of is masculine, degree, or sces. tune. Jupiter is posited in 15° 13′ 37″ and Mercury in It is the House bra. The Part of hope is 12° 53′; that of victory and co ce, *darījān* and 17′ Libra. The place of anterior conjunction is 24° 50′ Libr nionship with The cusp of the Third House is 28° 1′ Libra. It is the *haftbahr* and Venus, exaltation of Saturn, term of Mars, and Mercury is paramount the (aerial) triplicity in companionship with Saturn and attend lination to Jupiter. There are the face of Jupiter, the *darījān*, *nuhbahr* nd void ies and

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This is the third *darījān* or *rekna* (decanate) of Leo. A Tree in Bengali astrological work *rāha ihira* (38) gives a list of the *rekkāna*.

2 This is the Sanscrit *saptān*. It described in Bengali b s on strology and is, apparently, an rangement of the hours the eek. It is thus a form the *argana*.

3 وبال *wabāl*. When a plais in a Sign opposite to his House is said to be in his detriment. Thus Leo[1] is the detriment of turn, because it is opposite to (sinuses, 30°, away from) his House, rius. at *wabāl* corresponds to *ment* appears, among other things, from the fact that the letter *lām* denotes the *opposite aspect* in astrology. Th is because the Arabs use the last letter of a word as its abbreviation instead of its first as with us. cidence

4 سهم *sahm*, pl. سهام *sahām*, obably properly means an arrow, *sc.* a divin- for, ing-arrow, and hence, a lot or part. tro- European astrologers portion out the the Signs of the Zodiac into *Pa* usion may Haly and Guido Bonatus hav A.F.'s use of to say about the variou of *terms*. Accord- especially about the classification, quoted (See Dict. of T.Ts the last two degrees of

5 I borrow belong to the term of Saturn. mand. I *khidm*

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twelfth and *haftbahr* of Mercury, *ādarjān* and fall of the Sun, an
detriment of Mars. Saturn is paramount over this House. Th
degree is feminine, lucid, and void of good or bad fortune. Saturn i
in 10 ... 10° 40′ 33″ Scorpio. The Part of Fate is 17° 50′ Scorpio. Th
Part of good For... Fortune, acco...ing to Ptolemy[1] and Muḥyī'u-d-dī
Maghribī,[2] is 18° 9′ Scorpio. ... The Part of true friends and
elfare[3] (?) and that of servants ... ...ttcury 23° 12′. The Part
ailments is admittedly 17° 21′. T... ...n is 0° 45′ 57″ Scorpio.
The cusp of the Fourth House ... ...° 21′ Scorpio. This is a
rdinal point (angle) and is the H... ...of Mars, term of Saturn,
ce, twelfth and detriment of Ver... ...he Lord of the triplicity
Mars in companionship with Ven...
e are the *darījān* of Mercury ... attended ... by the Moon, ... of haftbahr of
aramount over th... ...e *nuhbahr* and ...
and void of go... ...e. The degree ... of
qayyima) ... ...ad fortune. The ... 32
eys is 12° 28′ Sagittarius. T... ...he Part of law-suits is 28
e cusp of the Fifth House is 2... ...7° 11′ Sagittarius. It is t...
e and *nuhbahr* of Jupiter and the e... ...xaltation of the Dragon's T...
tabibazon), the term of Mars and ... face of Saturn; the lord
triplicity is Jupiter in companionship ... with the Sun and with Satu...
attendance. There are the Sun's *dar*... *ījān*, the *ādarjān* of Ven...
he twelfth of Mars, the *nuhbahr* of Jupi... ...ter and *haftbahr* of Satu...
the fall of the Dragon's Head (Anabiba... ...zon) and the detriment
Mercury. Jupiter is paramount over the ... House with an inclinati...
or the alliance of Saturn. This degree is ... masculine, fixed and vo...
of good or bad fortune. The Part of so... ...vereignty and territory
28° 39′ Sagittarius. Cygnus and Aquila a... ...re in 25° Capricorn an...
Mars is in 10° 48′ 23″. The Moon is in 19° ... 48″ 14′ Capricorn.
The cusp of the Sixth House is 26° ... 46′ Capricorn. It is t...
House of Saturn, exaltation and term of M... ...ars and face of the Su...
he Moon is master of the triplicity in co... ...mpanionship with Ven...

...d, later on, that most ... the 10th House. ...on.) Though ...nd hence ...y set-

tled in P... ...ersia and assisted Naṣīru-d-dīn Ṭūsī ... He belongs to the latter half of the ...he 13th century.

[3] The ... Text is doubtful here.

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and attended by Mars. There are the *darījān* and *nuhbahr* of Mercury, *ādarjān* and twelfth and fall of Jupiter, the *haftbahr* and detriment of the Moon. Mars is paramount over this House in companionship with Saturn and the Moon. The degree is masculine, lucid and unfortunate. The Dragon's Head is 27° 29′ 13″ Aquarius. The Part of war[1] and of captives is 24° 44′ Capricorn. The Part of the deaths of brethren is 2° 1′ Aquarius.

The cusp of the Seventh House is 28° 36′ Aquarius. It is the House and twelfth and term of Saturn. The lord of the triplicity is Mercury in companionship with Saturn and attended by Jupiter. There are the face of the Moon, the *darījān* of Venus, *ādarjān* and *nuhbahr* of Mercury, *haftbahr* of Jupiter and detriment of the Sun. Saturn is paramount over this House in companionship with Mercury and with inclination to the companionship of Jupiter. The degree is masculine, dark and void of good or bad fortune. The Part of friendship, constancy, firmness and love is 20° 8′ Pisces.

The cusp of the Eighth House is 28° 43′ Pisces. It is the House and *nuhbahr* of Jupiter, exaltation of Venus, term,[2] face, *darījān* and *ādarjān* of Mars who is lord of the triplicity in companionship with Venus and the *doryphory* of the Moon. It is the term, *haftbahr* and twelfth of Saturn and the fall of Mercury. Venus is paramount over this House in companionship with Mars and with inclination to alliance with the Moon. The degree is masculine, fixed, and void of good or evil fortune. The Part of excellence is 20° 8′ Aries and the Part of valour 2° 53′ of the same.

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[1] الجيش *aljaish*. The Lucknow ed. reads حبس *ḥabs*, 'prison.' So does MS. No. 564, and this is, perhaps, the correct reading, it being coupled with prisoners (*alasārā*). However, prisoners in the sense of captives or prisoners of war, may be meant and the reading in the text be right.

[2] There appears to be a mistake in the text, for this same degree is said to be both the term of Mars and the term of Saturn. This coincidence is, I believe, impossible. Probably the second statement is wrong for, according to Bengali books on astrology, 28° Pisces falls within the term of Mars. The confusion may perhaps be due to A.F.'s use of two classifications of *terms*. According to the old classification, quoted by Cardan, the last two degrees of Pisces belong to the term of Saturn.

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The cusp of the Ninth House is 28° 1′ Aries. It is the House of Mars, the exaltation[1] of the Sun, the term,[2] fall[3] and *ādarjān* of Saturn, and face and detriment of Venus. The lord of the triplicity is Jupiter, in companionship with the Sun, and the *doryphory* of Saturn. It is the *darījān, nuhbahr,* twelfth and *haftbahr* of Jupiter.
35 Mars is paramount over this House in companionship with Jupiter and with inclination towards alliance with Saturn. The degree is masculine, light and belonging to the deep or pitted[4] degrees. The Part of male children is admittedly 23° 49 Taurus. The Part of sea-voyages is 2° 36′. The Part of messengers[5] is 5° Taurus.

The cusp of the Tenth House is 27° 21′ Taurus. It is the House and *ādarjān* of Venus, the exaltation of the Moon who is master

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[1] Aries is the exaltation of the Sun, but it does not occur in this Ninth House which begins at 28° Aries. The Sun's exaltation is 19° Aries (according to Bengali books, it is 10°) and his fall is 19° Libra.

[2] The last five degrees of Aries are the term of Saturn, according to one classification and according to another, they are the term of Venus.

[3] There is some doubt what planet these designations are to be assigned to, but it is certain that Aries is the fall of Saturn as being opposite to Libra—his House of exaltation—and that, for a similar reason, it is the detriment of Venus, as being opposite to her Mansion, *viz.*, Libra.

[4] The text has ابار *abār.* MS. 564 reads آبار *ābār* and explains it as the plural of بئر *bi'r,* 'a well.' Either reading is right; Lane (145) gives both forms ابار and آبار as plural of بئر. See *Mafātīḥu-l-'ulūm,* 227, l.4, (Cf. the Hebrew *Beersheba, i.e.,* the well of the oath.) It is difficult to see the connection of wells with degrees, but Wilson (Astrological Dict.) says that certain degrees are called deep or pitted because they subject the Native to deep marks of small-pox or scars, or, according to others, cause an impediment in speech, troubles and disputes in which he is sunk as in a deep pit. Lilly (Christian Astrology 116, 2nd. ed. 1659), gives a table of the various degrees, *viz.*, masculine and feminine, light, dark, smoky, void, deep or pitted, lame or deficient and says (118) that deep or pitted degrees "show the man at a stand in the "question he asks, not knowing "which way to turn himself and that "he had need of help to bring him "into a better condition for as a "man cast in a ditch cannot easily "get out without help so no more "can this querent in the case he is "without assistance." In the *Astronomia* (Guido Bonatus, 59) there is a table of kinds of degrees; *pitted* degrees are there called *gradus puteales.*

[5] الام *ulām,* 'messengers' and 'messages.' G. Bonatus mentions (646)

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of the triplicity in companionship with Venus, and with attendance of Mars, the *darījān* of Saturn, the *nuhbahr* and *haftbahr* of Mercury, the twelfth term and detriment of Mars. Venus is paramount over this House in complete companionship with the Moon and in companionship with Mars. The degree is masculine, lucid and void of good or bad fortune. The Part of good fortune is admitted by all with the exception of Ptolemy and Muḥyī'u-d-dīn Maghribī to be 9° 22′ Gemini. The Part of reason and of speech is 9° 51′ Gemini. The Part of disease is 25° 27′ Gemini. The Part[1] of male offspring is admittedly 29° 40′ Taurus. The Part of abstinence (temperance) is 4° Gemini. The Part of possessions is 19° 36′. The Part of enemies is admittedly 25° 27′ Gemini.

The cusp of the Eleventh House is 27° 11′ Gemini. It is the House and *nuhbahr* of Mercury and he is lord of the triplicity in companionship with Saturn and with attendance of Jupiter. It is the exaltation of the Dragon's Head (*Anabibazon*) and the term and *darījān* of Saturn, the face of the Sun, *ādarjān* of Jupiter, twelfth and *haftbahr* of Venus. This degree is feminine and fixed, and void of good and evil fortune. The Part of the conclusions of actions and the Part of marriage are 14° Cancer. Mercury is paramount over this House in companionship with Saturn.

The cusp of the Twelfth House is 26° 46′ Cancer. It is the House and face of the Moon and the exaltation,[2] *nuhbahr* and the *darījān* of Jupiter. It is the term and detriment of Saturn. Mars is lord of triplicity in companionship with Venus and with the Moon in attendance. It is the *ādarjān, dodecatemorion, haftbahr* and fall of Mars. The Moon is paramount over this House with Jupiter, Mars, Venus and Saturn. The degree is feminine, lucid and void of good or evil fortune. The Dragon's Tail is in 27° 29′ 13″ Leo. The Part of knowledge and clemency (*al-'ilm wa-l-ḥilm*) of superiority and victory is 18° 22′. The Part of offspring is admittedly 2° 49′ The Part of fear and pain is 22° 15′. The Part of life is 2° 49′ The Part of the father is 18° 22′ Leo.

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that the Seventh Part of the Ninth House is that of *Rumores*.

[1] There is, apparently, some mistake here for just above, in the account of the Ninth House, we are told that the Part of male children is 23° 49′ Taurus.

[2] Cancer is Jupiter's House of exaltation.

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The hyleg[1] in this horoscope is;—firstly, the point[2] of anterior conjunction; secondly, the Part of Fortune; and thirdly, the Ascendant. As regards the hyleg, the *kadkhudā*[3] is Saturn and then Jupi-

[1] Apparently there may be more than one hyleg or prorogator of life in a figure, and the meaning of the text seems to be that the first or chief hyleg is the point of anterior conjunction; that the Part of Fortune is the second hyleg; and that the Ascendant, *lit.*, the degree of the Ascendant, is the third.

The meaning, however, may be that the hyleg is the first or most important thing in the horoscope. This agrees with the remark in the *Tetrabiblos* (Ashmand, 129.) "The "inquiry into the duration of life "takes precedence of all other "questions as to the events subse-"quent to birth." Obviously until it is known whether the Native will grow up to maturity, it is useless to inquire what his career will be in other respects.

[2] جزو اجتماع *juzū-i-ijtimā*, "point of conjunction." See the term explained in Dict. of T. Ts. 187 1.4, where the phrase is written جزء الاجتماع and where there is a quotation from Mullā 'Abdu-l-lāh Barjandī's Commentary on the Tables of Ulugh Beg. One of the hylegs in use was the last conjunction of the Sun and Moon (*syzygy*) before the birth, and another was the last antecedent opposition of the Sun and Moon. The full phrase in astrological books, as I find from a MS. in the B.A.S.'s Library called the *Javāmi' aḥkāmu-n-nujūm* was جزو اجتماع یا استقبال مقدم بر ولادت *juzū-i-ijtimā' yā istiqbāl muqaddam bar wilādat*, 'the point conjunction for opposition antecedent to the birth.' The point of conjunction was presumably, the hyleg in Akbar's case, because his birth took place on the 4th day of the month and consequently shortly after a conjunction, for the Muḥammadan months are lunar and begin with the new Moon, *i.e.*, conjunction. The phrase *awwal juzū-i-ijtimā'* also occurs in the diagram (Figure III.) (36 l.9. fr. foot and 37 l.3.). Sédillot (202) translates the phrase *juzū-i-ijtimā'*, (which occurs in Ulugh Beg's *Prolegomena* text 147 l.1.) by *le degré de la conjonction*, and the word متقدم *mutaqaddam* for which *muqaddam* is a variant, by *antérieure à la nativité*.

The point of anterior conjunction, we are told, is posited in the Second House of the horoscope, being 24° 50′ Libra and, as both Jupiter and Venus are in this House, it is possible that the conjunction referred to is that of Jupiter and Venus, *i.e.*, the two Fortunes, and not the conjunction of the Sun and Moon. According to the second or Indian horoscope, Jupiter and Venus were in conjunction in the Second House. (text 28 l.6.)

[3] The meaning seems to be that as regards the duration of life, Saturn is the *kadkhudā* 'lord of geniture,' as he is the planet with the largest orbit and his cycle is that of longevity, being a return to the Golden Age when men lived for centuries; (See Badāonī, Lowe 335.) but that as regards fortune and sovereignty, Jupiter is first; and as regards the Ascendant, the Sun is preëminent.

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ter; as regards[1] the Part of Fortune, Jupiter comes first, then Saturn; as regards the Ascendant, the Sun comes first, then Mars.

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[1] از ممر *az mamarr*. *Mamarr* has the technical meaning of *transit*, but apparently not here.

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CHAPTER VI.

EXPLANATION OF THE JUDGMENTS CONTAINED IN THIS WONDROUS HOROSCOPE WHICH IS A BRACHIAL AMULET OF THE STARS AND HEAVENS, AND THE CROWN-TALISMAN OF GENERATIONS AND CYCLES.

As the foundation of the holy horoscope has been firmly laid, it is indispensable that an explanation of a few out of its many wonderful judgments should be given.

JUDGMENTS OF THE FIRST HOUSE (*aḥkām*).

As the cusp of the Ascendant is Leo which is the Sun's House, this signifies lofty genius and excellence, and that the holy frame[1] will be strong and athletic, with a large head, broad forehead, wide chest, strength and length, courage, majesty, gravity, beauty of feature and powerful brain. As most of the degrees of the Ascendant (First House) belong to the Sign of Virgo, which is the House and exaltation of Mercury who is in the House of Venus (Libra) or Second House of the horoscope, and is near[2] Jupiter and in his own term and triplicity, it is fitting that the Native should fall back upon his own exquisite intellect in all affairs of finance and state, and should accomplish his momentous enterprises by his own excellent plans. As the Sun is regent of the noble Ascendant in alliance with Saturn, the Native will have complete sovereignty over all the countries of India and over part of the fourth[3] climate. And as,

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[1] See Jahāngīr's *Memoirs*, Price 45. Jahāngīr states that his father was tall, and remarkable for the length of his arms and the breadth of his chest.

[2] متصل *muttaṣil*. This word, which occurs again a few lines lower down, appears to have a technical meaning, signifying that the planet is within the power of the rays of another planet. See Dict. of T.Ts. 1508. *s.v. ittiṣāl*.

[3] The Sun is supposed to have special sway over the *fourth climate* to which Kashmīr, Kābul and Badakhshān belong. Saturn rules the first climate and India. India belongs mostly to the second and third cli-

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with reference to position,[1] the Sun comes after Saturn, the empire of Hindūstān will precede that of the fourth climate. And as the lord of the second cusp, *viz.*, Mercury, is near the lord of the Ascendant (the Sun), this is a proof that prosperity and principality (*māl u mulk*) will be easily acquired. As the Ascendant, the Part of Fortune and the place of prior conjunction of the Sun and Moon belong to Signs possessing many planets,[2] there is strong evidence of length of life and duration of sovereignty.

Judgments of the Second House.

As the cusp of the Second House belongs to Virgo, which is the House of Mercury who is near the Sun, and most of it belongs to Libra, the House of Venus, and as Venus is in the Ascendant[3] which is the House and exaltation of Mercury,—this signifies that wealth and territory will be acquired by means of excellent contrivances and perfect reason, and that the Native will obtain the office of king. And Jupiter's being in this House in his own term, and Mercury's being near him, are a strong proof of this and

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mates, though A. F. says it is an aggregate of the first four climates. Jarrett III. 44.

The first four climates extend from lat. 12°42′ to 39° N. In India A. F. includes Ceylon, the Moluccas, Malacca, etc. (Jarrett III. 7.) Bābar says India belongs to the 1st, 2nd and 3rd climates. (Erskine 312.) A.F. has no Indian places in his list of the countries of the fourth climate (Jarrett III. 76) though he makes it begin at 33°43′ N. The first climate must be held to begin much further south than 12° N. if Ceylon, etc., are to be included.

[1] Apparently the meaning is that, as in this horoscope the position of the Sun is posterior to that of Saturn (the latter being in Libra and the former in Scorpio), the empire of India will be acquired before that of the fourth climate. It may, however, refer to the circumstance that according to the arrangement of *heavens*, Saturn has the first heaven and the Sun the fourth.

[2] The translation is doubtful; the literal rendering seems to be, "Signs having many risings" (of stars and planets?). The Ascendant is Leo; the Part of Fortune is in the Tenth House, *viz:* in 9° 22′ Gemini and the degree of prior conjunction is in Libra. As according to Ptolemy and Muḥyī'u-d-dīn Maghribī, the Part of Fortune is 18° 9′ Scorpio and so is in the Third House, A.F.'s meaning may possibly be that the three things referred to all occur in the early Houses of the horoscope.

[3] Venus is in 26° 23′ 37″ Virgo but as this part of Virgo falls into the First House of the horoscope, Venus is said to be in the Ascendant.

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also that the Viziers will manage affairs by the abounding reason of the Native and not by their own plans. On the contrary, their ideas will not endure in the presence of the designs of the Lord of the Age. And as the lord of the Second House (Mercury[1]) is in the Ascendant, he (the Native) will collect countless treasures; and as Jupiter is in this House, he will spend his wealth in ways pleasing to
37 God, and will walk in God's paths and his property will increase daily.

And the fact of Jupiter's being in his own term, is a proof of long life, so that he will have honoured grandchildren and these fortunate ones will grow up under his discipline.

As Saturn is in the Second House and in exaltation, harm will never come to his (the Native's) treasures. The hyleg which is the degree of first conjunction (*qu.* conjunction prior to the nativity?) is in this House and is a strong proof of the above statement. The *kadkhudā* (lord of the geniture) which is Saturn and is in exaltation, and his companion Jupiter having come into this House, give to the holy life the influences of two *kadkhudā(s)*. Mars is the third (*kadkhudā*) so that the Native will exceed the natural period of life, *viz.*, 120 years.[2] The Moon's being paramount over this House is another corroboration of the well-groundedness of this blessing.

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[1] Perhaps Saturn is meant; Libra is his House of exaltation. If so, the word *ṭāli'* must be taken not to mean *ascendant* but the whole of the horoscope. It may also be the Moon, as she is described as being paramount over the Second House.

[2] 120 years was considered by astrologers and doctors the natural period of a man's life. See Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena*, (*Notices et Extraits.*) XIX, 347. "Selon les médicins et les astrologues, la vie naturelle de l'homme est de cent vingt ans, de l'espèce que ceux-ci nomment grandes années humaines." Similarly A. F. says, (Blochmann 121) "The elephant, like man, lives to an age of one hundred and twenty years." A. F. seems actually to have signifying hoped that Akbar would outlive 120 years and that he himself might have the honour of recording the events of that period. (Jarrett III. 416.) *Kishwarkhudā*, 'world's lord,' (Jarrett II, 258, 1.3) seems to mean Akbar himself and not his dynasty. *Varāha Mihira* says (*Bṛhat Jātaka* I. ver. 63) that 120 years and 5 days is the maximum of the life of men and elephants. Badāonī tells us (Lowe 335) that the *Jogīs* promised Akbar he would live three or four times as long as ordinary men. No doubt they referred to the three *kadkhudā(s)* spoken of by A. F. (See also Albīrūnī on the length of human life. Chronicle of Ancient Nations, 90.) The three *kadkhudā(s)* might give a total of nearly a thousand

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JUDGMENTS OF THE THIRD HOUSE.

As the lord of the Ascendant (the Sun) is in the Third House, this signifies perfect mildness, sedateness, constancy and reverence and the succouring of kinsmen. But this tribe, out of short-sightedness, will not be single-minded. However as that centre (*markaz*) where the lord of the Ascendant (Scorpio) is, is the House of Mars and also his triplicity, term, decanate, *ādarjān* and *darījān*, and as he himself is in the Fifth House which is his House of exaltation[1] and his *gaudium* (*faraḥ*) and is the triplicity and face of Jupiter, and the *ādarjān* of the lord of the Ascendant,—the improper thoughts of this faction will become a cause of increased glory and enhanced dominion to the Native. And as the beginnings of the Third House which have to do with brethren, are a station[2] of the Sun's majesty, this signifies that brethren will be of no account alongside the glory of the holy being (Akbar) and that they will quaff the cup of anguish to the dregs. The middle and last portions of the Third House, which signify allies and helpers[3] are, according to Ptolemy, the Part of Fortune and they are also the face of the Sun and he is co-partner with the *kadkhudā* (Saturn). This signifies that friends and loyalists will be on the carpet of union (lit: *one colour*) and devotion, and be steadfast in respect, and will be advanced by the Native to prosperity and wealth. And as this place of the Third House has connection with Mars who is in his exaltation, and that House is the *gaudium* and House of Saturn who

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years, according to Badāonī, one of the periods mentioned by the *Jogīs*, for it appears from the *Libellus Isagogicus* of Alchabitius, that the maximum of Saturn's years, (*Fridaria*) is 465, of Jupiter's 264, and of Mars', the same; 465+264+264= 993. 120 was the maximum of the *Fridaria* bestowed by the Sun. As a matter of fact, Akbar did not reach even the Scriptural three-score and ten,—dying on 13th October, 1605, (Elphinstone), in his climacteric (63 years,) just before the anniversary of his birth 15th October, 1542.

[1] *Viz.*, that of Capricornus into which the Fifth House of the figure extends.

[2] *Maurid-i-saṯwat-i-naiyir-i-aʿẓam.* The Third House begins at 28° 1′ Libra, but the allusion is probably to the Sun's being in the first degree, 0° 45′ 57″ Scorpio; for the entry of a planet into a new Sign is a time of special power and auspiciousness. See *Akbarnāma* I, 55, l.2 fr. foot, in the account of Enoch.

[3] The Text and all authorities read اخوان *ikhwān*, 'brothers,' but the editors propose to read *aʿwān*, 'allies or helpers,' and no doubt this is the true reading. See *Akbarnāma*

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is a foremost *kadkhudā* and who is also in his exaltation,—friends will always be in honour and glory. And as Saturn who is a *kadkhudā* and is in exaltation, is paramount in the House, this is a convincing proof of these things. And the lord (Mars) of the Third House being in the Fifth, is a proof of the establishment of noble children, and also signifies that there will be travelling and short[1] excursions[2] which will be provocative of joy.

One of the wonderful things is that the part of the other world, according to all, and the Part of Fortune, according to Ptolemy and Muḥyī'u-d-dīn Maghribī, are in one[3] place; to wit, 18° Scorpio in the Third House. This rarely occurs in horoscopes, and forcibly indicates that good fortune upon good fortune will come in succession from the other world, and is also strong evidence for information about hidden matters, so that the enlightened mind of the Native will a rendezvous of mysteries.

38 JUDGMENTS OF THE FOURTH HOUSE.

As Mars is lord of the cusp (*markaz*) of this House, and he is in his exaltation,[4] face, and his own *trigon* (*muṣallaṣa*) and is dominant

26 ll.3 and 17 and 'Abdu-l-ḥamīd's *Bādshāhnāma* 25 and 27.

'Abdu-l-ḥamīd of Lāhor is said to have been a pupil of Abu-l-faẓl (See Rieu's Catalogue I. 260, quoting Ṣāliḥ), and certainly has done his best to imitate A. F.'s turgidities. He himself tells us that he was chosen by Shāh Jahān to be his Court historian on account of his being a proficient in the style of Abu-l-faẓl. It goes without saying that writing under Shāh Jahān, he is a much straiter Musulmān than his master. The lengthy account of Shāh Jahān's horoscope which he gives, was drawn up by Mullā 'Alā'u-l-mulk of Tun in Khurāsān who afterwards got the title of Fāẓil Khān. (*Badshāhnāma* 13). Apparently the conjunction of planets which led to Shāh Jahān's receiving the title of Second Lord of conjunction (the first being Tīmūr) took place in 991 (1585), nine years before Shāh Jahān's birth. Great importance was attached to Shāh Jahān's having been born in the thousandth year of the Hijra. He was born under Libra the sign under which the Prophet was born.

[1] *Naql* means also 'zest to wine,' etc.

[2] See Shāh Jahān's horoscope for a similar expression. *Bādshāhnāma* 20 l.5.

[3] This does not seem quite accurate. In the previous account of the Houses, we are told that the Part of the other world is 17° 50′ Scorpio and that of Fortune, according to Ptolemy and Muḥyī'u-d-dīn is 18° 9′ Scorpio.

[4] We are told above that Mars is posited in 10° 48′ 23″ Capricorn which is his House of exaltation. The Fourth House begins at 27° 21′ Scorpio which is Mars' mansion.

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er this House and it is the term of Jupiter, what is signified is at in the beginning of his (the Native's) career territory will come to possession through the exertions of military officers. And as this ouse is a Fixed Sign, and its lord (Mars) is in exaltation and has a neficent[1] aspect, territory will continually be coming into the possession of the King's[2] servants and whatever so comes will remain here permanently.

As the 8th and 4th[3] of the degrees which belong to the beginning of Scorpio are Gemini (*Jauzā'*) whose lord (Mercury) is occulted by the Sun's rays, this signifies that when the Native shall arrive at years of discretion, the might of his intellect will become displayed,

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[1] Apparently the meaning is that Mars is in the Fifth House, in Capricorn, and so has the beneficent trine aspect to the First House, that is, the House of the Native's life.

[2] *Auliyā-i-daulat.* This seems an honorific circumlocution for the king himself, but may mean that Akbar was then a minor, and that conquests were made by his regent, Bairām Khān.

[3] This is a difficult passage, and I am uncertain of the meaning. Perhaps the text is corrupt, but all the MSS. I have examined give the same reading with the apparently unimportant difference that some omit the conjunction *u* between *hashtum* and *cahārum*. The difficulty lies in understanding how the constellation Gemini comes in here. *Jauzā'* means Orion as well as Gemini, but the latter seems intended here, for A.F., goes on to speak of its lord being occulted by the Sun and this can only refer to Mercury who is the lord of Gemini. It is possible that the meaning is that Gemini is the Eighth and Fourth House from the beginning of Scorpio, *i.e.*, is Eight Houses apart on one side of the Third House, to which the first degrees of Scorpio belong, and Four Houses apart on the other. It is also possible that A.F. has confounded *Jauzā'*, Orion, with *Jauzā'*, Gemini. But I rather think that by *Jauzā'* may be meant the "lesser Twins," *viz.*, the stars β and δ *Scorpionis*. See Sayce's "Higher Criticism and the Monuments," p. 69n. where Professor Hommel is quoted as stating that there are three sets of Twins, *viz.*, Castor and Pollux in Gemini, the lesser Twins in Scorpio and the lesser Twins in Aries. Mercury is in 25° 24′ Libra of the horoscope, and so is occulted or immersed in the rays of the Sun which is posited in the first degrees of Scorpio. But I do not see why the first degrees of Scorpio are referred to by A.F., in his description of the Fourth House, for that begins near the end of Scorpio. Perhaps *awwal* is a mistake for *ākhir*. The Fourth House is that of the father and so may deal with his death. It is also that of lords and states.

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and that his honoured[1] father will at this time, have his face turned towards the hidden and inner world and will depart to the eternal city. As most of this House belongs to Sagittarius and the lord of the term (Jupiter) is in the Second House of the horoscope, the Native will be affectionate and grateful to his father and will receive an appanage[2] from his dominions.

Judgments of the Fifth House.

As the lord of most of the Third House which is connected with lovers and sincere friends and helpers, to wit, Mars, is in the Fifth and in exaltation, this signifies the glorious condition of the sons of the Native and their sincerity and affection. And as Saturn is paramount over this House, is in exaltation and in his own triplicity and is a *kadkhudā*,—and as Jupiter is in his face and triplicity and is associated with the *kadkhudā* (Saturn) and is lord of the cusp of this House,—this signifies that the sons of the Native will be fortunate and be defenders of the State and that they will not remove the head of respect from the plane of well-pleasing. Aquila, who is of the constitution of Mars, and Jupiter and Cygnus, who is of the constitution of Jupiter and Venus, are in this House and forcibly indicate an abundant catch (*ṣaid*) of pleasure and auspiciousness.

Judgments of the Sixth House.

As the master (Saturn) of this House (Capricorn) is in his exaltation, and the Dragon's Head is in this House, they signify the lasting sovereignty of the Native and the acquisition of abundant

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1 Humāyūn was killed by an accident when Akbar was little over thirteen. I suppose the meaning is that when Akbar was born his intellect, represented by Mercury, was subject to his father, but that when he came to the age of puberty, it emerged.

2 This refers to the fact that Jalālābād was assigned by Humāyūn for Akbar's maintenance. See quotation from the *Mirāt Āftābnāma* of Shāh Nawāz Khān in Kanī Lāl Dās' paper *J. A. S. B.* for 1886, p. 83. See also, what is more to the point, *Akbarnāma* I, 315, where we are told that the servants and properties of his deceased uncle Hindāl, including Ghaznī, &c., were made over to Akbar when he was ten years old. Jalālābād used to be called Jūī Shāhī and was named after Akbar (Jalālu-d-din). See *Akbarnāma* I. 200 l.8 from foot.

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wealth and property, and permanence of elemental health, and equability of disposition. Should a little sickness affect the hem of his holy constitution, it will speedily terminate in perfect health. And as Mars is paramount over this House, in co-partnership with Saturn, and both are in exaltation, there will be numerous auspicious servants[1] and attendants.

Judgments of the Seventh House.

As the lord of the cusp of the Seventh[2] House is Saturn[3] and he is in exaltation, the Native will in his first youth, marry[4] chaste veiled ones from the ruling families of India. And as Saturn is in the Second House,[5] this may indicate that those chaste, curtained and holy ones will belong to his tributary and wealth-increasing princes. And as the Part of friendship and love is this House, this signifies increasing relish of friendship and love, especially as the Part of affection is in Pisces which is the House of Jupiter and the exaltation of Venus.

Judgments of the Eighth House.

As the cusp of this House belongs to Pisces and its lord, Jupiter, is in the Second, in his own term and triplicity and the Part[6] of excellence is in this House, and as Venus is paramount over this House in co-partnership with Mars who is in exaltation,—this signifies the absence of fear[7] and danger, and the being rendered safe by the protection and defence of God.

Judgments of the Ninth House. 39

As the cusp of this House is in the Sign of Aries and its lord, Mars, is in his exaltation and gaudium (*farah*) and is dominant over

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[1] The Sixth House is that of servants.

[2] The Seventh is the House of marriage.

[3] Saturn rules India.

[4] In 969 (1562) *i.e.*, when Akbar was in his twentieth year, he married Bihārī Mal's daughter. We do not hear of any other marriages in early youth with Indian ladies, but Badāonī (Lowe 211) tells us that Akbar said he had on coming of age, married many wives, both free-born and slaves, and had not restricted himself to the legal number of four.

[5] The Second is the House of wealth.

[6] Perhaps this is the *pars nobilitatis* of Guido Bonatus and which appears to be 19° Aries *i.e.*, the Sun's exaltation.

[7] The Eighth House is a House of misfortunes, death, etc.

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this House, the Native will reap benefit from travel,[1] and the journies which take place, will be accompanied by acquisition of territory.

Judgments of the Tenth House.

As the cusp of this House belongs to Taurus, which is the House of Venus, and she is dominant over it and is in the Ascendant, this signifies perfect felicity and general superiority, which is an expression for a great kingship; also that this sublime dignity will long be in the possession of the Native, especially as this House is the exaltation of the Moon. And the Moon is in an aspect[2] towards this House and towards the Ascendant which is one of entire friendship. And as the Part of Fortune is, by the opinion of the majority, in this House, this signifies perfect fortune and increase of State, and that the Native will spend most of his days in managing and arranging the affairs of Church and State. And as the Part of reason and speech is in this House, it signifies that his reason and speech will be king of reasons and at the head of utterances. Much too of the specialties of Venus, who is lord of pleasure and joy, will be bestowed on him.

Judgments of the Eleventh House.

As the cusp of this House belongs to Gemini and its regent (Mercury) is in the Second House, which is that of wealth, this signifies that the hopes which he forms with regard to fortune and territory will be realized to his heart's desire. It also proves that he will have sincere friends and that the masters of wisdom and knowledge will arrive at high rank in his service. And as the Part of the conclusions of actions is in this House, this signifies that his hopes[3] and desires will have a happy termination.

Judgment of the Twelfth House.

As the cusp of this House belongs to Cancer and its lord, the Moon, is in detriment[4] and gaudium (*farah*), this proves that the

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[1] The Ninth is a House of travels.

[2] The Moon is in the Fifth House *viz.*, 19° 48′ 14″ Capricorn and so she is in trine to the First and Tenth Houses.

[3] The Eleventh House is that of Ak hopes.

wh from th

sig titi

[4] The Moon is in the Fifth House in 19° 48′ 14″ Capricorn and so is in detriment as being in the Sign opposite to her Mansion, *viz.*, Cancer. The Twelfth is the House of private enemies and a House of misfortune. Had the Moon been in it, this would

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enemies of the State will be constantly in adversity and distress to whatever extent may be agreeable to the Native. And the fact of the Dragon's Tail[1] (*Katabibazon* or *Zanab*) being there in the first degree, is strong evidence of this. And as the Part of knowledge and clemency is in this House, it signifies that the Native will, together with his insight (into character), be clement and forgiving to the short-sighted and cross-grained ones. And patience, breadth of view and general benevolence will be among his necessary attributes.

May Almighty God prolong the life of the Lord of Fortune for generations and cycles, since the attributes of greatness,—which are the root and flower of universal sovereignity and world-adornment, and are a cause of capturing the hearts of friends and foes, and attracting souls and knit together the thoughts of high and low,—are were assembled in all their perfection and (as it were) on an open highway nher P (Praise be to the gracious God for it) in the aggregation of refined qualities of this Doctor of the High School of Unity; and have made him by his idiosyncracy and fundamental nature, sole owner of sublime dignity and peculiar grace. And of a certainty, all those admirable qualities and dispositions have, without effort or vaunting, become the blissful possession of this celestial Being, so that from this fountain-head of justice, they are distributed by the garden-channel of the lords[2] of liberality.

Verse.

For eve and so long as there are stars in the firmament,
For ever, and so long as there are bodies with souls,
May there be no revolution of the spheres without thy pleasure,
No movement of the heavenly bodies except according to thy will.

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have been a bad omen. I do not understand how the Moon is said to be in *farah*, *i.e.*, joy; but apparently the author draws from this the inference that the enemies will be distressed and the Native will be gladdened. Possibly it refers to the Moon's being in the Fifth House and so in trine to the Ascendant. Perhaps the word is a mistake for فرغ *fargh*, emptiness or disengagement.

[1] The Dragon's Tail is a cause of misfortune and increases evil influences. Apparently *awwal* 'first,' must be a mistake for *ākhir*, 'last,' for the Dragon's Tail is in the last degree of the Twelfth House *viz.*, 27° 29′ 13″ Leo. (See *supra*.)

[2] ارباب *arbāb*. Blochmann says (563n.) that this word, which is the plural of *rabb*, is used in Persian as a singular to mean a *headman* or *magis-*

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FIGURE IV.

LIBRA. / SCORPIO. / Sun Saturn.	Venus. / VIRGO.	Dragon's Tail. / LEO / CANCER.
GITTARIUS.		

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CHAPTER VIII.

Account of the design of Providence (*Ḥikmat*) in the difference between the Greek philosophers and the Indian astrologers in the matter of his Majesty's auspicious horoscope. 41

Some scientific men used to think that the disagreement between the Indian and Greek astronomers,—the former placing the horoscope in Leo and the latter in Virgo, was due to a difference of opinion among philosophers about the movement of the Zodiacal Heaven. The very erudite Maulānā Alyās of Ardabīl including Arjūn rank among mathematicians and was one of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-makānī's courtiers.

[illegible] tain the rate[illegible]cope also has been copied in sketch[2] but without āshiyān[illegible]

This horos[illegible] a centu[illegible]uences of the Houses and the Judgments. It has details of the inf[illegible]rtly in consideration of the repute of the drawer,[3] been copied pa[illegible]ause, unlike the others, it is based on the Īlkhānī and partly bec[illegible] Tables.

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1 A tow[illegible]n in Persia, west of the Caspian [illegible]e. It was the capital of the proving[illegible]e of Āzarbāijān. (See Meynard's [illegible] *Yāqūt*, Paris, 1861, 21 and Jarre[illegible]tt III, 81). Maulānā Alyās [illegible]ld naturally follow the Īlkhānī Tables, for he belonged to the country of Tabrīz or Marāgha where Naṣīru-d-dīn Ṭūsī had his observatory.

2 بجنس *bajins* apparently means *in genere* or in gross, *i.e.*, without details.

3 مستخرج *mustakhrij*, lit. 'extractor.'

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FIGURE IV.

LIBRA. / SCORPIO. Sun Saturn.	Venus. VIRGO.	Dragon's Tail. LEO / CANCER.
SAGITTARIUS.		GEMINI.
Mars Moon. CAPRICORN. / Dragon's Head. AQUARIUS.	PISCES.	ARIES.

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This horos[illegible] ilosophers hold that the rate is one degree in seventy details of the inf[illegible] the revolution is completed in 25,200 years. Another been copied pa[illegible] a degree is traversed in sixty-three[3] years and that and partly bec[illegible] is completed in 22,680 years. The cause of such Tables.

[illegible]age is substantially re-[illegible]he *Āīn* (III, 11; Jarrett

[1] A to[illegible]is the Heaven of the Fixed Caspian In the *Āīn* (III, 34; Jarrett proving 8) this is numbered as the nard's[illegible]d Heaven,—the Eighth being Jarre[illegible] of Mercury. Here the author counts them in reverse order, beginning with the lowest, *viz.*, that of the Moon,—and by thus counting upwards, the Heaven of the Fixed Stars becomes the Eighth. It will be remembered that the ancients attributed motion to the Fixed Stars, or at least to the sphere in which they were supposed to be placed. "The Ptolemaic astronomy attributes motion and a regular course to those stars which we now call Fixed but which the Greeks merely called ἀπλανεὶς undeviating." (Ashmand 4n.)

[3] I do not know what school is referred to here. In the *Āīn* (II, 11 1.7 fr. foot) Ibn A' (A'lam) (cir. 985 A.D.) and Naṣīru-d-dīn Ṭūsī (cir. 1272 A.D.) are mentioned as holding that the rate is one degree in sixty solar years. Perhaps the sixty-three are lunar but these are equal to more than 60 solar years,—for at the rate of eleven days a year, we get only 660 days or not quite two years.

According to Sédillot (Notes et Éclaircissements. *Prolegomena.* 289)

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discrepancies is a difference in the equipment and instruments of the observatories and difference in the profundity and subtlety[1] of the observations.

The fact is, the earliest philosophers did not suspect the motion of the Fixed Stars, on account of its exceeding slowness. For this reason, they did not get sufficient time to observe it.[2]

At the time when the Signs of the Zodiac were determined, the figure Leo which was regarded as a constellation of several fixed stars, was opposite to and in front of a (certain) part of the Heaven of Heavens,[3] and now, owing to the movement of the Zodiacal Heaven,[4] it has moved from that part and is in the station where

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Naṣīru-d-dīn as well as Ulugh Beg held seventy years to be the time. But he refers to his *Matériaux* (481) as showing that Arzachil knew of a movement as correct as that of our modern Tables. Arago, in his lectures, says that the movement is 50″·103 a year, and that the revolution is completed in 25, 867 years.

In the *Astronomica quaedam ex traditione* Shāh Cholgīl published by Greaves (Gravius) about the middle of the 17th century, we are told that according to observations made in the time of the Khalīf Al-Māmūn (813–34 A.D.) a degree was passed in 66 years and 8 months. Perhaps these were lunar, and if so, they would correspond nearly to the 63 (solar) mentioned in the Text. Muḥammad Shāh Quljī wrote a commentary on the Tables of Naṣīru-d-dīn Ṭūsī in 866 (1461). A. F. perhaps copied from him, for the passage in the beginning of the *Āīn* (Jarrett 6) about the explanation of the term *zīj*, etc., is very similar to one on Muḥammad Shāh Quljī, as given by Greaves and also it appears, by Sédillot. But Oriental writers copy so much from one another that it is difficult to know who was the original source. Shāh Quljī also gives seventy years as the rate of precession according to the Marāgha Tables; and says that the annual rate was 51″ 26.‴

[1] The text reads وقت time, but MS. 564 has دقت which I have adopted.

[2] I suppose the meaning is that the motion being less than a minute a year, it could not become perceptible unless after a lifetime of observations or unless the observations were continued for generations.

[3] *i.e.*, the Ninth or Crystalline Heaven.

[4] The Penny Cyclopaedia (Art. Astrology) says: "The astrologers never made any allowance for the precession of the equinoxes. Thus though the constellation Aries is now in Taurus and the influences of its stars ought to have moved with them, we find that the astronomical Aries or first 30° of the ecliptic, is used for the constellation. Under the circumstances, this is of little consequence, but such a practice would be fatal to astronomy."

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Virgo then was. Similarly Virgo has moved to the station of Libra, Libra to Scorpio and so on, up to the last Sign. Now the calculation of Indian astrologers[1] is in accord with the observations of the ancient philosophers which were based on the notion that the Fixed Stars did not move. The calculation of the new observations[2] is founded on the movement of the Zodiacal Heaven which has caused the constellation Leo to move to the House

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Ashmand (Preface and p. 32) defends astrologers against this charge and says, "We should rather say that the stars have changed places than that the parts of heaven in which they once were situated have done so."

[1] The author does not mean that the Indian astronomers were ignorant of the movement of the stars, *i.e.*, of the precession of the equinoxes. The account in the *Āīn* (Jarrett III. 19) shows that they held the movement to be 54″ a year. But they thought that the (westward) movement only extended to 27° Aries and that then the stars retrograded to 27° Pisces and afterwards recommenced. In other words they held that the stars librated between 27° Aries and 27° Pisces.

[2] By the "new observations" those of Ulugh Beg are commonly meant, and it must be those which are referred to here, for A. F. is dealing with the horoscope of Maulānā Cānd which, we are told, was founded on the Gurgānī Tables, *i.e.*, those of Ulugh Beg. According to Bābar (Erskine 51) the tables used by the Indian astronomers were those of Vikramāditya and he says that 1584 years had elapsed from the building of Vikramāditya's observatory. Apparently Bābar was writing this in 1527-28, = 1584 Vikramāditya Era (which began B.C. 57.) But his statement in no way coincides with A. F.'s for Ulugh Beg's Tables were drawn up in 1434 and published in 1437 and if we deduct 1190 from 1434, we get 244 A.D. as the date of the Indian Tables.

(Sédillot gives the epoch of Ulugh Beg's Tables as 841 H. = 1437 A.D.)

Nor can we reconcile the statements by supposing that the "new observations" mean those of Naṣīru-d-dīn Ṭūsī which were made at Marāgha in the latter part of the 13th century. According to the *Āīn* (Jarrett 4) Naṣīru-d-dīn's observatory was built 362 years and Ulugh Beg's 156 before A. F. wrote his book. Now the *Āīn* was composed in the 40th year of Akbar, *i.e.*, 1596, so that 1234 would be the date of the Marāgha observations and 1434 those of Samarqand (Ulugh Beg's). The date 1234 is, however, certainly wrong, as it is nearly a quarter of a century before the destruction of Baghdād (1258) and we know that it was after this that Hulāgū Khān installed Naṣīru-d-dīn at Marāgha. According to D'Herbelot, Naṣīru-d-dīn was established at Marāgha in 657 (1259) and published his Tables in 668 (1270). Perhaps شصت *shaṣt*, sixty, is a

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of Virgo. The difference between the two calculations is 17°,[1] each Sign having moved 17° from its place. From this it may be known that 1190 years have elapsed from the observations of the Indian philosophers to the new ones, assuming that a degree is traversed every seventy years, and most philosophers are agreed that we should multiply 17 by 70. On the view of Ptolemy that the movement is one degree a century, the interval between the two sets of observations is 1700 years.

Keen-sighted inquirers after truth and subtle perceivers of the secrets of the skies fell into the valley of perturbation on account of these discrepancies. Now that the pattern of the philosophers of the Age, 'Aẓdu-l-daulah Amīr Fatḥu-l-lāh of Shīrāz, has shewn by the Greek Canon and the Persian rules that his Majesty's auspi-
42 cious horoscope is in Leo as has been stated above, it clearly appears that the explanation of the disagreement is not, as was commonly supposed, that the Indian philosophers deny the existence of the spheres, as has been set forth in the Second Volume.[2] Rather it was the Divine wisdom (*ḥikmat-i-ilāhī*) and the Divine jealousy which demanded that the description of this cavalier[3] of the plain of majesty

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copyist's error for بیست *bīst*, twenty which would yield the date 1274. A. F., however, with all his industry, is not to be trusted about dates as Silvestre de Sacy has shewn with reference to a statement in the *Āyār-i-Dānish* about the poet Rūdagī. Even if we deduct the 1190 years from 1272, the date of the Marāgha observations, we do not get back to Vikramāditya's era, though we get very near that of Sālivāhana, *viz.*, 78 A.D.

The most probable explanation is that Bābar was mistaken in supposing that the Vikramāditya of the Tables was the Vikramāditya of the Era. The Indian Tables were probably composed in the time of the second Vikramāditya and in that of Varāha Mihira, though this date is also inconsistent with A. F.'s calculation.

[1] It would seem (Text III. 440 1.5 fr. foot) that the exact difference was a little more than 17°, for we are told that Bānū Ārām, Akbar's daughter, was born under 19° Sagittarius or 1° 54′ according to Hindū calculation.

[2] The Lucknow ed. has "last volume," and this is probably correct, the reference apparently being to the concluding volume of the *Āīn*, *viz.*, III. 8. (Jarrett III. 13.)

[3] فارس *fāris*. It also means a lion and so there may be an allusion to the constellation Leo. Akbar is called (*Āīn* I. 139) *shāhsuwār-i-'arṣa-i-iqbāl*, 'the royal rider of the plain of fortune.'

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and confidant of the sublime cabinet, should remain hidden from the gaze of keen-sighted, penetrating, minute inquirers, as well as from the eyes of the evil-disposed and inwardly blind.

It was from this cause, that his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī, who in astrolabic investigations and studies of astronomical Tables and observations, was at the head of the enthroned[1] ones of acute knowledge and was a second Alexander,—in spite of his perfect labours and exertions in the matter of the horoscope of the Lord of the Age, did not attain to the truth (did not reveal the whole truth). And likewise all those others who were versed in the secrets of astrology, remained within the curtain of contradiction and did not arrive at a perfect knowledge of the mystery. And notwithstanding the identity of the canons of calculation and the inquiries of right-thinkers,—for natural philosophers do not materially disagree in these matters,—owing to the jealousy of God, the truth of the holy nativity remained under the veil of concealment and was hidden behind the curtain of contradiction. But on the whole, if each of the horoscopes be looked at with the eye of judgment—and a sketch of each has been given,—it becomes plain that in the matter of power, dignity and sublimity, external and internal, there is nothing equal to them. Though the horoscopes are discrepant, they agree in external and internal splendour and congratulate the Native as supreme over the visible and invisible worlds. And those intimate friends of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī, whose outward and inward beings were clothed with truth and righteousness, have been heard to tell that when his Majesty had the auspicious horoscope shewn to him and had considered it, it happened several times that when in his private chamber and with the doors all closed, he fell a'dancing, and from excess of exultation, revolved with a circular motion. Why indeed should not sitters in the front ranks of the pavilion of true glory, and tasters of the trays of eternal knowledge—who have partaken of the sweets of ecstacy and the knowledge of God, indulge in transports of joy at the sweets of this revelation, and why should they not chaunt strains of rapture? For these perfections are steps or

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[1] The author seems to refer to the fact of eminent astrologers, having been princes, *e.g.*, Alexander, Alphonso of Castile and Ulugh Beg.

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stages of exaltation and are the essence of Divine knowledge. And his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī was by the perfection of his personality, enlightened by flashes of forthcoming events and glimpses into the future, and his senses were warmed by the auspicious advent of his Majesty, the King of Kings. And all these lights were seen, before realization in the ranks of actions, in the mirror of the wondrous horoscope. And he many times said to those who were privileged to converse with him, that the horoscope of this Light of Fortune was superior, in several respects and by sundry degrees, to that of his Majesty, the Lord of Conjunction[1] (Tīmūr)
43 as indeed clearly appears to the scrutinizing students of the prognostications. And when these two auspicious documents are compared, and the gifts of the planets and the blessings of the heavens[2] are weighed in the balance of reflection, it will be seen what are the communications of the horoscope of the Lord of Conjunction, and what are those of the holy horoscope. Praise be to God! notwithstanding the remoteness of the horoscopists in time, place and condition, and the discrepancy of their canons, every one of the glorious schemes agrees—as has been shewn—in this, that the Native will attain lofty, spiritual and temporal rank, and that his holy personality will be a collection of inward and outward excellencies and will be possessed of various perfections and will have sway over the visible and invisible world. He will have various kinds of sovereignties and various degrees of rule, and will attain lofty rank in worship of the Truth and in theology. He will befriend the poor and humble, and will have long life and soundness of body and an equable disposition and will be praised by high and low and thanked by great and small. He will have perfect knowledge of the world, and will rule countries and guard the paths of righteousness,

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1 The horoscope of Tīmūr is given in the *Ẓafarnāma* but without much detail. There is also one, as noticed by Gibbon, in Hyde's *Syntagma* (Dissert: II. 466) which was cast by Ashmole.

2 علويّات *'alwīyāt*. Perhaps this word has a technical meaning here, *viz.*, the superior planets, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, which were so-called because their orbits were supposed to be higher than that of the Sun. See *Mafātīḥu-l-'ulūm*, 229, top line. Mercury and Venus and the Moon are called *kawākabu-s-siflīya*, inferior planets.

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and will perform the duties of government and of the administration of the world.

It is a remarkable circumstance that all those qualities which astrologers have come to know by toil and meditation, are read by simple-minded persons who know nothing of the diagrams of stellar mysteries, by dint of their own insight, on the forehead-page[1] of his Majesty's career, though they have humbly to acknowledge the inability of language to expound them.

Verse.

Thy attributes have made tongues incoherent,
Thy glorious personality has changed certainty into conjecture.

NOTE ON THE HOROSCOPES OF AKBAR.

Abu-l-faẓl gives four horoscopes. The first and fourth however appear to be substantially the same. Both were made by Muḥammadan servants of Humāyūn,—the first by Maulānā Cānd and the fourth by Maulānā Alyās of Ardabīl. Maulānā Cānd's was drawn up according to the "New Tables," *i.e.*, those of Ulugh Beg Mīrzā who was Tīmūr's grandson. These were calculated for 1437. Maulānā Ilyās' horoscope was cast according to the Īlkhānī or Imperial Tables, *i.e.*, those made by Naṣīru-d-dīn Ṭūsī at Marāgha—about 50 miles S. by W. of Tabrīz—in the reign of Hulāgū Khān cir. 1272.

Abu-l-faẓl, writing in the 40th year of Akbar, (1596) says (Jarrett II, 4.) that 362 years had elapsed since Naṣīru-d-dīn built his observatory and 156 since Ulugh Beg built his at Samarqand. This gives a date of 1440 for Ulugh Beg's Tables and of 1234 for Naṣīru-d-dīn's, but the latter is certainly wrong, and probably there is some clerical error in the text. If Hulāgū Khān first established him in Marāgha, it is assuredly wrong, but A. F. evidently thinks he was there earlier. (*Āīn* II, 11.)

The second horoscope was made by Jotik Rai, Akbar's astrologer. We do not know its exact date but it was, of course, drawn many years after Akbar's birth and after the construction, by Humāyūn's orders, of the first and fourth horoscopes.

The third was made by Fatḥu-l-lāh of Shīrāz and could not have been drawn earlier than 991 (1583), for this astronomer did not come to Akbar's Court till that year. Indeed A. F. tells us that it was in the first year of Fatḥu-l-lāh's service that he asked him to compare the horoscopes and reconcile their discrepancies.

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[1] The meaning is, that the actual facts of Akbar's life exhibit all those wonderful qualities which astrologers have found by painful investigation of his horoscope.

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Both Maulānā Cānd and Maulānā Alyās put the birth under Virgo and there is no doubt this is correct,—if correctness can be predicated of such matters. The Indian astrologers probably put the birth in Leo because that Sign is the House of the Sun, between whom and Akbar there was supposed to be a mysterious connection. Possibly however, the earlier date of their Tables warranted them in putting the birth under Leo, as A. F. has explained in his chapter on the discrepancies. But granting that this was so, we are not told why their Tables should be preferred to those of Naṣīru-d-dīn and Ulugh Beg. And indeed Abu-l-faẓl does not prefer them. He tells us that Indian Tables agree with the observations of those philosophers who are not aware that there was a movement of the Fixed Stars. In other words, he admits that they are wrong.

If the precession of the equinoxes account for the difference between the Tables, why stop short at the Hindū observations? A. F. calculates that these were made 1190 years before Ulugh Beg's, *i.e.*, about 1336 before Fatḥu-l-lāh cast Akbar's horoscope. According to Bābar (Erskine 51.) the Hindū Tables were made at Ujjain in the time of Vikramāditya, *i.e.*, cir. 57 B.C. According to Tod, (Rājpūtānā) Hindū astronomers now follow the Tables of Jai Singh which were made in 1728. (See Dr. Hunter's paper, Asiatic Researches V, 177.) But why did not he or Fatḥu-l-lāh carry the calculation further back and ascertain the position of the constellations of the Zodiac at the time, say, of the birth of Adam or at least, of Enoch or Idris who, according to Muḥammadans, is the father of astronomy? Some astrologers professed to know the position of the stars at the time of the Creation and held that Adam was born under 1° Capricorn (See *infra* for A. F.'s account of Adam). And at all events A. F., who seems to have accepted the chronology according to which Adam was born about 7000 before his own time, could have had no difficulty in calculating the position of the constellations at that period, allowing one degree for every seventy years.

According to A. F. the difference between the Indian astrologers and Maulānā Cānd amounts to 17°. But apparently Fatḥu-l-lāh did not adopt the Indian calculations, which indeed he probably could not read. (He was a Persian and we are told in the *Āīn* (Blochmann 104) that he superintended the translation of part of Ulugh Beg's Tables, though, if as has been supposed, these were originally written in Persian, one does not see what necessity there was for translating them. There is however a doubt on the point and A. F.'s remark implies that Ulugh Beg's Tables were written in a foreign language, *e.g.*, Arabic or Turkish. According to D'Herbelot, they were first written in Arabic but Sédillot has no doubt that Persian was their original language). Fatḥu-l-lāh, we are told, based his calculations on the Greek and Persian Tables, not on the Indian, and found the cusp of the Ascendant to be 28° 36′ Leo.

Leo is the Sign immediately preceding Virgo, and if the difference of the Hindū and Persian calculations be 17°, the cusp according to the former, should apparently be 20° Leo, for Maulānā Cānd's horoscope brought out

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the cusp of the Ascendant as 7° Virgo. We are not told what Tables Fatḥu-l-lāh used and are left in the dark as to his *modus operandi*. The difference between his calculations and those of Maulānā Cānd was apparently, about $8\frac{1}{2}°$ *viz.*, from 28° 36′ Leo to 7° Virgo. If, as A. F. does, we take the rate of precession to be one degree in 70 years, Fatḥu-l-lāh must have used Tables made about 600 years before Ulugh Beg's. This would give a date of about 830 A.D., which approximates to the Baghdād observations of the Khalīf Māmūn referred to in the *Āīn* (Jarrett II. 3.)

If we take the more correct rate of precession, *viz.*, one degree in 72 years, we get a still closer approximation for $8\frac{1}{2}° = 612$ years and this, deducted from 1434 = 822 A.D.

I regret that I have not been able to translate the four horoscope chapters in a satisfactory manner. They are difficult, for several words of frequent use in them, are not to be found in our dictionaries, at least not with their astronomical meaning. Dozy's Supplement is of little or no use for astrological terms, and Lane appears to ignore them altogether. Unfortunately with all his amplitude of detail, A. F. fails us at the very pinch of the case. That is, he gives no explanation of Fatḥu-l-lāh's *modus operandi* and does not tell us how he managed to bring the horoscope into Leo.

It is probable that in places, the text is corrupt.

Books on astrology are very numerous. One of the best of the old treatises is *De Judiciis Astrorum* by 'Alī Abu-l-ḥasan (Albohazan Haly Aben Rajal). He, it appears, was born in Spain, for he is styled Ash-Shaibānī and Ash-Shabīlī (Hispaliensis) and his full name is Abu-l-ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abi-r-rajālu-sh-shaibānī.

In Hammer-Purgstall's History of Arabian Literature, (6436) he is styled 'Alī Ibn Rajāl and we are told that Europeans called him Aben-Ragel and that he was born at Cordova and lived in the beginning of the 5th century of the Hijra.

His work on astrology, "*Opus magnum de astrologia, octo partibus comprehensum,*" was first translated from Arabic into Spanish by order of Alphonso, the king of Castile, and afterwards from Spanish into Latin. He appears also to have been a poet, for a poem of his on astrology is mentioned in Casiri's catalogue of the Escurial Library I, 128 and 344. The best edition of Haly's work appears to be that by Anthony Stupa, Basle, 1551. There is a copy of this in the British Museum and bound up with it, is an elaborate treatise on astrology by Guido Bonatus and also a commentary on the *Tetrabiblos*.

Guido Bonatus, also called Guido Bonatti and Bonati, was a noted astrologer of the 13th century. He was a native of Florence, but is commonly called *Foroliviensis* or *De Foro Livii*, the modern Forli, a town on the eastern side of the Appenines and not far from Ravenna. He is said by his astrological skill to have saved Forli from a siege. Eventually he became a monk and died in 1296.

Lilly quotes Abu-l-ḥasan under the name of Haly and Sir Walter Scott makes Guy Mannering refer both to him and to Guido Bonatus. Délambre

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says, in his History of astronomy in the Middle Ages, that Abu-l-ḥasan's book "est l'un des plus clairs, des plus méthodiques, and des plus complétes que nous ayons. C'est une compilation de tout ce que les sages de différents pays et de différents siécles avaient écrit sur ce sujet futile." It appears that Haly was a Christian. There is a MS. copy of his work in the British Museum written in beautifully clear Arabic characters. It is numbered 23,399. See Codices Arabici 623*b*. It is to be hoped that some day an Arabic scholar will print and edit it.

Lilly's Christian Astrology and the works of Zadkiel are useful and so also are Wilson's Dictionary of Astrology (London, 1819), and a work by E. Sibley in two quarto volumes and published in 1817. For Hindū astrology, I can recommend two Bengali books kindly sent me by Dr. Grierson, *viz.*, the *Jyōtiṣa Prakāça* (Beni Madhab De & Co., Calcutta, 1882, Sak. 1804) and the *Varāha Mihira* of Kali Prosanna Chattarji (1891, Fasli 1300). I have also found the notes of Muḥammad Ṣādiq 'Alī the Lucknow editor of the *Akbarnāma* very useful and I have obtained some light from the two elaborate horoscopes of Shāh Jahān,—one of his birth and the other of his accession,—which are given in 'Abdu-l-ḥamīd's *Bādshāhnāma*.

Mr. Rehatsek's Catalogue of the Mullā Fīrōz Library in Bombay shews that it is very rich in Persian works on astrology.

To the useful books on Astrology may be added the treatise of Julius Firmicus Maternus, a Latin writer of the 4th century A.D. A good and cheap edition of this work is in course of publication at Leipsic under the editorship of Charles Sittl. Firmicus describes the *Dodecatemoria*, p. 48, the *Decani*, p. 41, and has a chapter, p. 233, on empty and full degrees, the full being degrees where the *Decani* are found, and the empty where their influence does not operate.

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CHAPTER IX.

STATEMENT OF THE HONOURED NAMES OF THE BLISSFUL NURSES AND SPIRITUALLY-MOULDED CHERISHERS[1] (*qawābil-i-rūḥānī-qawālib*) OF HIS MAJESTY, THE KING OF KINGS.

When the lightsome day of his creation arrived, at once was Heaven envious of Earth for his passing,[2] and Earth exultant o'er Heaven for his august advent. The status of knowledge and insight became exalted, and with rites which are the glory of the ministers of outward show, was that holy essence and pure pearl —already washed and cleansed at the fountain-head of Divine Light and in the ocean of infinite knowledge (*ma'rifat*)—bathed and composed by the hands of shade-loving, radiance-darting, chaste, rose-bodied nymphs. Even-tempered, spiritually-minded nurses swathed the divine form and heavenly body in auspicious swaddling-bands, purer than angelic veils, and laid him with respect and reverence in the sacred arms and bosoms of pure-dispositioned ones. And then his honied[3] lips being brought in contact with the benign breasts, his mouth was sweetened by the life-giving fluid.

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[1] قوابل pl. of قابلة. The word seems properly to mean a midwife, but, as it comes after *dāya* and as no midwife is mentioned by name—unless *Dāya Bhāwal* be one,—I have rendered it cherisher. The word دايه means both a midwife and a wet-nurse.

[2] *Farr-i-wilādat.* There is a play here on the two meanings of *farr*. *Farr* in Arabic means flight, and is here used in the sense of departure or passing, being contrasted with *maqdam*, advent or coming. The birth or vital principle of Akbar left Heaven and came upon Earth, thereby making Heaven envious and Earth leap for pride. But *farr* or *far* means in Persian, light or splendour, being etymologically the same word as the Greek πῦρ and the English fire and so, *farr-i-wilādat* also means the light or splendour of the birth. *Farr* is often used by A. F. to mean the sacred light which belongs to a king. Thus at the beginning of the *Āīn*, he speaks of kingship as a light emanating from God, which light modern language calls the *farr-i-īzadī* or Divine light and which in ancient times was called the sublime halo. (*Kīyān-khura.*) (Blochmann iii.)

[3] The word in the Text is not honied but only sweet. However there is perhaps an allusion to the

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Verse.

He drew forth milk by the bounty of his lips,
Milk and sugar were commingled.
It was not milk he drank from the breast of hope,
'Twas water from the Sun's fountain that he imbibed.

44 As the nobly-born Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad of Ghaznī had done a good service at Kanauj,[1] his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī, shortly before the rising of this light of fortune, (Akbar) in magnificent recompense of his deed, made him hopeful of eternal bliss by promising him the majestic boon, that his high-souled, chaste-natured consort—who has now the lofty title of Jījī[2] Anaga—should be clothed with the glorious head-dress (*mi'jar*) and mantle of distinction, by obtaining the auspicious service of nursing this new fruit of the spring-tide of sovereignty and fortune, and should have the bliss[illegible] charge[3] of the nosegay of the house-garden of greatness and glory.

Accordingly her Majesty, Maryam-makānī, Qadasī-arkānī (Pillar of Purity) having sent for that adorner of Heaven's table (*i.e.*, celestial caterer) placed in an auspicious moment, the child-treasure in her hopeful bosom. But as the period of pregnancy[4] of this purely-framed nurse was not yet fulfilled, her Majesty ordered that receptacle of chastity, Dāya Bhāwal—a special servant of his Majesty Jahānbānī, and distinguished for virtue and purity—to suckle the infant. It appears that first of all, he accepted the milk of his royal mother. Then Fakhr-i-nisā,[5] wife of Nadīm Koka was honoured by the charge, then Bhāwal Anaga, then the wife of Khwāja Ghāzī,[6]

practice of putting honey into the mouths of the newly-born.

[1] Spelled here Qanauj. Shamsu-d-dīn helped Humāyūn up the steep bank of the Ganges, after he had swum across on an elephant when defeated by Shēr Shāh. (Blochmann 321.)

[2] According to Meninski (1698) Jījī, in Turkish, means a child's plaything. It also, in Turkish, means handsome.

[3] حضانت *ḥizānat*, the technical word for the charge of a child. (Baillie's Mu. Law, 429.)

[4] The child to whom she afterwards gave birth was 'Azīz Koka, the later Khān A'ẓam. He was thus only slightly younger than Akbar who used to say that a channel of milk connected them together. (*Ma-'āṣir* I. 675). Jījī is said to have died in 1008 (1599). See l.c. 685 where she is called Bīca Jiū.

[5] Gulbadan (26) speaks of Fakhr-i-nisā Anaga as the mother of Nadīm Koka and wife of Mīrzā Qulī.

[6] There is an account of him [illegible] Text (I. 222) and he is mentioned i[illegible] Bāyazīd Sulṭān's list of the officer[illegible]

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then Ḥakīma. After these, the chaste Jījī Anaga, in accordance with her wish, obtained external and internal felicity. After her, Kokī Anaga, wife of Tōgh Begi[1] and after her, Bībī Rūpā[2] had their turn of this auspicious service. Then Khāldār (*i.e.*, the mole-marked) Anaga, mother of Sa'ādat Yār Koka,[3] was selected for this great boon. And at last, that chaste matron, Pīja Jān Anaga,[4] mother of Zain Khān Koka, acquired a stock of everlasting greatness by obtaining her wish for this great blessing. Many other fortunate cupolas of chastity were exalted by the excellence of this service. It was as if there were Divine wisdom in thus implanting varied temperaments[5] by this series of developments (*i.e.*, the wet-nurses) so that the pure entity,[6] advancing by gradations, might become familiar with the divers methods of Divine manifestation. Or it

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who came to India with Humāyūn. A. F. calls him Khwāja Ghāzī Tabrīzī and says that he was distinguished for his knowledge of accounts and made a *dīwān* by Humāyūn, and was subsequently, for a long time, excluded from Court and only returned at the end of his life to the Court of Akbar and when his intellect was enfeebled by age. Bāyazīd calls him Khwāja Ghāzī Shīrāzī and says Humāyūn made him a *dīwān* when he was in the Takht-i-sulaimān country. The fact of his long exclusion from Court and of his not being entered in the Grandees of the *Āīn* or of the *Ṭabaqāt*, might explain, supposing him Māham Anaga's husband, (see note at end of chapter) why no mention is made of him in that relation.

[1] Mentioned in Bāyazīd's Catalogue as Toq Begī Sāqī, *i.e.*, page or cupbearer.

[2] Apparently a Hindūstānī and possibly a Hindū.

[3] Sa'ādat Yār Koka is mentioned three times in the *Akbarnāma*, in the third volume, *viz.*: (192) where he is one of those sent on pilgrimage to Mecca; (579) where we are told, his brother's daughter was given in marriage by the Emperor to A. F.'s son 'Abdu-r-raḥmān (see Blochmann, Life of A. F. XXXV.) and lastly (656) where we are told of Sa'ādat Yār's death in the 39th year (Āzar 1003, November 1595), from excessive drinking and of the Emperor's sorrow for this and of his paying a visit of consolation to the house of his sister, Ḥājī Koka.

[4] Called by the *Ma'āṣir* and Blochmann, Pīcah Jān Anaga. She was the wife of Khwāja Maqṣūd of Herāt.

[5] *Mashārib*, dispositions, but also beverages, and *ṭabaqāt*, dishes or trays as well as stages or degrees, so that apparently one of the intended meanings is "divers beverages in divers vessels," signifying the varied nature of the nurses' milk.

[6] The text has *wuḥūd*, unity, but I presume this is a mistake for *wujūd*, which occurs in No. 564.

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might be designed that the acute and discerning should perceive that this nursling of fortune belonged to the limpid streams of Divine bounty and was not such as to make spiritual progress by outward nutriment, for as to the spiritual nature of this company (of nurses),[1] it is evident to all of what kind that was, as also are the lofty degrees of the holy stages of this chosen one.

Among other wondrous indications there was this, that contrary to the way of other infants, his Majesty, the king of kings, at his birth and at the first opening of his eyes on the visible world, rejoiced the hearts of the wise by a sweet smile.[2] Penetrating physiognomists recognized the smile as the herald-augury of the smiles of the spring of dominion and fortune and saw in it, the opening bud of hope and peace.

After that (*i.e.*, the suckling), in a cradle lighter than a phantom (which the carpenters of the throne of sovereignty had framed of sandal-wood and lign-aloes, and where they had, as it were, commingled civet[3] and rose-leaves, and on whose corners and sides they had hung rubies and pearls of price) was laid with gentlest movement that unique Pearl of nine mothers o'pearl,[4] and then they softly swayed and rocked him. For cheer and soothing, they chaunted with musical (*mūṯīqī*) rhythm the name—auspicious to begin with and fitting as a close—of the Creator, the Lord of Glory and Bounty. The inmates[5] of holy hermitages and those who live in the throng of

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1 This seems rather ungracious, especially after such complimentary expressions about them.

2 This is a trait mentioned of Zoroaster. (See *Dabistān* trans: I. 218). Only he is said to have laughed aloud when he was born. Anquetil du Perron (Life of Zoroaster 13*n.*) quotes Pliny who, in his Natural History, says, "Risisse eodem die quo genitus esset, unum hominem accepimus Zoroastrum." The account of Solomon in the Apocrypha is more touching. "When I was "born, I drew in the common air "and fell upon the earth which is of "like nature, and the first voice "which I uttered, was crying, as all "others do."

3 The Lucknow ed. says that this means the Nine Heavens. *Ṣadaf* means the oyster-shell and also the vault of heaven. It is also a name given apparently to the two constellations of Ursa Major and Minor. See *Burhān-i-qāti'*.

4 شاخ *Shākh*, also called *zabād*, whence civet. (Blochmann 79.)

5 *'ākifān-i-ṣawāmi'*. This phrase occurs in one of Faiẓī's odes (*Āīn* I. 240) and is translated by Blochmann (559) "those who constantly worship

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men who are the stewards of time and the terrene and hold together the spheres of the universe, attained their desires and thus were benefits bestowed on the world and on mankind. They sang this gratulatory strain to the darling[1] of the skies.

Verse.

Hail to thee to whom is committed reason's exaltation.[2]
The kingly revolution of the universe is for thee.
Like thee, the earth has no garden;
Like thee, heaven's vault no lamp.
Creative ocean rolled many a wave
Till it cast ashore a pearl like thee.
Fate's pencil drew many a sketch
Till she made a portrait like thee.
The world's book is but an allusion[3] to thee,
Heaven's volume but an analysis[4] of thee.

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in cloisters." The next expression *sākinān-i-majāmi'-i-ins* may mean "dwellers in mosques" as the note to this passage in No. 564 seems to hold, but I am inclined to think that here it means laymen or those who carry on the affairs of the world, in opposition to the solitaries and ascetic. What A. F. intends to say is, I think, that by Akbar's birth, everybody attained their desires, that is both the lonely ascetic and the worldling, and thus the whole universe was benefited. It may however be that the two classes of holy men are, intended *viz*., anchorites and men who live in monasteries or congregations of saints. I admit too, that this interpretation seems to agree better with what follows, *viz*., the description of such persons "preserving the stars from wrong." But see Text (87) where we are told that the preparations for the revelation of the unique Pearl (Akbar) were completed, as now the stages of solitude and society had been traversed.

[1] *Jigargosha* lit: liver-lobe.

[2] *Sharaf*, an astrological term signifying the exaltation of a planet or star. This first couplet is adapted from Faiẓī. (*Akbarnāma* III, 678.)

[3] تلميح "*Talmīḥ*" says Gladwin (Dissertations on Persian Rhetoric 53.) "literally signifies using some-"thing savoury and is employed "when the author alludes to some "popular story or verse, *e. g.*, 'O light "'of my eyes! when the garden of "'my condition is deprived of the "'rose of thy countenance, my state "'becomes like Jacob in the house "'of mourning.'"

[4] تشريح *tashrīḥ*. This is from *sharḥ* and seems primarily to mean dissection. (Dict: of T. Ts. 735.)

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MĀHAM ANAGA.

It is singular that this name does not occur in the list of Akbar's nurses. This may be due to *Māham Anaga's* being a title and not a proper name, and it is possible that the lady who was afterwards thus designated, is mentioned in the list under some other appellation. She may, for instance, be the nurse described as the wife of Khwāja Ghāzī and whose own name is not given. But even if the title were not bestowed till a later period, one would have expected A. F. to have added it to his description, just as he mentions Shamsu-d-dīn's wife by her title of Jījī Anaga. The true explanation of the omission probably is that Māham Anaga means Head or Superintendent of the nurses rather than chief nurse and that the Māham Anaga of the *Akbarnāma* was not a wet-nurse. She certainly was not the chief nurse in the sense that the child Akbar drew most of his nourishment from her, for we are told that Jījī Anaga was chief in this respect, so much so that the other nurses accused her of practising witchcraft in order to prevent the infant prince from accepting any breast but her own.

Though *Anaga* seems primarily to mean a wet-nurse, it has not always this meaning. Pavet de Courteille says (Turkish Dictionary, 57) "اناگا et اناگه, nourrice, sage-femme, gouvernante; on donne aussi à la mère du Khān le titre de قل نکه." We find also that the mother of Cingīz Khān had this title, her name being given in the *Akbarnāma* (I. 72, top line) as "Olun Anaga" though Erdmann spells it *Eke*. Apparently the Turkish pronunciation is *Enge*. See Redhouse *s. v.* He states that it means a sister-in-law, the wife of an elder brother or lady-relative of a bridegroom who is sent to fetch the bride home. A. F. sometimes calls Māham Anaga, Māham Bega and Māham Āgha, and it is generally by the title of *Bega* that Bāyazīd Sulṭān speaks of her in the so-called *Tārīkh-i-humāyūn*. (I. O. Ms. No. 216). He calls her (15) Māham Bega and adds the explanation *ke āgha anaga Nawāb-i-īshān būd, i.e.*, who was head of the Prince's nurses. And then follows the statement that she was accompanied by Jījī Anaga, wife of Shamsu-d-dīn Mu. Ghaznawī who was the Prince's nurse (*anaga*). (Unless indeed the word is *atgah* and refers to Shamsu-d-dīn.)

In the *Akbarnāma* (II. 55) we are told that Māham Anaga had served the prince from his cradle, but it does not follow that she first did so in the capacity of wet-nurse. It may be remarked too that the fact of our not hearing that she had a husband or a child of about Akbar's age militates against the notion that she was his wet-nurse. Though her son, Adham Khān was a young man at the time of his death, he was probably several years older than Akbar as otherwise Bāyazīd would hardly have named him in the list of servants in Akbar's train at the time when Humāyūn marched to India.

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CHAPTER X.[1]

Account of the arrival of his Majesty at the world-traversing camp[2] of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī, from the fort of Amarkoṭ and of the auspicious[3] conjunction.

As the world-seeing eye and auspicious glance of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī was looking for the glorious vision of the king of kings, a gracious order was issued that he should be brought to the curtain[4] of honour and encampment of fortune, in charge of her Majesty Maryam-makānī. Khwāja Mu'aẓẓam,[5] Nadīm Kūkal-tāsh and Shamsu-d-dīn Mu. of Ghaznī were sent to be in attendance on the auspicious litter. Accordingly his Majesty left Amarkoṭ, on the 11th Sha'bān[6] in a fortunate hour, under the care and in the arms of her Highness Maryam-makānī and departed in a travelling litter.[7]

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[1] The heading of this chapter is omitted in the text and the account of Akbar's visit to his father is made part of Chapter IX. But the heading is given in No. 564 and other MSS. and is clearly required. The Persian is as follows;

ذکر قدوم حضرت شاهنشاهي بموکب
گيتي نورد حضرت جهانباني جنت آشياني
از حصار امرکوت و قران سعدين -

In the Lucknow ed. بموجب *bamūjib* is, apparently by mistake, substituted for بموکب *bamaukib*.

[2] According to Niẓāmu-d-dīn, the meeting-place was in *pargana* Jūn. A. F. also states that it was in Jūn. (I. 184.)

[3] قران سعدين, a phrase applied to the conjunction of the two Fortunes, Jupiter and Venus. It is the title of a famous poem by Amīr Khusrau on the meeting of Kaiqūbād and his father Naṣīru-d-dīn. (Stewart's Bengal 78).

[4] سرادق عزت *surādiq-i-'izzat*. Dozy says (647*b*) "Dais (au-dessus d'un trône.) Ce qu'on nomme en persan سراچه (dont سرادق est peutêtre une altération) ou سراپرده c. à. d. l'énorme enceinte de toile que dans les pays musalmans, entoure la vaste tente du souverain."

[5] Apparently he had previously left his sister and joined Humāyūn's camp.

[6] 20th November, 1542 O. S., According to Jauhar (trans. 45) the day was 10th *Ramaẓān*.

[7] *Takht-i-rawān*. See Ives' voyage to India (278) for a representation of this conveyance. It is usually carried on mules.

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Verse.

Ere the cradle had fulfilled its season,
His exalted fortune (*bakht*) sat on a throne, (*takht*)[1]
Eye unopened, but with the eye of the mind,
He looked to the ordering of religion and realm;
Hand unopened, but his heart desiring
To put the world 'neath his signet-ring,
Of his thousand roses, not one in bloom,
Yet the world was culling flowers from the garden of his fortune.

When the travelling litter of his Majesty, the king of kings, the ambulatory treasury of Divine knowledge, had nearly arrived and but two stages remained, a world-obeyed order was issued that the chief officers[2] and pillars of the State and the general public, small and great, should turn towards the altar of fortune and go to meet the *ka'ba* of hopes. Avant-couriers of good tidings were arriving every minute and bringing, from time to time, the news of the appropinquating of the glorious advent.

Verse.

The cavalcade approaches with the king of both worlds in its wake,[3]
46 The caravan of joy goes forth to meet him.

And on the last day of Sha'bān which was the day for the glorious alighting, and when the camp of good fortune was only one stage distant, his Majesty (Humāyūn) was pleased to observe "Assuredly the child is compact of auspiciousness, of potent horoscope and has the good fortune of the two worlds enfolded in him, for, as he draws nigh, there is another[4] assemblage of spectators in the upper world who exhibit a virgin joy." What marvel is it that the pure soul and illumined intellect of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat

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[1] Meaning the *takht-i-rawān* (travelling-litter.)

[2] *Lit.*: eyes of the Sulṭānat. There is a play on the original meaning. The eyes were to be turned towards the *qibla, etc.*

[3] دنبال *dambāl.* From *Āīn* IV. 438 (Jarrett IV. 393) we learn that Akbar objected to the use of the word *dambāl* in poetry as being prosaic. It literally means tail.

[4] Meaning that there was a second assemblage, *viz.*, one in addition to that upon earth.

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-āshyānī should be cognizant of the Divine secrets and be aware of the truths hidden in celestial treasuries ? Or how is it strange that there should be an epiphany on the apparition of his Majesty, the king of kings, the shadow of God, the archetype of the strange frontispieces of the universe, and collection of the catalogues of the perfections of the sons of Adam ? And in an hour which held the auspicious influences of the conjunctions of the two Fortunes[1] and of the two luminaries (the Sun and Moon), his Majesty (Akbar) alighted with felicity and dominion at the majestic and glorious enclosure, and became fortunate by arriving at the station of light took repose under the shadow of the phoenix (*humā*) of eternal prosperity. The blessed crown (*tārak, i.e.*, crown of the head) of his Majesty, the king of kings, was made fortunate by touching the throne-brushing feet of his Majesty Jahānbānī and by becoming united to a perfect saint (*pīr*). The latter took him lovingly in his arms and kissed him on the luminous brow, the tablet of the fortunes of the two worlds and title-page of happiness everlasting.

Verse.

Whiles he held him to his lip, whiles to his heart, and whiles to his head.

After gazing on this holy light, the inspired tongue engaged in returning thanks to the Lord God, Most High and Most Glorious, and the pole-star-like[2] head was lowered in supplicating prostration at the portals of the All-sufficient One.

Verse.[3]

Not only was the head ever bowed,
Each hair of his body also bent in adoration.

The guardians of the Divine bounty and the treasurers of infinite auspiciousness delivered that deposit of eternities—past and

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[1] Jupiter and Venus ; but perhaps this is only a rhetorical way of describing the meeting between Akbar and his father or his arrival in his mother's company. The time being the end of the month would be that of the conjunction of the Sun and Moon.

[2] فرقد *farqad*, a bright star near the Pole. The word is often written فرقدين and applied to two bright stars, β and γ, in the Little Bear. (Lane 2387*a*.)

[3] These lines are Faiẓī's.

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future—into the king's gracious bosom and warbled, sweet and low, this strain of thanksgiving.

Verse.

This is the Divine deposit.
Ask of this treasury whatever thou desirest,
This is he in whose heart they placed
Essential substance, verity absolute.
This is he whose threshold's *ka'ba*[1]
Is seized upon by kings as their altar (*qibla*).
This is he who hath the foot of dominion,
Enlightener of the throne royal.

Readers of the page of the human countenance beheld him with the eye of meditation and reflection and physiognomists perused him with the glance of consideration and contemplation.

Verse.

What did they see? A picture such as never
Did they see in Creation's tables.
From astonishment naught did they say, save
Hail, Light of Wisdom, Eye of Insight, hail.

47 Kingly lights shone from his lustrous brow. The letters "Shadow of God" were apparent in the lines of his palm. The witnesses of Reason were visible in the composite of his substance. The notes of Theosophy were manifest in his whole being. Justice was demonstrated in the evenness of his temperament. Proofs of beneficence were revealed in the essence of his nature. The characters of a Lord of Conjunction shone out from the fair schedules of his ephemeris. Knowledge of occult sciences was evidenced in the illumined records of his constitution. Remote mysteries were revealed by his keen sight. Far-reaching thoughts streamed out from his lofty glance.

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[1] The allusion probably is to the threshold of the Caliph's palace at Baghdād which contained a piece of the famous black stone of Mecca. See Richardson's Dict. *s. v. dar* and D'Herbélot art. *Bāb*.

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CHAPTER XI.

ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE WONDERFUL ETEOSTICS ON THE AUSPICIOUS BIRTH OF HIS MAJESTY, THE KING OF KINGS.

Ingenious men made eteostics in prose and verse on the noble nativity and composed gratulatory odes. They tendered them for acceptance at the Court of his Majesty Jahānbānī which was the assay-room of human jewels, and received glorious gifts.

Among them, this chronogram by Maulānā Nūru-d-dīn Tarkhān[1] received the palm of applause and approbation.

Quatrain.

When the fateful pen of destiny wrote the record,
It added a comment to the immortal verse
And wrote, "From the birth-boon of the world's king of kings
"The date is Shāhinshāh Jahāngīr."[2] (World-seizing king of kings.)

And this wonderfully apposite chronogram was discovered by one of the learned of the Age.

Verse.

Laus Deo! there has come into being
He who is the world's epitome,
A king greater[3] than the kings of the Earth,

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[1] For an account of him, see Blochmann No. 55, (541) and Badāonī III. 157 and especially 197. He ended his days as guardian of Humāyūn's tomb.

[2] These words make 949 as follows.

sh=300		sh=300	
h= 5		h= 5	
n= 50		j= 3	
h= 5			
ā= 1			
n= 50			
g= 20			
ī= 10			
r=200			
Total ...	949		

[3] *Akbar*, comparative of *Kabīr*.

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Akbar his name, Jalāl (Glorious) his title.
The year, the month, nycthemeron of birth
Are "Sunday night, five Rajab."[1] (949 H.)

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[1] شب یکشنبه پنج رجب *shab-yak-shambih, panj rajab.* The text has an *ū* and the editors remark that this makes the number of years six too much, *viz.*: 955, but that if the *ū* be excluded as in one of their MSS. the letters give the correct date, 949. I find that the Lucknow ed. and No. 564 omit the *ū*. The letters give 949 thus :—

sh	=300	sh	= 300
b	= 2	n	= 50
ī	= 10	b	= 2
k	= 20	h	= 5
p	= 2	r	=200
n	= 50	j	= 3
j	= 3	b	= 2
		Total ...	949

According to Mu. calculation Akbar was born on Sunday night, for they count the night first and then the day, beginning at sunset, but according to ordinary parlance, he was born on Saturday night, *i.e.*, early on Sunday morning.

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CHAPTER XII.

THANKSGIVING OF ABŪ'L-FAẒL, THE AUTHOR OF THIS NOBLE VOLUME, FOR HAVING BEHELD THE TIME OF THIS SOVEREIGNTY AND FOR HAVING LONG SERVED HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF KINGS.

Although it be a heavy sorrow that, at the rising of the Luminary of Fortune, the author of this noble volume was in the abode of non-existence,[1] without being or the adornment of Divine worship, yet how can he discharge his debt of thanks for the grand mercy of his having witnessed the era of the subjectively and objectively Great One, the ruler of the visible and the invisible ? and of having been one on whom has fallen the glance of his favour and guidance ? And hundreds more of thanks for this, that, ere he had seen the holy horoscope, or its noble secrets and wondrous glories had been revealed to him, he had understood that perfection of sanctity and sovereignty 48
which is beyond the reach of the astrologer's science, and was a slave of the Divine power.[2] And praise upon praise be to God that I am not, like Imāmu-l-kalām, Ḥassānu-l-'ajam, Lisānu-l-ḥaqīqat, Ḥakīm Khāqānī,[3] sighing for the Lord of the Age who is indispensable for the control of the visible and invisible worlds. For instance he has written thus :—

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[1] Abū'l-faẓl was born 14th Jan., 1551, so that he was 8 years and 3 months younger than Akbar.

[2] The author is referring, in part, to the supposed fact that the true horoscope of Akbar was not known until 1583.

[3] Khaqānī is a famous Persian poet who died at Tabrīz in 580 (1185), according to one account and in 595 (1199) according to another. The lines quoted by A. F. are to be found in Khaqānī's Quatrains, (St. Petersburg ed. 1875) p. 26, Rubā'ī 145 and p. 18, Rubā'ī 101. See also J. A. S. B. New Series xxxvi. Oct., 1841, 156. For account of Khaqānī, see M. Khanykov's *Mémoir, Journal Asiatique*, Sixth Series, 1864, iv, 137 *et seq.* and 1865, v, 298.

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Quatrain.

They say that every thousand years of the world
There comes into existence a true man.
He came before this, ere we[1] were born from nothingness,
He will come after this when we have departed in sorrow.

Elsewhere he says,

Every now[2] and then, the world is saturated with wretches,
Then a shining soul comes down out of the sky.
Khāqānī! seek not in this Age for such a thing,
Sit not by the way for the caravan will come late.

By auspicious good fortune, I obtained the service of this issuer of universal orders and explicator of the ways, and by the favour of his patronage and exalted kindness, comfort was brought to my soul,—perturbed by the deceptions of the day and dumb-founded in a wilderness of wants,—and no connexion with the world nor anxiety remained save to acquire his favour which indeed is tantamount to the pleasing of God. And my mind being freed from the bondage of secularity and the restraints of the world, was neither agitated[3] by regret for the past nor longing for the future. Hereafter[4] there will be given in its proper place, an account of my obtaining the blessing of his service, of my reaching the shade of favour and kindness, and of my being exalted above the *apices* of honour and eminence to the Seventh[5] Heaven of cognition (*ma'rifat*).

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[1] I adopt the reading of the St. Petersburg MS. and No. 564, of ما *mā* instead of the یا *yā* of the Text.

[2] See text, p. 51, l.5 fr. foot, for the word *har-yak-chandī*.

[3] The allusion is to Khaqānī's quatrain. A. F. means that having, like Raphael in Hypatia, found the true man, he neither sighs for a past appearance nor longs for a future advent. Cf. Wordsworth's "The past unsighed for and the future sure."

[4] See Text III. 83ff. A. F. was introduced to Akbar in the 19th year, 981 (1574).

[5] Gharfat, paradise. It means first an upper chamber and hence is used to denote the Seventh Heaven or highest place in Paradise. (Lane 2249c.) A. F. means that, by acquiring Akbar's intimacy, he has risen higher than if he had had high office and distinguished outward rank. Blochmann remarks (xxviii) that A. F. "never *accepted* a title." But this is rather a question-begging phrase. He is No. 71 in the list of *Manṣabdārs*, being a Commander of Four Thousand and he had the title of 'Allāmī. Bāyazīd calls him Nawāb.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Arrangement of the lofty-titled line and list of the noble names of the eminent ancestors of his Majesty, the king of kings.

The following list gives the excellent appellations of the heaven-descended forefathers of his Majesty, who are linked to celestial[1] ancestors by degrees of exaltation and gradations of greatness, and all of whom came as kings, kings of kings, kingdom-bestowers and king-makers, and governed the world by God-given wisdom and true insight, such as justice and equity require, so that they have left behind them on this earth the reverberation of a good name, which is a second life, or rather, is life eternal.

List.[2]

1. Adam. Peace be upon him.
2. Seth. (Text, Shīṣ.)
3. Enosh.
4. Kenan.
5. Mahalalil. (Text, Mahalāīl.)
6. Jared. (Text, Yarid.)
7. Enoch. (Ikhnūkh, Text.)
8. Methusalah.
9. Lamech.
10. Noah.
11. Japheth. (Text, Yāfiṣ.)
12. Turk.

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[1] آبای علوي *ābāī 'alwī*, sublime fathers, *i.e.*, the seven planets.

[2] The original gives the list in an ascending order, beginning with Akbar. I have taken the names of the patriarchs from the revised version of the Old Testament.

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13. Alinja[1] Khān.
14. Dīb Bāqūī.
15. Kayūk Khān. (Text, Gayūk.)
16. Alinja Khān.
17. Mughal Khān.
18. Qarā Khān.
19. Aghuz Khān. (Text, Aghur.)
20. Kun Khān.[2]
21. Āī Khān.
22. Yaldūz Khān.
23. Mangalī Khān. (Text, Mankalī.)
24. Tingīz Khān.
25. Īl Khān.
26. Qīyān.

(Here there is a break.)

Of the descendants of Qīyān are ;—

27. Tīmūr Tāsh.
28. Mangalī Khwāja.[3]
29. Yaldūz.
30. Jū'īna Bahādur.
31. Ālanqū'ā, daughter of the preceding.
32. Būzanjar Qā'ān,[4] son of the preceding.
33. Buqā Qā'ān.
34. Zūtamīn Khān.[5] (Also Dūtamīn.)
35. Qāydū Khān.

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[1] Major Raverty (*Ṭabaqāt-i-nāṣirī*, 873*n*) prefers Alminja. Sir H. Howorth has Iltchi. Apparently Alinja is the grandson and not the son of Turk, his father's name having been Tutak. Probably "Alinja" is wrong for we find this name a little lower in the list. Col. Miles (Genealogical Tree of the Turks) has Obluchi.

[2] Major Raverty (880) says that Kun means the Sun, Āi the Moon, and Yaldūz a star, and that the three were brothers. A. F. in his account of Oghuz Khān makes them brothers and also mentions Tingīz (*i.e.*, the sea) as one. (Text, 60 1.2 fr. foot.)

[3] It appears from D'Herbélot that this is the Turkish form of Michael, hence its frequent recurrence.

[4] *Qāān*, Khākān, *i.e.*, Great Khān.

[5] Variously written in the text. In one place it is Dumanīn. Howorth has, after Erdmann, Dutūm Menen. (I. 39.)

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36. Bāysangh̲ar K̲h̲ān.
37. Tumana K̲h̲ān.
38. Qāculī Bahādur.[1]
39. Iradam-cī Barlās.
40. Sūgh̲uj-cī.[2]
41. Qarācār Nuyān.[3]
42. Ical Nuyān.
43. Alankīr Bahādur. (Var. *infra*, Ailanyar K̲h̲ān.)
44. Amīr Barkal.
45. Amīr Ṭarāgh̲āī.
46. Ṣāḥib Qarān Quṭbu-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn, Amīr Tīmūr Gūrgān.
47. Mīrān S̲h̲āh.[4]
48. Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā.
49. Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā.
50. 'Umar S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Mīrzā.
51. Ẓahīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Bābar Pādsh̲āh.[5]
52. Naṣīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādsh̲āh.
53. Abū'l-Muẓaffar[6] Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Pādsh̲āh.

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[1] Here, for some time, the list ceases to record the names of kings. Qācūlī is also spelled Qājūlī. He was twin-brother of Qabal K̲h̲ān, the ancestor of Cingīz K̲h̲ān. In accordance with his father, Tumana's interpretation of his dream, he became Commander-in-Chief. (See his biography *infra*.)

[2] Spelled also Sūgh̲u-jijan. It means wise, according to Raverty (898).

[3] Spelled also Nu-yīn. The word is explained as meaning, in Mongolian, king's son or prince and also a chief or general. See Jarrett III. 344*n*. where it is transliterated Novian. See also *Farhang-i-Rash̲īdī* II. 277. Quatremère (*Rash̲īdu-d-dīn*, Trans. 76.) says, "Le mot *noian* نویان ou *noin* qui appartient à la langue mongole, désignait le chef d'un *toman*, c'est à dire d'un corps de dix mille hommes."

[4] Blochmann (Genealogical Table) calls him Jalālu-d-dīn Mīrān S̲h̲āh and A. F. does so too. (Text 81.)

[5] Gulbadan mentions that Bābar took the title of Pādsh̲āh after the birth of Humāyūn. Pādsh̲āh was changed to Bādsh̲āh in India because, says Blochmann, Pād means *crepitus ventris*.

[6] In the preface of the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārat*, (B.M. No. 5638, p.8.) A. F. calls him Abū'l-fatḥ and this is the name given in the document drawn up by A.F.'s father, Mubārak, and others and preserved by Badāonī. (Blochmann 185 and Lowe 279.) There too he is styled G̲h̲āzī. A.F. also uses the title Abū-l-fatḥ in the introductory verses of the *Tafsīr-i-Akbarī* or Great

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49 Let it not be concealed that the auspicious record of these high-born ones is implanted and contained in the breast-pages[1] of the transmitters of words, and recorded and expressed by the conserving tongues of the writings of epochs, as far as Yaldūz who is the 25th[2] (*i.e.*, counting upwards) in ascent from his Majesty and that for the period from Mangalī Khwāja to Īl Khān[3] which may be reckoned as 2,000[4] years, nothing has come to light. The cause of this will be explained hereafter.

From Īl Khān to Adam there are 24[5] persons. These have

Commentary which he presented to Akbar on his second introduction to him in 982 (1574). (The *abjad* value of the words *Tafsīr-i-Akbarī* is 983, but the introduction took place in 982 H. See *Inshā*, III.) The full name of the Emperor as there given is Abū'l-fatḥ Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Shāh Al-Ghāzī, and it would seem that the Commentary which A.F. then presented was on the opening of the Ṣūratu-l-fatḥ, in allusion to Akbar's name and also to his recent victories in Bengal. On the other hand, Faiẓī (*Nal ū Daman* Calcutta ed. 1831. 24.) calls Akbar, Abū'l-muẓaffar Jamālu-d-daula ū Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar. Perhaps Muẓaffar was the original name and was changed to Fatḥ, after the victories in Bengal and to assimilate it to the name of Akbar's favourite residence, Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. The words Muẓaffar and Fatḥ are nearly synonymous, one meaning a victory or victorious, and the other victory.

This seems a fitting place, for noting that the first letter of the word Akbar is short and the Emperor's name should not be pronounced Ākbar but Ăkbar. Hence the word used to be written in English Ukbar or Ukber. The word *Akbarnāma* has a double meaning; it may signify the History of Akbar and also the Great or Supreme Book. It is perhaps rather significant that both A.F. and his brother should omit the title of Ghāzī which was given to the young Akbar after the defeat of Hēmū.

[1] *Or*, pages issuing from.

[2] That is counting Akbar as No. I. According to the series given by the author, Yaldūz (it is Yaldūz, No. 2, and the No. 29 of the English list), is the 24th. *jadd* or ancestor of Akbar. Either on this account or because he found *four* in his MS. Chalmers has *24th* ancestor.

[3] Apparently this should be Qīyān Khān for he is described as the son and not merely as the descendant of Īl Khān. For a similar reason, it should be Tīmūr Tāsh and not Mangalī Khwāja.

[4] It will be pointed out hereafter that A.F. has greatly overstated the time during which the Mughals were in Irgānaqūn. Other historians give the time as between 400 and 500 years.

[5] Chalmers makes this 25, and this is correct, unless one exclude Īl Khān himself.

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been described by historians, and a brief account of them will be given.

Far-sighted philosophers who with ripe judgment and God-given wisdom, have investigated the records of the past, and who have made the recognition of truth a sacred trust, and who exhibit research in the weighing of facts, are aware that the hearsay reports and traditions about man's origin occurring 7,000 years ago is a thing not to be accepted by sages who contemplate the rise[1] and decay of the world and (can appreciate all the tones) of the seven climes.

In these matters, right-thinking and far-seeing Reason, after true and just investigation, sometimes answers in the negative, and sometimes, out of caution—that baiting place of tranquillity and station of wisdom—delays either to admit or to deny.

By help of Reason—the glory of the world,—and the assistance of trustworthy records and reliable statements about the world, such as the ancient books of India and Cathay (Khiṭā), *etc.*, which have been preserved from the agitations of accidents and with which agree the principles of astronomy and the conclusions of astronomical observations, (and such things yield trustworthy evidence) and also from the successive series of the biographies of the sages of those countries and the *catena* of opinions of this disciplined body (philosophers), it appears that the beginning of the world and of mortals and the source of the manifestations of the Divine attributes has not been discovered. Either it is eternal, as was the opinion of many ancient philosophers, or of such antiquity as to approximate to eternity. 50

The sect of Sīūrhā[2] (Jains) who are preëminent in all the countries of India for austerity, asceticism and science, divide time—

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[1] *Lit.* observe the spring and autumn of the four-fold garden (*i.e.*, the world) and know the gamut of the seven assemblages from the highest the lowest notes—*anjuman*, which I presumes here means climes and not the planets.

[2] Colebrooke says (As. Res. IX. 291.) "In Hindustan, the Jains are usually called Syauras but distinguish themselves into Srāvacas and Yatis." The name does not seem to be in use now. I do not know its origin unless it be a corruption of Çvētāmbara. (*See* Jarrett IV, 210*n.*)

The name Syaura was evidently in common use in Sūrat in the middle of the last century for Anquetil du Perron refers to it and

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called *kāl* in the Indian language—into two parts. One is *Avasarpiṇī* (descending cycle), *i.e.*, the period whose beginning is joyful and end grievous, and the other is *Utsarpiṇī* (ascending cycle), *i.e.*, the opposite of the first. Each of these periods is divided into six parts, called *āras.*[1] Each *āra* has a distinct name in accordance with its speciality.

The first *āra* of the *Avasarpiṇī* is called *Sukhmān-sukhmān*, the meaning of the reduplication being that this portion brings joy upon joy and happiness upon happiness. The length of this happy time is four *kōrākōr-sāgar*. The name of the second *āra* is *Sukhmān*, *i.e.*, a time of felicity and joy. Its duration is three *kōrākōr-sāgar*. The name of the third *āra* is *Sukhām* (*Sukhmān*) *Dukhmān*, *i.e.*, sorrow and misfortune crop up in the time of joy. Its duration is two *kōrākōr-sāgar*. The fourth *āra* is called *Dukhmān-sukhmān*, *i.e.*, joy and freedom from care rise up in the time of grief and sorrow. Its duration is less than one *kōrākōr* by 42,000[2] years.

The fifth *āra* is *Dukhmān* being the opposite of the second which was *Sukhmān*. The duration of this *āra* is 21,000 years. The sixth *āra* is *Dukhmān-dukhmān* being the opposite of the first. Its length is likewise 21,000 years. The names of the *āras* of the second period (*Utsarpiṇī*) are the same but the first of them corresponds to the sixth *āra* of the first period, the second to the fifth, the third to the fourth, and the fourth to the third, the fifth to the second, and the sixth to the first of the first period. Their opinion is that at the

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says, (*Discours Préliminaire*, 365), that the two leading classes of Hindūs at Sūrat are the Brāhmans and the Sciouras. He calls these, Hindū priests, and says that they also go by the name of Djettis (*Yatis*). They seldom marry, he says, dress in white and have the head uncovered and wear their hair short, "like the *Abbés* in France." They carry a "*ballett*" (brush) to clean the places where they sit down, lest they should crush an insect. In a note, he says that the Sciouras call the first man Rikaba Deva and his mother, Maru Devi, and that they say these beings were created by God in Aiodha, *i.e.*, the north of Delhi (Oudh?). Probably, however, Aiodha is a misprint for Agroha or Agaroa. (*See* Tieffenthaler I. 135, where Saraug is probably a mistake for Scioura). Perhaps this is why they compared (*See* Text) the hair of *yugala* infants with that of Delhi children.

[1] Sanskrit आर *āra*, a spoke in time's wheel.

[2] So also As. Res. IX. 258. Major Mackenzie's account of the Jains.

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present day, two thousand and odd years of the fifth *āra* of the first period have elapsed.

Be it known[1] that the arithmeticians of India call 100,000 a *lak*; ten *laks* a *prayūt*, ten *prayūts* a *krōr*, one hundred *krōrs* an *arb*, ten *arbs* a *kharba*, ten *kharbs* a *nikharb*, ten *nikharbs* a *mahāsarūj* or *padm*, ten *padms* a *sankha*, and ten *sankhas* a *samudr* or *kōrākōr*.

Be it known also that their opinion is that in a former period, in a particular place, a son and a daughter were born at each birth, a notion also prevalent amongst ourselves.[2]

This sect thinks also that the hair of the infants of the district of Delhi is 4096 times coarser than the hair of those beings whom they call *juglī*[3] (*yugala*).

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[1] As to these numbers, *see* Jarrett III. 111 and Faizī's *Līlavatī*, Cal. 1828, 7 and 8. The statement in the text may be put into tabular form as follows:—

100,000 = *lak*.
1,000,000 = *prayūt*.
10,000,000 = *krōr*.
100,000,000 = *arb*.
1,000,000,000 = *kharb*.
10,000,000,000 = *nikharb*.
100,000,000,000 = *mahāsarūj*. or *padm*.
1,000,000,000,000 = *sankha*.
10,000,000,000,000, = *samudr* or *kōrākōr*.

In Text it is stated that 100 *krōrs*, *i.e.*, 1000 millions = an *arb* but this is probably a mistake for 10 *krōrs*. (See the scale in *Āīn*, Jarrett III, 111.) Cf. महासरोजा – *Mahāsarūj* Great Lake-born, *i.e.*, the lotus, Monier Williams (Dictionary 761*a*), says it is equal to *mahāmbuja*, *i.e.*, a billion.

[2] A.F. is apparently referring to the Mu. tradition that Eve produced twins at every birth, *viz.*, a boy and a girl. He may also be referring to the views of the Gerbanites as given by Abraham Ecchellensis (Principles of Geology, Lyell, Chap. II). In that case, the words son and daughter should be translated male and female.

[3] (Jarrett IV. 196 and 200.) Sansc. *yugala*, a pair. I do not know why the number 4096 has been selected; 4696 is given in the *Āīn* as the period that had elapsed from the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira to 40th Akbar (Jarrett II. 15) and also as that from the Deluge to the time of writing the *Āīn*, *i.e.*, 40th Akbar (1596 A.D.). Perhaps 4096 is a mistake for 4696.

The passage (about the hair) occurs also at *Āīn* II. 104 (Jarrett III. 200) but there seems an error in the *Āīn* (Text) inasmuch as it represents the hair of a *yugala* child as 4096 times thicker than that of a Delhi child. The point, however, clearly is that the chopped hair (*See* Text *infra*) used for filling the cavity, be excessively fine, to wit, that of a *yugala*

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51 And they say that if the hair of a seven days old *juglī* infant, which is excessively fine, be subdivided to the uttermost and an abyss (*lit.*, a well) ten miles[1] in depth, breadth and length, be filled with such particles and after a lapse of a hundred[2] years, one segment be taken out, the time in which, at this rate, the abyss will be emptied is a *palūpam* (? पल्य *palya*). And when ten *samudr*,—an explanation of which term has already been given,—of *palūpam*(s) have elapsed, the period is a *sāgar*. The durations of the aforesaid cycles transcend, in their opinion, the power of calculation or description. Their opinion also is that for the management of the visible and invisible world, twenty-four venerable men (*ādam*) come forth from the hidden universe into the apparent one, every six *āras* and then pass[3] away. The name of the first of these is Ādināth and they call him also Raghunāth. The sway of this chosen one of God lasts fifty *krōrs* of *laks* of *sāgaras*. The name of the last is Mahāvīra.[4] His sway lasts for 20,000 years, of which 2,000 have elapsed at the present day. And the belief of this sect is that these twenty-four have come into existence many times and will come again many times.

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child, which is 4096 times finer than that of a Delhi child and that of a seven days' *yugala* child being still finer. Colebrooke (As. Res. l. c. 313) quotes Hēmacandra's Vocabulary, and says, "I do not find that he "anywhere explains the space of "time denominated *sāgara* or ocean. "But I understand it to be an extra-"vagant estimate of the time which "would elapse before a vast cavity, "filled with chopped hairs, could be "emptied at the rate of one piece of "hair in a century; the time required "to empty such a cavity measured by "*yojanas* every way is a *palya* and "this repeated ten *cotis* of *cotis* times "is a *sāgara* 1,000,000,000,000,000 *pal-*"*yas* = one *sāgara* or *sāgaropama*."

1 Four *kōs*, but the Indian word is *yōjana*.

2 The *Āīn* has 100 years, and this seems the correct reading here for B.M. MSS. Nos. 5610 and 1709 have *har ṣad sāl*, every hundred years. In the text is *ṣad hazār*, a hundred thousand.

3 This is, apparently, differently stated in the *Āīn* (Jarrett III, 192), but perhaps the meaning of the *Āīn* (Text) is only that 24 demiurges appear in each *āra* and live for three or four *āras*.

4 The text has Mahādēō, but this is clearly a clerical error. (See *Āīn* II. 99, 1.4), where the spelling is given. The error is apparently repeated at II. 106, 1.3 fr. foot.

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OPINIONS OF THE BRĀHMA.

The Brāhma of India whose teachings and practices are observed by the majority of Indians, are agreed that the revolutions of the world consist of four Ages. The first, the period of which is 1,728,000 years, they call the *Sat Yug*. In this Age every single action of mankind is right, and high and low, rich and poor, great and small make truth and uprightness their rule, and show a walk and conversation pleasing to God. The natural life of man in this Age is 100,000 years.

The second Age is called *Trētā* and lasts 1,296,000 years. In it, three-fourths of mankind follow ways well-pleasing to God, and the natural duration of life is 10,000 years.

The third Age is called the *Dwāpar* and lasts 864,000 years. In it, one-half of mankind speak and act rightly, and the natural life is 1,000 years.

The fourth Age is the *Kal Yug*. Its period is 432,000[1] years. During it, three-fourths of mortals follow ways of falsehood and unrighteousness, and the natural life is [illegible] ascetic and sage[2] from

This sc[illegible]ncealment and non-existence to the palace of manifes- of ma[illegible]nd existence and makes him the instrument for the creation of the world. This mighty one is called Brahmā. Their belief is that a Brahmā lives 100 years, each consisting of 360 days[3] and every day[3]

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[1] Anquetil du Perron remarks (Tieffenthaler II. XXI), that the fourth Age has served to form the first three by adding successively 432,000.

[2] *Tajarrud-nihād ū danish-nizhād.*

[3] The word day is used here in two senses, first as the nycthemeron or day of 24 hours and then in its ordinary sense, as opposed to night. There seems to be an error in the Text هزار و *hazār ū*, "a thousand and" being a mistake for هزاروي *hazārwī*, a thousandfold. The meaning is "equal to a thousand of four Ages, *i.e.*, *Mahāyug*(s)." The "1,000 *Mahāyug*(s)" is apparently a statement in round numbers, the more exact figures being 980, for each Manu existed for 70 *kalpas* (71 according to another account) or *Mahāyug*(s) and as there are 14 successive Manus in a day of Brahmā, the length of it is 70×14 = 980. Firishta has copied A.F. (he acknowledges this, stating that he is epitomizing A.F.'s translation of the *Mahābhārat*), but he has gone to A.F.'s preface rather than to the *Akbarnāma*. See his Introduction

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52 and every night is equal to a thousand times four Ages (*Mahāyug.*) In their opinion, the number of Brahmās who have come into existence cannot be known by the human intellect, but they say that according to what has been received from authorities[1] on the subject of Brahmā, the present Brahmā is the thousand and first, and that fifty years and half[2] a day of the life of this wondrous being have elapsed at the present time.

The writer of this divine masterpiece has written the account of these two doctrines according to the translation of learned and pious Indians[3] from their venerated books. Also in the writings of Shaikh Ibn 'Arabī[4]

(Elliot-Dowson's trans. VI. 532 E. n. E.) A.F.'s preface to the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārat* is to be found in the B.M. Add. No. 5638. It was written in the 32nd Akbar and contains an account of the four [illegible] Ages corresponding to [illegible] that in the Text. (See l. c. 12*a*).

I find in the *Çāntiparvan*—(Twelfth Book of the *Mahābhārat*)—(II, 237, Pratab Chandra Rai's tran.) that the four *Yugs* (Ages) contain 12,000 years of the gods, *i.e.*, 432,000 ÷ 360; and that this period is called a *Dēvayug*. "A thousand such *Yugas* (*i.e.*, *Dēvayugas* or *Mahāyugas*) compose a single day of Brahmā. The same is the duration of Brahmā's night."

1 ثقات *ṡiqāt*, "trusty friends or confidants." For use of this word, see Text 121 l.12, A.F. probably means here Manu or the Manus. Firishta has copied the expression and Professor Dowson (Elliot VI. 563) translates, "I have heard from my Brāhman *friends*, etc."

2 It would seem from the *Āīn* (Jarrett II, 15) that the half day has not fully expired, for we are told that 14 Manus appear in each of Brahmā's days. When A.F. was writing, 50 years had elapsed, and consequently 360 × 14 = 5,040 Manus had appeared. But instead of 7 Manus of the first day of the 51st year's having appeared, *i.e.*, the number that appear in half a day, we are told that only 6 Manus had appeared and departed, and that only a portion of the time of the 7th, *viz.*, 27 *kalpas*, 3 *yugas* and 4,700 years of the 4th *Yug* had elapsed. If this be correct, the 7th Manu had then more than half his time to run, *viz.*, 43 *kalpas* out of his 70.

3 See Jarrett III, 210 where A.F. speaks of having got his information about the Jains from learned men of the *Çvētāmbara* order, and says that he could not get exact information about the tenets of the *Digambaras* (sky-clad.)

4 Apparently the writer referred to is Muḥyī'u-d-dīn Ibnu-l-'Arabī, author of the *Fuṣūṣu-l-ḥikam* (Hājī Khalfa IV. 424). *See* Rieu's Cat. II. 831*b*, item III. and 832*b*, Item XVII. and Ar. Cat. No. 233. He was also the author of the *Futūḥāt-i-makkīyah* (*see* Rieu II, 874*b*) and of a number of definitions appended to Jor-

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and Shaikh Sa'du-d-dīn[1] Ḥamūī who were great saints and masters of exposition and ecstacy, it is stated in the explanation of Divine (*Ilāhī*) days and of *Rabbānī*[2] days that each *Rabbānī* day is made up of 1,000 years and every Divine day of 50,000. And the author of *Nafā'isu-l-funūn*[3] has related that in the histories of Cathay, it

jānī in Flügel's ed. The latter gives the name as "Mohjied-dīn Mohammed b. Ali Hatimi Tajī vulgo Ibn Arabi dictus," and says he died in 638–1240. A.F. refers to Muḥyī'ū-d-dīn in the *Āīn* (II. 221 and Jarrett III. 373.) *See* also Badāonī, Lowe, 265.

[1] Apparently Sa'du-d-dīn Mu. B. al-Mu'ayyad Ḥamūī who died 650 H. (Rieu 755*a* and 1095*a*.) He is referred to in the *Āīn* (Jarrett III. 390), and there is a short notice of him in Prince Dārā Shikōh's *Sajīnatu-l-auliyā'* where it is stated that he died in Khurāsān 650 H. (1252 A.D.)

[2] ربانى *rabbānī*. Lane defines this as meaning one who devotes himself to religious services or exercises, or applies himself to excess of devotion. He does not give the meaning of "a period of time," but states that *rabbī*, the sing. of *rubūb*, means thousand, and that some say it means 10,000. Richardson gives *ribbī* as meaning thousands, a myriad. In the second Epistle of St. Peter ii. 8, we have the expression (as pointed out, I believe by Sale) "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day." *See* also Psalm xc. 4. In the preface to the *Mahābhārat*, A.F. refers to the views of Ibn 'Arabī and Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq.

[3] See Rieu II. 435*a* for an account of this work. It is an encyclopædia written by Mu. B. Maḥmūdu-l-āmulī. I have not in B. M. MS. No. 16827, been able to find the passage referred to by A. F., but the volume is thick and has no index. *See* Jarrett II. 19, where we aret old that 8,884 *wans* 60 years, have elapsed up to the date, of the *Āīn*. These figures seem inconsistent with those of the Text, and apparently both are wrong. D'Herbélot (art. *Van*.) states that the Mughals reckon that 874 H. corresponds to the 8863rd. *van* of 10,000 years each, and then adds that 874 H. corresponds to 1443 A.D. In the end, the figures will come out nearly as A.F.'s if we substitute a six for an eight in the *Āīn* figures, making them 8864 and insert an eight in our text so as to read 8863 instead of 863.

Here we are told that 863 *wans*, 9,800 years, had elapsed from the time of Adam to 735 H.=1334 A.D. Consequently, 1003 H., 1594 A.D. the 40th Akbar and the date of the *Āīn* would correspond with 864 *wans*, 60 years, for 1594—1334=260 years.

874 H. is 88,639,860 years from the Creation. 847 H.=1443 A.D., so that this calculation agrees pretty nearly with that quoted by A.F. for 1334 A.D., *viz.*, 8863 *wans* 9800 years, the difference being 109-60=49 years. Sédillot refers to a passage of

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is written that from the time of Adam Abū-l-bashar (Father of mankind) till now (*i.e.*, the date when the author of the *Nafā'is* was writing) which is 735 H., (1334 A.D.) 8863 *wans*[1] (Text, 863) 9,800 years have elapsed.

A *wan* with them is 10,000 years. Such is the wide expanse of God's kingdom that it is not improbable that these tales and traditions may be true. There may have been many Adams. Indeed it is stated by Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq, (Peace be on him !) that there have been thousands upon thousands of Adams before the Adam who was our father. And Shaikh Ibn 'Arabī says it is not improbable that after a Divine (*Rabbānī*) week, which is 7,000 years and the period of the cycle[2] of the sovereignty of the seven planets, one race is terminated and another Adam puts on the robe of existence.

And now, giving truce to length of words and littleness of matter, I proceed to sketch in this glorious record, without converting[3] it into extensive histories, the blissful biography of those fifty-two persons who extend[4] from Adam down to his Majesty, the king of kings, so that it may be a cause of increase of knowledge. As I know that this exposition of grandeur will be a complement to the account of his Majesty, the king of kings, I shall treat it with the concision which is the adornment of an author.

D'Herbélot which, he says, is derived from Greaves. Sédillot considers that the true figures are 8863 *wans*, 9860 years; or 9820 according to one MS. This last figure agrees best with A.F., for in the *Āīn* (Jarrett II. 19) he says that according to the *Khaṭāī* Era, 8884 *wans* 60 years have elapsed up to the date of his writing, *i.e.*, 40th Akbar=1596 A.D. 1596-1443 =158, and this does not differ materially from 9864 *wans* 60 years —8863 *wans* 9820 years = 140.

[1] The Text has *har* before *wan* which seems a mistake.

[2] There is probably some mistake here. The cycle of the planets was generally reckoned as much longer than 7,000 years. See amongst other places, Principles of Geology, Lyell, Cap. II. Quotation from Abraham Ecchellensis. Perhaps A. F. means that each *Rabbānī* day is 7,000 years long and that thus a *Rabbānī* week is 49,000 years. If so, the trs. should be "After a week of *Rabbānī* days."

[3] Perhaps "not being satisfied with big books." The Persian is *iktifa'* for use of which see Text 10, l.2 fr. foot. A.F. may mean that certain voluminous histories do not give the facts properly.

[4] A.F. tells us later that these 52 persons do not fill the gap between Adam and Akbar. There is no record of some 25 generations.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Account of Adam (Peace be upon him!)

It is well-known that he came into existence about 7,000[1] years ago through the perfect power of God, without the intervention of a father's loins or a mother's womb and that he was equably compounded of the four elements. His soul emanated from the fountain of bounty in perfection proportionate to his body. He was entitled man (*insān*) and received the name of Adam.

At that time the first degree of Capricorn[2] coincided with the eastern horizon, and Saturn was in that Sign, while Jupiter was in Pisces, Mars in Aries, the Moon in Leo, the Sun and Mercury in Virgo, and Venus in Libra. Some have said that at that time, all the planets were in their degrees of exaltation, but clearly this does not accord with astronomy for there is a difficulty about Mercury,— 53
the Sun's exaltation being in Aries and Mercury's in Virgo. But Mercury can never be more than 27° distant from the Sun, how then can he be in exaltation when the Sun is in exaltation, or how can the Sun be in exaltation when Mercury is so? And reflecting on the astrological principle that Mercury takes the nature of whatever planet he be associated with, it has occurred to me that Mercury may have been in the condition of *applying*[3] to some other planet which was in exaltation.

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[1] The Era of Adam is described in the *Āīn*. (Jarrett II, 2.) All the periods given there are under 7,000 years. The "7,000 years" of A.F.'s authorities are probably lunar and about 211 have to be deducted to convert them into solar. Many dates of the Creation, etc., are given in the *Ḥabību-s-siyar*.

[2] Capricorn is Saturn's nocturnal mansion; Pisces the nocturnal mansion of Jupiter, and Aries the diurnal house of Mars. There does not seem to be any special connection between the Moon and Leo but perhaps she is there as Vizier or deputy for the Sun, who is in Virgo, —the nocturnal house of Mercury,— but whose mansion is Leo. Libra is the diurnal house of Venus.

[3] *Ittiṣāl*. This is the technical meaning of the term but A.F. may only intend that Mercury was near some other planet.

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Adam was of lofty stature, of a wheaten colour, had curling hair and a handsome countenance. There are different accounts of the stature of this patriarch, but most agree that he was sixty cubits high. Almighty God produced Eve from his left side and gave her in marriage to him, and by her he begat children. Historians have told many strange and wondrous things about this hero and though there be no difficulty about the extent of God's power, yet experienced and practical men of the world, on looking to the course of nature, rather hesitate about accepting them. It is said that at the time of his death, he had 40,000 descendants, and that his immediate children were 41, *viz.*, 21 boys and 20[1] girls, but some say there were 19 girls. Seth was the most eminent of them all.

Some have said that Adam wrote about elixirs[2] (?) (*ta'fīnāt*) and

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[1] The Muḥammadan tradition is that Eve, at every parturition produced twins except at Seth's birth. He was born alone,—hence the numbers 21 males and 20 females. See account of Seth, *infra*.

[2] The Text and No. 564 have تعفينات *ta'fīnāt*. Ordinarily this seems to mean evil smells or putridities, but Steingass gives also the meaning tincture—"(تعفين *ta'fīn* v. n. 2 of عفن tincture)." If this be taken in the sense of elixirs or efficacious drugs, it may be that *ta'fīnāt* is right and it agrees with the statement in the *Ḥabību-s-siyar* that Adam's book dealt, among other subjects, with the properties of medicines. Yet A.F. would hardly class medicine among the occult sciences. In the sense of tincture, possibly *ta'fīnāt* has reference here to the tradition mentioned in the *Prolegomena* to the *Ẓafarnāma*, that when Adam was cast out of Paradise, he fell upon the mountains of Ceylon, and spent 100 years there in prayer and penitence. During this time, he wept so much that plants grew up out of the pools of his tears, and all of these were medicinal or aromatic like cloves, cinnamon, etc.

In B.M. No. MCCCVI, (p. 19) (Rieu, Ar. Cat. 601,602) which is the Ar. Text of Shahrazūrī's *Tārīkh-i-ḥukamā*, the word is not *ta'fīnāt* but apparently, *alba'qīnāt*, which does not seem to have any meaning. The passage is بعضى كتب فى البعقينات *ba'ẓī kutub fi-l-ba'qīnāt*. Perhaps the word should be اليقينيات *alyaqīnīyāt*, "certainties" such as articles of religion. In I.O. No. 1579, (Per. trs. of Shahrazūrī by one Maqṣūd 'Alī of Tabrīz) we find (16*a*) that unfortunately the *alba'qīnāt* or *alyaqīnīyāt* of Shahrazūrī's Text is represented by a word without diacritical marks. The passage is *ū dīdam man ba'ẓī az kutubhā-ī-ōrā dar* معفات *ẓāhir imām*. Taking the illegible word to be *ta'ṣībat* fr. *ta'ṣīb*, the appointing a man as chief and

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other occult sciences. For example the very learned Shahrazūrī[1] has so stated in his "Lives of Philosophers." It is said Adam died

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which with *ẓāhir*, may mean the external marks or indications of such a person, this may be rendered, "And I saw various books about the marks (or notes) of an *Imām*" (? *anām*, mankind.) Some countenance is given to this view by finding that Seth, a son of Adam, laid down 16 rules or marks of a true believer (*mu'min*) as if the father had laid down those of an *Imām* (apostle) and the son, those of a disciple.

Another suggestion which has occurred to me is that the word is البينات *al-bayyināt*, demonstrations," and which has also the technical sense of "cabalistic interpretations of the meanings of letters." This word occurs in Ḥājī Khalfa's account of the *Sifr-i-ādam* (Book of Adam) (Fluegel's ed. III. 599,600.) Here we are told that Adam's book was written on 21 olive leaves of Paradise and its gates (?) and dealt with the properties of letters, etc.

One more suggestion remains, *viz.*, that A.F.'s word is *taflīnāt*, *i.e.*, Heb. *tephillim*, "amulets or phylacteries." The variants in the notes to our Text do not seem of value, and MSS. which I have consulted, throw no light on the point. Evidently the word is used in an unusual sense and the copyists have been unable to understand it.

The *n* of *ta'fīnāt* does not, I think, occur in the MSS. I have consulted. In the beautiful MS. of Halhed (No. 5610, 31 1.3 fr. foot) the word appears to be تعفيات *ta'fiyāt*, "obliterations, amendments." In R.A.S. No. 116 it is clearly written تعقليات *ta'qliyāt*, and this might yield a good sense for *ta'qliyāt* (fr. *'aql*) seems to mean abstruse points in philosophy. (Lane 2114 *a* and *b*.) R.A.S. No. 117 has تعفيات *ta'fiyāt*.

[1] This is the Imām Shāmsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shahrazūrī referred to by Āmir Khwānd (Khondamīr) in his *Khalāṣatu-l-akhbār*. (Persian *Munshī*, Gladwin, 1801, Part II. 265,266.) The *Rauẓatu-ṣ-ṣafā* (Rehatsek II. Part I.) states that he was the author both of the *Tārīkh-i-ḥukamā* and the *Nazhatu-l-qulūb* (Hearts' Delight), but if so, the latter is apparently not the work described by Rieu (I. 418*a*.) Shamsu-d-dīn is also mentioned in B.M. Ar. Cat. 209, 601, 602. The book there described is anonymous and entitled *Nazhatu-l-arwāḥ ū Rauẓat-l-afrāḥ*, "Delights of Souls and Gardens of Joy, *Oblectamen Spirituum et Viridarium Gaudiorum*," but Dr. Rieu observes that it agrees almost entirely with the work of Shamsu-d-dīn ash-Shahrazūrī described by Ḥājī Khalfa (Fluegel VI. 321.) It is in two parts, the first, an account of ancient philosophers, the second, of those subsequent to Muḥammad, and it contains 108 Lives (that described by Ḥājī Khalfa had 111.) Apparently *Tārīkh-i-ḥukamā* is the secondary title. It seems to have been written at Baṣra in 995 (1587). Its author wrote a commentary on Shahrawardī, a philosopher who was

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in India and was buried on a mountain in Ceylon[1] (an island) which lies towards the south and which is now known by the name of *Qadamgāh-i-ādam* (Adam's footprint, *i.e.*, Adam's Peak.) He was ill 21 days and Eve died, according to one account, a year, according to another, seven years and according to a third, three days after him. Seth, his successor and administrator, buried her by Adam's side, and it is reported that Noah brought their coffin on board the Ark at the time of the Deluge, and afterwards buried them on *Abū qubais*.[2] According to another account, they were buried in Jerusalem, and according to a third tradition, in Najf-Kūfa.[3]

Seth—Peace be upon him

Was the most excellent of Adam's immediate descendants, and was born after the catastrophe of Abel. It is said that whenever Eve became pregnant, she gave birth to a son and a daughter, but that Seth was born alone. Iqlīmīyā,[4] the (twin) sister of Cain was

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put to death at Aleppo by Saladin in 587 (1191). (D'Herbélot *s.v.* Scheherverdi.) There is a Per. trs. (T.O. No. 1579) of the *Tārīkh-i-ḥukamā* by Maqṣūd 'Alī of Tabrīz, begun under the orders of Akbar and completed under Jahāngīr. The translator calls the author that pattern of writers Shamsu-l-mulka wa-d-dīn Maulānā Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shahrazūrī. A.F. seems to have made considerable use of the *Tārīkh-i-ḥukamā*; his account of the three Hermes in the notice of Enoch agrees closely with the Persian of Maqṣūd 'Alī.

Shahrazūr is a town in the hill-country of Persia and apparently near the battle-field of Arbela. (Jarrett III. 80,81.) A.F. gives Shahrazūr as the name of a district also. (Meynard's *Yāqūt*, 356.) The name is said to mean the city of Zūr,—the son of Ẓoḥāq a Persian king and founder of the town.

[1] A.F. includes Ceylon in India (Hindūstān.) The Arabs call the mountain on which Adam was buried, Rāhūn.

[2] Richardson spells Abū Kais, after D'Herbélot, and says it is 3 m. from Mecca. (D'H. *s.v.* Abu Cais Mecca.) Abū qubais is a mountain n. of Mecca. Abraham is said to have proclaimed from it, the institution of pilgrimage.

[3] Nedjif about 1½ m. (2 *kil.*) w. of Kūfa. (Réclus IX. 458) (Kūfah. Jarret III. 64.) Najf means high land and tumulus. A.F.'s account of Adam's burial-place is perhaps taken from the *Nafā'isu-l-funūn*, (B.M. No. 16,259*a* 827.)

[4] Much of A.F.'s account of the Patriarchs seems taken from the *Rauẓatu-ṣ-ṣafā* of Mīr Khwānd (Mīrkhond) and the *Ḥabību-s-siyar* of his grandson, Khwānd Amīr (Khondamīr) or from their sources. The *Rauẓatu-ṣ-ṣafā* has been translated

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given in marriage to him (Seth.) When Adam reached the age of a thousand, he made Seth his successor, and enjoined all to submit to him. In succession to Adam, he carried on, by his weighty intellect, the administration of the temporal and spiritual worlds. He always 54
conducted himself with outward composure and inward efficiency, and his were the only descendants who survived Noah's Flood. He is called the first *Uria*,[1] a word which in Syriac means teacher. He occupied himself with the medical,[2] mathematical and theological sciences, and spent most of his life in Syria. Many of his descendants abandoned secular affairs and practised asceticism in hermitages. He left the world when he was 912 years old. Some say that he was Adam's grandson and that his father was Sulha,[3] but this tale is without foundation.

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in part by Mr. Rehatsek, and his translation published by the Or. Trs. Fund. This work may advantageously be consulted in connection with A.F. See also Persian Ṭabarī, Zotenberg's trs.

The story of Iqlīmīyā is given in Ṭabarī, (Cap. XXX.) and in the *Rauẓatu-ṣ-ṣafā*. According to one tradition, Cain murdered Abel on her account, as he was not willing that she should marry Abel. Her name is variously written Iqlīmīyā, Iqlīmā (*Burhān-i-qāṭi'* s. v.) and by Bayle, Calmana. Iqlīmīyā means litharge, foam of silver. After Abel's death, Iqlīmīyā was married to Seth.

1 Muḥammadans spell this name like that of Bathsheba's husband, but there is no connection between the two persons. Uriah means "Light of Heaven." (Ox. "Helps to the Bible.") D'Herbelot, Art. Uriai says: "Les Arabes se servent de ce mot, qui est tiré du Chaldaïque et du Syriaque *Ouraïa* et *Ouroïo*, pour signifier un Maître ou Docteur de la première classe, tels qu'ont été, Edris, Khedher, Hermes, qui portent les titres de premier, sécond et troisième Maîtres ou Docteurs de l'Univers." Chwolsohn in his work on the Sabæans, gives the variants, *Arānī* and *Arāfī* and comes to the conclusion that the word is not Syriac but merely a corruption of *Orpheus*. See I, 782 and 800 where he says, "sammt und sonders corruptionen aus Orpheus." But may it not be connected with *Ūr*, *i.e.*, the Ūr of the Chaldees or with the *ūr* which means light? The form *Arānī* is given by Mas'ūdī (Book of Indication and Counsel, deSacy IX. 342 n.)

2 This is the Muḥammadan division of the sciences. (Blochmann 279 n.) It is derived from Aristotle.

3 The *Rauẓatu-ṣ-ṣafā* (Trs.) has *Ṣupha*, but is unlikely that Mr. Rehatsek spelt an Ar. word with a *p*.

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ENOSH.

Enosh was born when Seth was 600 years old. A number of writers say that his mother was an immaculately-born[1] one who, like Adam, was clothed with the garment of life without the instrumentality of father or mother. He succeeded his father in accordance with a testament, and was the first who in this cycle, laid the foundations of sovereignty.[2] They say he reigned 600 years. According to Jewish and Christian[3] traditions, he lived 965 years,—according to Ibn Jauzī,[4] 950,—and according to Qāẓī Baiẓāwī,[5] 600. He had many children.

KENAN.[6]

Kenan was the most enlightened, fortunate and sagacious of the sons of Enosh. After his father's death, this hero, in accordance with a testamentary disposition, swayed the affairs of mankind and walked in the ways of his illustrious ancestors. He erected the buildings of Babylon and founded the city of Sūs.[7] They ascribe to him the first establishment of houses and gardens.

The numbers of mankind greatly increased during his time. By his wisdom, he distributed them (over the earth), and himself

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1 The *Rauẓatu-ṣ-ṣafā* says his mother was a houri. (Rehatsek I. 67.)

2 *i.e.*, he was the first monarch. He is also said to have first planted palms.

3 According to Genesis, Enosh lived 905 years.

4 The Abū'l-farāj of the *Āīn*. (Jarrett 33.) His full name is Abū'l-farāj 'Abdu-l-raḥmān b. 'Alī Ibnu-l-jauzī'l-bakrī. He died 597 (1200). His work is called the *Muntaẓam*. (Rieu, Ar. Cat. No. 460.) Quatremère speaks of Ibn Jauzī as author of the *Mirātu-z-zamān*, but it appears that this was written by Ibn Jauzī's grandson, Abū'l-muẓaffar Yūsuf b. Kizughlī who died 654 (1256). (Rieu l. c. No. 465.)

5 Qāẓī Naṣīru-d-dīn 'Abdu-l-lāh b. 'Umaru-l-baiẓāwī. (Jarrett II. 36n. and Rieu II. 823*b*.) His work is called the *Niẓāmu-t-tawārikh*, and is a general history from Adam to 674 (1275). He is best known as a commentator on the Koran.

6 Text, *Qainān*.

7 A town in Khūzistān, anciently the capital of Persia;—the Susa of Herodotus and Shusan of Scripture. According to the Persians, it was founded by Hūshang, grandson of Kaiūmarṣ (Gayomars). Mīr Khwānd ascribes the building of it to Kenan's son, Mahalalil and says that before the latter's time, men lived in caves.

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settled with the descendants of Seth in Babylonia. He lived 926 years, but some say he drank the water of life, (*i.e.*, lived) 640 years, and one school says that he consoled the sorrows of the world, (*i.e.*, reigned) for about a century.

MAHALALIL.

Mahalalil was the best of Kenan's sons. Kenan placed him on the throne when he himself had attained the age of 900. He ruled 55
for 300 years. He lived either 928 or 840 or 895 years.

JARED (TEXT, *Īrad.*)

Jared was the most right-minded of the sons of Mahalalil and by his honoured father's orders, he administered the affairs of the world. He made canals and conduits, and attained the age of 962 or, according to some, of 967 years.

All these magnates of the household of fortune came into existence during Adam's lifetime.

ENOCH (TEXT, *Ikhnūkh.*)

Enoch is generally known as Idrīs, and was the distinguished son of Jared and born after Adam's death. Though the last-born of Jared's sons, he was, in wisdom and intelligence, older than all of them, and was before them all in felicity and understanding. He is the first lawgiver since the time of Seth. Some say that Idrīs was 100 years old at the time of Adam's death and some that he was 360 years. He was unrivalled in his knowledge of the science of government and the refinements of contrivance. Though some assign all sciences and arts to Adam, yet, according to most, astronomy, writing,[1] spinning, weaving and sewing were introduced by Enoch. He learned wisdom from Agathodæmon[2] of Egypt whom they call *Uria* the Second.

Among his lofty titles is that of Harmasu-l-harāmasa[3] (Hermes of Hermeses or Trismegistus) and he is also called the third *Uria*. He

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[1] Blochmann (99) mentions Idrīs as the inventor of the Hebrew alphabet.

[2] Text, *Aghāzīm* See Al-bīrūnī's India and Chwolsohn on the Sabæans. Seth is the first *Uria*.

[3] *Āīn* II. 49 l.4 fr. ft. Jarrett III. 109 n.

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attained high rank in theology and summoned[1] mankind to worship in seventy-two languages. He founded 100[2] cities, of which Madīna-i-roha[3] was the least. It was a city of Mesopotamia (Jazā'ir) though some place it in the Ḥijāz (Petrœa Arabia). It was inhabited up to the time of Hulākū Khān who, it is said, destroyed it for the sake of the honour of the country and the well-being of the people.[4]

He (Idrīs) instructed every tribe and every rank of mankind by a special procedure in accordance with their capacities. They say that he guided men to the reverence of the Great Light (the Sun) for most of them, before his time, were without his abounding wisdom and did not give thanks for that light of lights. He regarded it as the stock of visible and invisible fortune, and prescribed a great festival at the time of its passing[5] from one Sign to another which is a special time of glory, and above all when it enters Aries.

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[1] The phrase for "summoned" is *da'wat farmūd.* The *Tārīkh-i-ḥukamā* (Per. trs. 17*b*, foot) has *ū khalā'iq-i-rab'-maskūn bahaftād ū dū zabān da'wat numūd ū 'ilm ū adab āmōkht.* Mr. Rehatsek remarks that 72 is a common number in Muḥammadan theology, etc., and that David is spoken of as having 72 notes in his voice. Mas'ūdī says (Meynard, 78) that after the Deluge, the 72 languages were divided as follows:—Shem 19, Ham 17, Japhet 36; total 72.

[2] The *Tārīkh-i-ḥukamā* has 108. (17*b* foot.) Abū'l-farāj (Pococke) ed. 1663, p. 6 has 180.

[3] Text, *Zoha,* but there is a var. *Roha* which I adopt, for the city meant is probably Edessa, the Roha of the Arabs and the modern Orfa. It is in Asiatic Turkey, east of the Euphrates. (Réclus IX. 445 and Lectures on the Jewish Church, Stanley, 6.) If, however, A.F. means Edessa, there must be some mistake on his part, for Edessa was not, I believe, taken by Hulākū Khān and it certainly was not destroyed, for it still exists. See Quatremère's Rashīdu-d-dīn (334) for a note (128) on a Roha mentioned by Rashīdu-d-dīn as having been taken by Hulākū Khān. In the Persian it is spelt روح and Quatremère translates "Houlagou en personne se dirigea vers Rouhah dont il se rendit maître." The note says "J' ignore quelle est la ville que notre historien a voulu indiquer, et si le nom est correctement écrit." Possibly the town is Riha or Riah S.W. of Aleppo. (Réclus IX. 765 and 772 n.)

[4] A.F. here refers to the destruction of the Ismailians by Hulākū, the grandson of Cingīz Khān, in the middle of the 13th century. Cf. Gibbon's remark that the extirpation of the Assassins or Ismailians of Persia by Hulākū may be considered a service to mankind.

[5] Lit. alighting of glory and renovation of felicity,—*nuzūl-i-ijlāl ū taḥwīl-i-iqbāl.*

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And whenever the planets, who are fed from the bounteous table of 56
its rays, entered their own Houses or attained their *exaltation*, he regarded them as of special dignity, and gave thanks for the wonders of creation. Such seasons he looked upon as stations and manifestations of the favour of God, and he spent all his days in the service of holy spirits and pure forms.

He also built the pyramids of Egypt which are known as the Domes of Haramān (*Gumbaz-i-haramān*). And in those lofty buildings, all the arts and their tools have been depicted, so that if the knowledge of them be lost, it may be recovered. It is recorded that he deputed one of his nobles to lay the foundations of these pyramids whilst he himself traversed the entire world, eventually returning to Egypt.

Abū Ma'shar[1] of Balkh relates that there have been many Hermes but that three were preëminent;—(1). Harmasi-harāmasa (Hermes of Hermeses) or Idrīs whom the Persians call the grandson of Kayūmarṣ.[2] (2). Hermes of Babylon who built Babylon after the Deluge. Pythagoras was one of his disciples. By the exertions of this Hermes of Babylon, the sciences which had been lost in Noah's Flood were resuscitated. His home was in the city of the Chaldeans (Kaldānīn)[3] which is called the city of the philosophers (wise men) of the East (Madīna-i-filāsafa-i-mashriq). (3) The Hermes of Egypt who was the teacher of Esculapius (Asqlīnus).[4] He too excelled in all sciences, especially in medicine and chemistry and spent much time in travel.

The birth-place of Harmasu-l-harāmasa (Idrīs) was Manīf (Memphis) now known by the name of Manūf,[5] in the land of Egypt. Before the founding of Alexandria, it was called the city of philo-

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[1] (Jarrett II. 10. No. 43.) He was known in the Middle Ages as Albumaser. This passage closely resembles the *Tārīkh-i-ḥukamā* (166-ft. ff.)

[2] This is Hūshang. (Ṭabarī, Zotenburg, I. 100.)

[3] Mas'ūdī, de Saçy. Paris 1877, IX. 324 n. Their city was Kalwādha.

[4] The author of the Tārīkh-i-ḥukamā distinguishes between Esculapius, who he says is the son of Āmūr, and Asqlīnus.

[5] منوف Manūf, but the ū seems wrong; the *Ā'īn* gives Manf or Minf. (Jarrett III. 75.) It is the Noph of the Bible. The Text here agrees closely with the *Tārīkh-i-ḥukamā*.

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sophers, but when Alexander built that city,[1] he brought the philosophers of Memphis and other places to Alexandria.

Among the sayings of Enoch is this, "The three[2] most excellent things are truth when angry, bounty when poor and mercy when strong." Wonderful stories are told in histories about his departure from this world, which wise men hesitate about accepting. One tradition is that he was then 865, another that he was 405 and a third that he was 365.

Methusalah.

Methusalah was the son of Enoch. He had many children, so that it is difficult to enumerate them. After his father, he was the head of his tribe and called men to Divine worship. When he was 900, he had a son whom he called Lamech. After that he lived 290 years.

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Lamech.

Lamech was the unique of his time for lofty character and exalted virtue. After his father, he became firmly seated on the throne. The period of his life was 780 years. And some call him Lamkān, Lāmak, and Lāmakh.

Noah (Nūḥ).

Noah, the son of Lamech, was born under the Sign of Leo, 126 years after Adam's death. He was strong in the ways of religion and firmly based on the foundation of justice. The story of his calling[3] mankind to the worship of God, the disobedience of his people and the event of the Flood, etc., are well-known.

Historians have mentioned three floods. First, a flood which

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[1] The *Āīn* gives this name to Athens. (Jarrett III. 78.)

[2] This passage occurs in the *Tārīkh-i-ḥukamā.* (Mīr Khwānd, Rehatsek I. 72.) The first of these three things receives explanation from another remark of Enoch (Mīr Khwānd, Rehatsek, II. Part I.) to the effect that a man should beware of uttering in the time of anger, words which will be a cause of disgrace to him. It may be noted here that Mīr Khwānd's account of some of the patriarchs is to be found in two places,—at the beginning of his work and again among the biographies of the philosophers.

[3] Koran, Sura 71. Noah is said to have invented the *nāqūs* ناقوس = wooden gong.

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occurred before our Adam came into existence. Thus[1] the very learned Shahrazūrī says, "Adam belongs to the first cycle which commenced after the world had been devastated by the first flood." The second flood was in the time of Noah and began at Kūfa, in the oven[2] of Noah's house. It lasted six months, and there were eighty persons in the Ark (*kishtī*). On this account the place where they disembarked and settled was called the Eighty-Market[3] (*Sūqu-ṣ-ṣamānīn*). The third[4] flood was in the time of Moses and was confined to the Egyptians. Although romancing historians,[5] in treating of the floods, make the last two also extend over the whole world, it is evident that this was not so, for in India,[6] where they have books many thousand years old, there is not even a trace of these two floods. To be brief, in a short space of time, all the eighty occupants of the Ark died except seven, *viz.*, Noah, his three sons, Japheth, Shem and Ham, and their wives. Noah assigned Syria, Mesopotamia, 'Irāq and Khurāsān to Shem; the western countries, and Abyssinia, Indian, Scinde and the Sūdān[7]

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[1] This passage occurs in the *Tārīkhi-ḥukamā* (Maqṣūd 'Alī).

[2] This is the Muḥammadan tradition. (Ṭabarī, Zotenberg, I, 108 and Koran, Sale, Cap. XI). "And "the oven poured forth water, or, "as the original literally signifies, "boiled over, which is consonant to "what the Rabbins say, that the "water was boiling hot." (*Rauẓatu-ṣ-ṣafā*, Rehatsek I, 90).

[3] Ar. *Sūqu-ṣ-ṣamānīn*. It was at the foot of the mountain Al Jūdi, *i.e.*, Mount Ararat. (D'Herbelot art. *Thamanin*). D'H. states that it is called also Jazīra Banī 'Umar (in Mesopotamia). Mas'ūdī says (Meynard, 74) that Al-Jūdi is in the country of Baṣra and in Jazīra ibn 'Umar, that the eighty persons were 40 men and 40 women and that Ṣamānīn existed in his day, 332 H.

[4] Referring apparently to the hailstorm—the seventh plague of Egypt, or perhaps to the overflowing of the Red Sea.

[5] Shahrazūrī describes Noah's Deluge as universal (17*b*).

[6] It is curious that A.F. should assert there was no trace of Noah's Flood in the Indian annals for Satyavrata and his Flood have often been identified with Noah and the Deluge. Probably A.F. identified Satyavrata's Flood with that which occurred before the birth of Adam, for Satyavrata belongs to the beginning of the *Satya Yuga* and apparently A. F. assigned Noah's Flood to the commencement of the *Kali Yuga* and the beginning of the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira, for he gives 4696 years as the interval between these events and the 40th Akbar. (Jarrett II-15 and 22).

[7] Or, "country of the blacks." (Jarrett III, 108 and 109. Apparently A. F. includes the Arabs among the descendants of Ham.

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to Ham; and China, Sclavonia[1] and Turkistān to Japheth. And in the opinion of historians, the aboriginal inhabitants of those countries at the present day, are descended from these three, and the lineage of mankind from the days of the Flood is derived from them. Noah died when he was either 1600 or 1300 years old. There are other stories too about his age, such as that he lived for 250 or 350 years after the Flood and that he was born either 126 years after Adam's death or in Adam's last days, and that he sat upon the throne of
58 guidance, (*i.e.*, became a prophet) when he was 50, or 150, or 250, or 350 years old, and that he was a guide to mortals for 950 years.

Ham[2] had nine sons, *viz.*, Hind, Sind, Ẕanj (Zanzibar), Nūba, Canaan, Kush, Qabṭ (copt),[3] Berber, Ḥabsh (Abyssinia), and some have written that Ham had six sons. They omit Sind and Canaan and make Nūba the son of Ḥabsh.

Shem also had nine sons, *viz.*, (1) Arfakhshad,[4] (2) Kayūmarṣ who is the progenitor of the kings of Persia, (3) Asūd[5] who founded Madā'in[6] (the twin-cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon), etc., Ahwāz[7] and Pahlū (? Peleg) are his sons and Fārs is the son of Pahlū, (4) Īghan[8] the father of Shām (Syria) and Rūm (Asia Minor), (5) Būraj,[9] of whom historians tell nothing except the name, (6) Lāüz (? Lud) from whom the Pharoahs of Egypt are descended, (7) Elam who built the cities of Khuzistān; Khurāsān and Tambāl[10] are his sons,

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1 صقلاب *Ṣaqlāb*,—the original Sclavonia, between the Oxus and the Dnieper, (Jarrett III, 104.) In the *Āīn* (Text) Ṣaqlāb is described as a city of Rūm which must be a mistake for Rūs. It seems that Ṣaqlāb and Chalybes are the same word.

2 Jarrett III, 327. There A.F. apparently repudiates the idea that the Hindus are descended from Ham.

3 Corresponds to Mizraim of the Bible.

4 Arpachshad of Genesis 10, 22.

5 Ashur.

6 *Āīn*, Madā'in of Chosroes. (Jarrett III, 65 and 96. Also III, 326.)

7 Ahwāz, a town in Khūzistān (Persia) on the Karun, (Jarrett III, 65) famous for its weir. (Réclus IX, 287 and Curzon Pro. G. S. 1890.)

8 Var. Īfan and Īqīn and (*Ḥabību-s-siyar*) Īqan. Probably the last is correct for the name seems connected with Iconium (Koniah) and to be that of the eponymous hero of the city.

9 So too *Ḥabību-s-siyar* but it calls him Nūraj.

10 Tubal. Miles calls him Hakyal. Perhaps the same as Tūmbel. (Jarrett II, 245 and 250.) Tambol appears as a person's name in the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* and Bābar's Me-

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and 'Irāq is the son of Khurāsān, and Kirmān (Carmania) and Makrān[1] are sons of Tambāl, (8) Aram from whom the tribe of 'Ād is descended, (9) Būzar whose sons are Āzarbaijān, Arān, Arman and Farghān.

Some say that Shem too had only six sons and omit Kayūmarṣ, Būraj and Lāüz. In short, there is much discrepancy about the descendants of those two (Shem and Ham).

JAPHETH. (YĀFIṢ.)

Japheth was the most just of Noah's sons. The lofty line of his Majesty, the king of kings, is linked with him, and the Khāns of the eastern cities and of Turkistān all derive from him. He is called the Father of Turk (*Abū-l-turk*), and some historians call him Alūnja Khān. When Japheth left Sūqu-ṣ-ṣamānīn with his wife and family, to go to the eastern and northern countries which had been assigned to him, he begged his father to teach him a prayer by which he might have rain whenever he wanted it. Noah gave him a stone which had the property of bringing rain, and indicated that he had pronounced over it the Ineffable Name[2] (*lit.* Great Name) with the design that the foolish should not comprehend the matter and transgress his precepts, or perhaps he really recited the Ineffable Name over it. And at present there are many of these stones among the Turks which they call *yedatāsh*. The Persians call them *sang-i-yada*[3] and the Arabs *ḥajaru-l-maṭar*, (rain-stone). And Japheth, on

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moirs. *Tembal-khāna* was also a name for Farghāna, Bābar, 196.

[1] D'Herbelot art. Macran. Mekrān here appears to be the well-known maritime province of Baluchistan.

[2] The passage is obscure and perhaps there is an error in the Text. Maulavī 'Abdu-l-ḥaqq 'Abīd, to whom I referred the passage, writes: "The meaning is not clear. There may be some misprint in the Text. As the passage stands, it may be translated, 'I have uttered over it the Great Name, in order that the simple, not getting clue to it, may not depart from his (your) command (or counsel), or he actually uttered the Great Name over it." The usual account is that Noah engraved the Great Name on the stone, and possibly we should read كند "engraved," for خواند "uttered," in the last clause. A friend has referred me to the passage in Revelations II, 17, "I will give him a white stone, and upon the stone a new name written, which no one knoweth saving he that receiveth it."

[3] Bābar, Erskine xlvii. Rashīdu-d-dīn, Quatremère's elaborate note, 428, and Vullers II, 334*a*.

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going to those regions, became a dweller in deserts, and whenever he wished, the cloud of God's bounty, came down in rain through the virtue of that stone. In course of time, children were born to Japheth and he established excellent laws among them, which were at once comforting to the short-thoughted and joy-increasing to lofty minds. He left eleven sons, *viz.*, 1, Turk, 2, Cīn, 3, Ṣaqlāb, 4, Mansaj,[1] also called Mansak, 5, Kamārī,[2] also called Kaimāl,
59 6, Khalaj, 7, Khazan, 8, Rūs, 9, Sadsān, 10, Ghaz,[3] 11, Yāraj.[4] Some books mention only eight sons, omitting Khalaj, Sadsān and Ghaz.

Turk.

Turk was the eldest son of Japheth, and the Turks call him Yāfiṣ Ōghlān.[5] He excelled all his brothers in wisdom, management and care for his subjects. On his father's death, he sat upon the throne of sovereignty and dispensed gentleness, manliness and relief of the oppressed. He settled in a place which the Turks call Sīl-ūk[6] or Salīkāī and which had hot and cold springs and delightful meadows. He made dwellings of grass and wood and constructed tents, and made clothes by sewing together the skins (and furs) of beasts of burden and of prey. Salt[7] was discovered in his time. One of his laws was that the son should inherit naught but a sword and that whatever was wanted should go to the daughter. They say he was contemporary with Kayūmarṣ, and that as the latter was the first king of Persia, so Turk was the first sultan of Turkistān. He lived to the age of 240.

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1 The reputed father of Gog and Magog and, apparently, the Scriptural Mishesh.

2 Gomer of Genesis. Probably the Text *k* is the MS *g*.

3 Guz in Vullers II, 609*a*. Gozz in Mas'ūdī I, 212. The supposed ancestor of the Turkomāns.

4 D'Herbelot calls him Taraga and the ninth son, Isan.

5 A note to Text states that Ōghlān means son in Turkish.

6 ? Issigh-kul. Text, *Sīlūl*. Perhaps the river Selenga, but the description better applies to the lake of Issik-kul (Hot Water) which is said to be ten times the size of Lake Geneva. Réclus VI, 350. It lies N. of Yarkand. Its waters do not freeze. The *Shajaratu-l-atrāk* calls it Jaeelgan. (Miles 25).

7 The discovery is said to have been made accidentally by his son Tūnag or Tūtak.

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ALINJA KHĀN.[1]

Alinja Khān was the best of Turk's sons. When the measure of Turk's years was fulfilled, Alinja Khān was placed on the throne by the will of the chiefs. He made far-sighted wisdom his rule, and spent his days in the administration of justice. When he became old, he went into retirement (*i.e.*, became a hermit).

DĪB BĀQŪĪ.[2]

Dīb Bāqūī became king on his father's retirement and in accordance with his appointment.

KĪYŪK KHĀN.

Kīyūk was the worthy son of Dīb Bāqūi. When the father bade adieu to the world, he made over the throne of the Khānate to Kiyūk who, knowing the duties of sove eignty, acted up to them.

ALINJA KHĀN.

Alinja Khān was the son of Kīyūk and became heir-apparent in the end of his father's days. He was extravagant in his liberalities, and in his reign the Turks became intoxicated[3] by the world and strayed from the path of wisdom. After a long time, twin-sons were 60
born to him. One was named Mughul and the other Tātār. When they came to years of discretion, he divided his kingdom into two portions and gave one half to Mughul and one half to Tātār. When their illustrious father died, each of the two sons reigned in his own territory, in harmony with one other.

As this lofty line (Akbar's) has no connection with Tātār and his eightfold[4] branches (*i.e.*, generations) I pass them over and proceed to relate the history of Mughul and his noble descendants.

MUGHUL KHĀN.

Mughul Khān was a wise prince. He so conducted himself that the hearts of his subjects were attached and obedient to him and

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[1] *Shajratu-l-atrāk*, Abluchi Khān.

[2] D'Herbélot, "Great Dignity."

[3] This refers to their becoming idolaters. (Khāfī Khān I, 3).

[4] *I.e.*, eight in all, Tātār being one. (*Shajratu-l-atrāk*, Miles 29). According to D'Herbélot (Art. Tatar) Alinja Khān, the father, is required to make up the eight.

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all tried to serve him properly. The generations of the Mughuls are nine in number, beginning with Mughul Khān and ending with Īl[1] Khān. The Mughuls have taken the usage of *Tuqūz*[2] (nine) from this, and they consider this number most excellent in all matters. The Creator bestowed on Mughul Khān four sons, Qarā Khān, Āzar Khān, Kar Khān and Ūz Khān.

Qarā Khān.[3]

Qarā Khān was both the eldest son and preëminent in justice and the art of government. He sate upon the throne in succession to his illustrious father and made his summer (*ailāq*) and winter (*qishlāq*) quarters in Qarāqūm[4] near two mountains called Irtāq[5] and Kirtāq.

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[1] Vullers 48*Ib.* The generations are said to end with Īl Khān because, in his time, the Mughul race was all but extirpated. If the statement of the Turks, mentioned below, that this catastrophe occurred 1000 years after Aghūz's death, be correct, it is evident that far more than nine generations must have intervened between Mughul and Īl Khān.

[2] Steingass *s.v.* "Nine, hence present, gift, such being offered to kings, *etc.*, by nines, as a sacred number."

[3] *I.e.*, the Black Prince. A.F. omits to mention that he was put to death by his own son, Aghūz. (Khāfī Khān I, 5.)

[4] *I.e.*, black sand or dust. The Text wrongly has قرا قرم *Qarāqaram.* The *Āīn* mentions the place as belonging to the Sixth Climate. (Jarrett III, 102). The *Āīn* (Text II, 46), describes it as a mountain in Turkistān (not Kohistān as Jarrett has it) and the editor says (l.c.n.) that many MSS. read قرا قوم *Qarāqūm.* This is the correct reading. (Vullers *s.v.* II, 717b, and D'Herbélot art: Caracum.) In Gladwin's *Āīn* the lat. and long. of Qarāqūm and of Khānbālīgh which immediately follows, are given; the long. for Qarāqūm being 115° and for Khānbālīgh 124°.

N.B. Khānbālīgh is described in Text as the capital of Cathay, not of China.

[5] Erdmann, اورتاق و گزتاق Urtāq and Gaztāq. D'Herbélot calls them Artak and Ghertak, and says they are part of Mount Imaus (Paradise Lost III, 431), and that the city of Caracum lies between them, Artak being N. and Ghertak S. He gives the long. as 116° which agrees very well with Gladwin. Of course both longs. are calculated from the Fortunate Isles. Greenwich long. is between 72° and 80.° The lat. of the Karakoram Pass (Imperial Gazeteer, Hunter), is 35° 33″ or about 11° less than that given in the *Āīn.* (46 N.). This would imply that Qarāqūm and Qarāqaram are totally different names and places,

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AGHŪZ[1] KHĀN.

Aghūz Khān was the worthy son of Qarā Khān, and was born of his chief wife during the time of his rule. Romancing story-tellers relate things about his naming himself and about his progress in the path of piety, which a just-judging intellect is not disposed to credit. He was admittedly an enlightened, pious and just ruler and framed excellent institutions[2] and laws whereby the varied world was composed and the contrarieties of the Age conciliated. Among Turki kings, he was like Jamshīd among the kings of Persia. By his ripe wisdom, lofty genius, felicity and native courage, he brought under his sway the countries of Īrān (Persia) Tūrān,[3] Rūm[4] (Asia Minor), Egypt, Syria, Europe (Afranj),[5] and other lands. Many nations came within the shadow of his benevolence, and he established titles among the Turks suitable to their ranks and which

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but on the other hand, D'Herbélot gives the lat. of Caracum as 36° 36″. There is an account of the city of Karacum (Caracorum) in Gibbon who (Cap. 64) makes it about 600 m. N.W. Pekin. It was also called Holin.

[1] Text, Aghūr. For account of him see Khāfī Khān I, 4 and 5, D'Herbélot *s.v.* Ogouz Khān, *Shajratu-l-atrāk* (Miles) 30. The story is that Aghūz refused immediately after birth to take the breast, and that his mother had a dream in which he told her that he would not permit her to suckle him until she became a believer in Islām. Accordingly she secretly embraced that faith. Also, when he was a twelve-month old, he told the conclavè assembled to decide upon his name, that it was Aghuz (Khāfī Khān l.c.). These things occurred long before the birth of Muḥammad, but the latter was only the Seal (last) of the Prophets, and the religion of Islām is considered to have existed from all time. Hence the Mu. formula of "Peace be upon him" is applied to Adam and others of the patriarchs.

[2] یاسا *yāsā*. Text, *bāyistahāī* which is an error. The best known *yāsā* are those of Cingiz Khān. (Miles l. c. 90 and Gibbon and D'Herbélot art. Jassa).

[3] Turkistān or Transoxiana. It is said to have been named after Tūr, the son of Farīdūn (D'H. art. Mogal), but if so, A.F.'s use of it here is an anachronism, for he describes Tūr as nearly exterminating the Mughuls about a thousand years after Aghūz Khān's death.

[4] This may mean the whole Greek Empire or only Asia Minor (Roumelia).

[5] Afranj is properly the name of a people, *viz.*, the Franks. *Rauzatu-ṣ-ṣafā*, V, gives a similar list.

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are on men's tongues to the present day, such as Aīghūr,[1] Qanighlī, Qibcāq, (Kipcāk), Qārligh, Khalaj, etc. He had six sons, *viz.*, Kūn (sun), Āī (moon), Yūlduz (star), Kōk (or Gōk) (sky), Tāgh (mountain), and Tangīz (sea). The three elders were called Buzmaq[2] and the
61 three others *Ujūk*. His sons and sons' sons became 24 branches, and all the Turks are descended from these magnates. The term Turkomān did not exist in old times, but when their posterity came to Persia (Īrān) and propagated there, their features came to resemble the Tājīks. But as they were not Tājīks, the latter called them Turkomāns, *i.e.*, Turk-like. But some say that the Turkomāns are a distinct tribe and not related to the Turks. It is said that after Aghūz Khān had conquered the world, he returned to his own settlement (*yūrat*), and seating himself on the throne of dominion, held a Khusrū-like feast and conferred royal gifts on each of his fortunate sons, faithful officers and other servant , and promulgated lofty ordinances and excellent canons as guides for the perpetuation of prosperity. He laid it down that the right wing, which Turkomāns call *Burānghār*, and the succession should appertain to the eldest son and his descendants, and the left wing, *i.e.*, the *Jarānghār* and the executive (*wakālat*) to the younger sons. And he decreed that this law should always be observed, generation after generation;—hence at the present day, one half of the twenty-four branches is associated with the right wing and one half with the left. He ruled for 72 or 73 years and then bade adieu to the world.

Kun Khān.

Kun Khān took his father's place, in accordance with his testament and acted in administration and government by his own acute

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1 The meanings of this and following terms are given by Mīr Khwānd and Miles. Erdmann, the authority often quoted by Howorth, writes قارلوک *qārlūk*, and says it means snow-lord. Qipcāk is said to mean a hollow tree.

2 Said to mean "Broken" and "Three arrows." The legend of origin is given by Miles. Text, Bājuq for Ujūq. *Uq* is an arrow, and *uc* means three. The etymologies are also given in Abū-l-ghāzī Des Maison 24. The name *Buzmaq or* "Broken" was given to the three elder sons because they brought in three pieces of a golden bow. The three younger brought in three golden arrows.

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understanding, and[1] the sage counsels of Qabal[2] Khwāja who had been Vizier to Aghūz Khān. He so arranged about his brothers, his children and his nephews—who were 24 in number, for each of the six brothers had four sons—that each recognized his position and assisted in the management of the State. Having reigned for 70 years, he appointed Āī Khān his successor and departed.

Āī[3] Khān.

Āī Khān observed the laws of his illustrious father, adorned justice with amicability, and combined wisdom with good actions.

Yuldūz Khān.

Yuldūz Khān was the eldest[4] son and successor of Āī Khān. He attained high rank in world-sway and in the dispensing justice.

Mangalī Khān (Michael).[5]

Mangalī Khān was the beloved son of Yuldūz Khān and sate 62
upon the throne in succession to him. He was distinguished for devotion to God, and for praising the pious.

Tangīz Khān.

Tangīz Khān conducted the affairs of sovereignty after his honoured father's death and wore the crown of dominion in Mughulistān for 110 years.

Īl Khān.

Īl Khān was his noble son. When the father became old and weak, he gave Īl Khān the management of affairs, and alleging the number of his years as an excuse, went into solitary retirement.

Qiyān.[6]

Qiyān was the son of Īl Khān and, by the mysterious ordinances of Divine wisdom, he became a resting-place (*maurid*) of adversities.

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1 The conjunction *ū* has dropped out of the Text, but occurs in the Lucknow ed. and in No. 564.

2 Text, *Irqīl*, but admittedly this is against all the MSS.

3 Apparently he is Kun's brother, and the "illustrious father" must be Aghūz.

4 According to another account, he was Āī Khān's brother.

5 *Mangala* may also mean sun, or the forehead, (Tar. Rash 7n.)

6 Though this name is the heading of the Text, the narrative is in part that of Īl Khān's reign.

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When the God of wisdom desires to bring a jewel of humanity to perfection, He first manifests sundry[1] favours under the cover of disfavours of misfortune, and grants him the robe of existence after having made some great and pure-hearted ones his ransom and sacrifice (*fidā*). There is an instance of this in the story of Īl Khān who, after the turn of sovereignty came to him, was passing his life according to a code which provided for the control of the outer world and the contemplation of the world of reality, and was binding up the hearts of the distressed, until that Tūr, the son of Farīdūn, obtained sway over Turkistān, and Transoxiana (*Mā-wārāu n-nahr*) and in conjunction with Sunij Khān, the king of the Tātārs and Aighūrs, made a great war upon Īl Khān. The Mughul army, under the excellent dispositions of Īl Khān, made a desperate struggle, and many of the Turks, Tātārs and Aighūrs were slain. In the combat, Tūr and the Tātārs were unable to resist and fled. They took refuge in stratagems and vulpine tricks and dispersed. After going a little way, they hid in a defile, and then at the end of the night, suddenly made an onslaught on Īl Khān's army. Such a massacre took place that of Īl Khān's men not one escaped except his son Qiyān, his cousin Takūz[2] and their two wives[3] who had hidden themselves among the slain. At night, these four withdrew to the mountains and with many troubles and difficulties, traversed the valleys and ravines, and came to a meadow which had salubrious springs and fruits in abundance. In their helpless state, they regarded this pleasant spot as a godsend and settled in it. The Turks call it Irganaqūn and say that the terrible calamity happened 1000 years after the death of Aghūz Khān.

The sage knows that in this wondrous destiny there lay the
63 plan for the production of that all-jewel, his Majesty, the king of kings, so that the status of sacrifice might be attained and also that the ascents of banishment, seclusion, and hardship might, in this strange fashion, be brought together to the end that the unique pearl,

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[1] There is perhaps a play on the words *mirād* and *muṛād;* the first meaning a precious stone possessed of wondrous qualities, the second success.

[2] Probably Naqūz is more correct.

[3] The Text does not distinctly say that the women were wives, the word used being *ḥaram.* One account says sisters.

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his Majesty, the king of kings,—who is the final cause of the creation of the glorious series (*ṭabaqa*) and also the material for this record of Divine praise,—might become the aggregate of all the stages of existence and be acquainted with the grades of humanity, which might thus arise,—and should achieve spiritual and temporal success, and that in this way there be no defective round (*girdī*) on the periphery of his holiness.

In fine, after Qiyān and his companions had settled in that place, they begat children and grew into tribes. Those who sprang from Qiyān were called Qiyāt and those who descended from Takūz were called Darlgīn. No account is forthcoming of the descendants of Qiyān while they were in Irganaqūn—a period of about 2,000 years. Presumably in that place and age reading and writing were not practised. After the lapse of about 2000 years and in the last period of Nūshīrwān's[1] reign, the Qiyāt and Darlgīn desired to leave the place, as it was not large enough for them. A mountain which was a mine of iron barred their way at the beginning. Able minds devised deer-skin bellows (*gawazn*, perhaps elk) and with these they melted that iron mountain and made a way. Then they rescued their country from the hands of the Tātārs and others, by the sword, and contriving vigour, and became firmly seated on the throne of success and world-rule. From the circumstance that in four[2] thousand years previous to this event, (*i.e.*, the emigration from Irganaqūn) there

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[1] Nūshīrwān, a king of Persia, celebrated for his justice, reigned 531-579 A.D. Muḥammad congratulated himself on having been born (578 A.D.) in his reign.

[2] I do not understand the principle of this calculation. Yuldūz Khān, under whom the Mughuls emigrated from Irganaqūn, is the 29th ancestor, reckoning from Adam, and the total of 28 must be made up of 25 who lived previous to the flight to Irganaqūn *plus* three, *viz.*, Qiyān, Tīmūr Tāsh and Mangalī, who are the only three denizens of that settlement whose names have been preserved. The period after the exodus (cir. 579 A.D.) up to the date of A.F.'s writing, was about 1,000 years, and in it there were 25 rulers including Akbar. But how do calculators reckon, upon these data, that the number of ancestors who lived in Irganaqūn for 2,000 years, was 25? One would rather expect the figure 50. But perhaps the calculation is based on lives twice as long as later ones. (Gibbon Cap. 42n.) Apparently it is roughly based on a progressive diminution of the period of human life. A.F. reckons that 7,000 years more or less,

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were twenty-eight lofty ancestors and twenty-five in the millenium after it, sagacious calculators conjecture that during these two thousand years (spent in Irganaqūn) there were twenty-five ancestors.

Be[1] it remembered that Mughulistān is to the eastward and far from civilization. Its circuit is seven or eight months' journey. On the east, its boundary extends to Cathay (Khiṭā) and on the west, to the country of the Aighūrs; on the north, it touches Qargaz and Salīkā (? Kirghiz and Selenga) and on the south, it adjoins Tibet. The food of its people is the produce of hunting and fishing and their clothing the skins and fur of wild and tame animals.

TĪMŪR TĀSH.

Tīmūr Tāsh is of the auspicious stock of Qiyān. He was exalted by sovereignty and command.

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elapsed from the birth of Adam to 40th Akbar (1596). From Adam to the death of Īl Khān, 4,000 years are counted, and in this period, were 25 generations. (A.F. speaks of 28, but this is inclusive of Īl Khān's son, Qiyān and Tīmūr Tāsh and Mangalī Khwāja, *viz.*, the grandfather and father of the Yuldūz who came out from Irgānaqūn). In the thousand years between the emigration and 40th Akbar, there were also 25 generations, and so, apparently, it was calculated that for the intervening 2,000 years (required to make up the 7,000) there must have been 25 generations. In other words, there were 4,000 years in which the length of a generation was 160 years, 2,000 in which it was 80 and 1,000 in which it was 40. I do not, however, know what authority A.F. had for his 2,000 years. "The tradition of the Mughuls," says Gibbon (Cap. 42n.) "of "the 450 years which they passed in "the mountains, agrees with the "Chinese periods of the History of "the Huns and Turks." (De Guignes "Tom. I, Par. II, 376), and of the 20 "generations from their restora-"tion to Gingis." (Cingīz Khān). Howorth (I, 35) puts the period at 400 years. Rashīdu-d-dīn mentions a period of 2,000 years, but this is the interval from the destruction of Īl Khān and the Mughuls by the Tātārs up to the date of Rashīdu-d-din's writing, consequently the former event occurred about 700 B.C. D'Ohsson says (I, Cap. II, 21) that according to Mughul traditions, their defeat by the Tātārs occurred 2,000 years before the birth of Cingīz Khān. (Jan. 1155 A.D.) D'Herbélot (art. Genghiz Khān) says that the Mughuls remained in Irganaqūn for several generations, and that the period was over 1,000 years. None of these statements supports A.F.'s chronology. Possibly he wrote one and not two thousand.

[1] This description is taken from *Ẓafarnāma, Prolegomena.*

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MANGALĪ KHWĀJA.

Mangalī Khwāja is the worthy son of Tīmūr Tāsh. He exalted the crown of dominion and auspiciousness and possessed the dīvān of power and justice.

YULDŪZ KHĀN.

Yuldūz Khān was the high-thoughted successor of Mangalī Khwāja who at the coming out of the Qiyāt and Darlgīn was the 64
chief and leader. From the time of Qiyān, his (Qiyān's) descendants had reigned generation after generation in Irganaqūn. Yuldūz Khān, by the help of the fortunate star of his dominion, gradually emerged from the horizon and civilized the tribes of the Mughuls. He was powerful and magnanimous and among the Mughul families, he is counted of good blood and fashion who can trace his origin up to Yuldūz Khān.

JŪĪNA[1] BAHĀDUR.

Jūīna Bahādur was the worthy son of Yūldūz Khān and when the cup of his father's years was full, sate on the throne of world-government.

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[1] Also spelled Jūbīna and Cūbīna. For further information regarding the Muḥammadan accounts of the descendants of Japheth, I beg to refer the reader to the full and interesting note of Major Raverty which begins at p. 869 of his translation of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-nāṣirī*.

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CHAPTER XV.

Her Majesty Ālanquwā, the cupola of chastity and veil of purity.

Whatever, God, the wondrous Creator, brings forth from the hidden places of secrecy to the light of manifestation, is attended by extraordinary circumstances. But the sons of men fail to perceive these, from the heedlessness which has its props and foundation in fulness of life and the wrappage of worldliness. Were it not so, man would be ever standing at gaze and not applying himself to action. Hence the world-adorning Initiator hides most of the wonders of His power from the sight of mortals, but lest they should be entirely shut out from the extraordinary spectacle of the Divine decrees, He raises this veil from before a few of the holy hiding places of His secrets. And again, after much seeing, a heedlessness which fate has made a constituent of their natures, causes this very sight to become a screen against perception. And again[1] after that, the universal benevolence of the Deity, for a thousand diverse purposes—one being the instruction of the minds of negligent mortals,—brings forth a new creation, and raising the veils and curtains somewhat, displays a wondrous picture.

The extraordinary story of her Majesty is a case in point. She was the happy-starred daughter (*dukhtar-i-qudsī-akhtar*) of Jūina Bahādur of the Qiyāt tribe and Barlās[3] family. Her physical and

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[1] The passage is obscure, but I think the sense is that men get accustomed to the wonderful and so their very seeing becomes blindness. The B.M. No. 5610 (Halhed's) omits the *az* after *bisyār*, thus making *ghaflatī* (heedlessness) the nominative. I have adopted this reading as I think it makes the better sense.

[2] Khāfī Khān Bib. Ind. I, 7*n*. According to one copy of the *Ẓafarnāma—Prolegomena*, Jūbīna was a woman and a daughter of Yuldūz Khān.

[3] Erdmann says she belonged to the tribe of Qūrulas قورلاس. See also *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*, Ney Elias and Ross 51, where the author states that she

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mental beauty went on increasing from her earliest years, until by loftiness of thought and sublimity of genius, she became the Unique of the Age, and by acknowledgment of friends and foes, relatives and strangers, was magnanimous, pious, and a lover of wisdom. The lights of theosophy shone from her countenance, the Divine secrets were manifested on her forehead. She sat secluded behind the screen of chastity and abode in the privy chamber of meditation on the Unity, was a theatre of holy epiphanies and an alighting-stage of Divine emanations. When she arrived at maturity, she was, according to the custom of princes and the practice of great ones of Church and State, given in marriage to Ẕūbūn Bīyān, king of Mughulistān and her own cousin and (thus) they joined that unique pearl of purity with a temporal ruler. As he was not her match, he hastened to annihilation and her Majesty Ālanquwā who was the repose 65
(*āsāyish*) of the spiritual world, became likewise the ornament (*ārāyish*) of the temporal world and, applying herself of necessity to outward acts, she became the sovereign of her tribe (*alūs*).

One night this divinely radiant one was reposing on her bed, when suddenly a glorious[1] light cast a ray into the tent and entered the mouth and throat of that fount of spiritual knowledge and glory. The cupola of chastity became pregnant by that light in the same way as did her Majesty (*Ḥaẓrat*) Miryam[2] (Mary) the daughter of 'Imrān (Amram).

Praised be the God who maintained holy human souls from Adam down to this child of light, in prosperity and adversity, abundance and want, victory and defeat, pleasure and pain, and other contrasted conditions, one after another, and made them partakers of emanations of the holy light. Before this holy light made its fortunate alighting from high heaven, Qiyān was withdrawn from the associations of climates and cities and supported in a solitary wilderness, and many ancestors were given to her (Ālanquwā), generation after

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was a Kurkluk (?). In B.M. No. 7628 of Rashīdu-d-dīn's great work, 456*b*, the name of the tribe is written قورولس Qūrūlas. Barlās then must be a copyist's error.

[1] Cf. Khāfī Khān I, 8. He says the light was like the sun's disk, and that it entered Ālanquwā's mouth which was open (from astonishment apparently, at the spectacle).

[2] The Virgin Mary whom Muḥammad calls the daughter of 'Amrān, apparently because he confounded her with the sister of Moses.

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generation, for two thousand years in these Highlands (*kōhistān*), thereby purifying her and familiarizing her with the land of holiness and converting the human element into a collection of all degrees, Divine and earthly. When the spiritual preparation was complete, Yuldūz Khān was brought—for the ends of Divine wisdom—from the mountains to the city, and seated on a throne, till the turn of the holy series reached her Majesty Ālanquwā and that divine light, after passing without human instrumentality, through many eminent saints and sovereigns, displayed itself gloriously in the external world. That day[1] (*viz.*, of Ālanquwā's conception) was the beginning of the manifestation of his Majesty, the king of kings, who after passing through divers stages was revealed to the world from the holy womb of her Majesty Miryam-makānī for the accomplishment of things visible and invisible.

It needs a Plato of abstract thought to comprehend the saying "The Lord[2] of Time (*zamān*) remains behind the veil whilst Time's products (*zamāniyān*), *i.e.*, mortals, rend it with outward sorrow and inward anguish."

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[1] I should have been inclined to read *nūr*, light here, instead of *rōz*, day, but all the MSS. seem to have *rōz*.

[2] I do not fully understand this passage. It seems to be a quotation, a sort of Sybilline utterance, and is naturally dark, since we are told that it needs the utmost meditation of a Plato to understand it. The Lucknow editor says the meaning is that a master of wisdom should study with might and main how the veil may be rent for suffering humanity, but I do not see that this sense can be got out of the words. The translation which I have given is the result of a good deal of reflection and of a consultation with my friend Mr. Beames. Mr. Beames has given me the following note. "Though the construction "of the sentence is somewhat harsh "and irregular, yet the general mean- "ing of the passage seems clear from "the context." "A.F. starts (Luck- "now ed. 52 1, 2) by the amazing "assertion that the beginning of "the manifestation of Akbar, dated "from the day of Ālanquwā's "miraculous conception by the Sun "and continued through many gene- "rations till he ultimately saw the "light from the womb of Miryam- "makānī."

"Then it evidently occurs to him "that this is rather a hard saying "and that some one might object. "'How could Akbar be conceived in "'the womb of Ālanquwā, seeing "'that she lived so many centuries "'before him?' To this he replies "that only a sage who devotes him- "self to profound thought and medi-

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But now returning to the beginning of the story, I repeat that the holy abode of that cupola of chastity was continually at auspicious times and seasons, made resplendent by the brilliance of that

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"tation can understand this mystical "saying, *viz.*, that while ordinary "mortals rend the veil (*parda-dar*), "*i.e.*, are born, in due course, Akbar "was miraculously held back from "being born, he remained behind "the veil or, in courtier-like phrase, "adorning the veil (*parda-ārāī*)—for "many ages till his full time arrived. "The passage may therefore be "translated as follows :—

"It requires a Plato of deep medi-"tation to accept this statement "with the ear of his understanding, "that the Prince of the Age is in "the condition of adorning the veil, "while (ordinary) mortals rend the "veil with visible pain and inward "groaning."

"The grammatical awkwardness "lies in A.F.'s putting *ast* after "*parda-dar* instead of *and* (they are) "which would agree better with the "plural subject *zamāniyān*; and in "leaving out *ast* after *āraī*. But "this kind of construction is not "unusual. The substitution of the "uncouth phrase *dar parda-ārāī* 'in "veil adorning-ness' for the simpler "*parda-ārā*, 'veil adorning' is per-"haps due to a desire to play upon "the two meanings of *dar* (1), in "and (2) tearing; contrasting the "lot of Akbar who remained for "some generations miraculously re-"served behind the veil, *i.e.*, in the "womb of successive females, with "the lot of ordinary mortals who "when they are conceived and de-"veloped, rend the veil, *i.e.*, are born; "a contrast which, as he justly "observes, it takes a Plato, at least, "to grasp."

I have adopted Mr. Beames' note with some modifications. My idea is that A.F. means to say it is so extraordinary that the Lord of Time or Prince of the Age should remain behind the veil (*i.e.*, continue unborn), while wretched mortals come into existence to their own loss as well as to the detriment of the epoch, that only a Plato can comprehend the mystery or final cause thereof. Perhaps A.F.'s thought is illustrated by the words of St. Paul, "For we know the whole Creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now." See also Cap. XI where A.F. speaks of Khāqānī, a poet of a former age, vainly longing for the appearance of a *Ṣāḥib-i-waqt*, a Lord of the Age or Time.

I think too that he, as usual, has a double meaning, and that he plays upon the double sense of *parda-dar* which means both to rend a veil and to be dissolute, thus corresponding to the double meaning of the Latin *profanus*. I have consulted a number of MSS. for variants but without success. Several *e.g.*, I, O. 564 and Add. B.M. No. 4944 have *parda-dōst*, veil-loving (? loving blindness). But this seems no improvement. *Parda-dar* is probably right as enabling A.F. to take advantage of the two words *dar* fr. *darīdan*, to tear, and *dar*, within, and to contrast *dar parda-ārāī* with *parda-dar*.

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light and from time to time, her moral and material nature brightened by its effulgence. Those who by a soaring flight on the wings of genius, have passed beyond the worship of materiality and can behold the Causer, do not think occurrences like this strange or wonderful in the wide domain of Divine power, and the incredulity of worshippers of routine and superficiality is of no weight in their esteem. As for those who have remained among secondary causes and have not advanced their foot further and cannot, by auspicious guidance, forego superficial computations, they too do not abide by their first principles, (*i.e.*, are not consistent). For instance they admit there was a child without father or mother, *viz.*, the first man or Adam, and they accept a child without a mother, whom they call Eve. Why then not admit a child without a father? Especially when they are fully assured of such an occurrence in the case of Jesus and Mary.

Verse.

If you listen to the tale of Mary,
Believe the same of Ālanquwā.

66 But the world-fashioning Creator who from their inception brings all his works to their final accomplishment, effects His purposes by means of the contradictions and oppositions of His beautiful and His terrible Attributes (*asmā, lit.* names). Accordingly there is a section of mankind of lofty intelligence, right judgment, exalted thought, sublime power and correct thinking, whom He hath placed apart and whose condition He advances day by day. So also there is a multitude of human shapes, purblind, feeble of apprehension, crooked in thought and of evil imaginations, void of usefulness, whom He hath marked out and whom He keeps in a state of perturbation. And although the cup of His designs may be filled in either of these ways, yet there are many contrivances involved in the combination. Accordingly darkness is united with light, bad fortune with good, adversity with prosperity and the wicked and black-hearted are always putting forward stones of stumbling. But soon they are disgraced spiritually and temporarily and depart to the street of annihilation.

This brilliant event is an illustration of the above, for when such a wondrous thing occurred, evil thoughts arose in the hearts of the

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short-sighted dullards and worshippers of externals who had no share in real merit and were alien from the grace of Divine knowledge. That enthroned vestal (Ālanquwā), out of her perfect benevolence, did not desire that these blind wretches should remain caught in the slough of this thought and so apprized her nobles of the matter. She intimated that "if any dullard or simpleton, unaware of the wondrous power of God and the forms of Divine decrees, fall into the misfortune of evil thoughts and sully his mind's mirror with the rust of wicked imagination, he will for ever and ever abide in distress and loss. It is better then that I clear the courts of their intellect of such confusion. For this purpose, it is necessary that awakened-hearted truth-knowers and trusty persons of sincerity watch by night around the tent, so that the darkness of suspicion and doubt caused by the blackness of their hearts may by the light of Divine events and the beholding of hidden radiances, be changed into illumination and that evil thoughts may pass from their turbid minds."

Accordingly several wakeful and prudent, keen-sighted watchers were placed around the tent and like night-burning stars, they closed not their eyes. Suddenly in the middle of the night,—which is the time for the descent of Divine mercies,—a shining light, like bright moonlight,—just as the lady, the curtain of chastity, had said,—came down from on high and entered the tent. A cry was raised by the watchers. For a little while, people were stunned and then their vain thoughts and evil imaginations were exorcised.

When the period of pregnancy was fulfilled, Ālanquwā bore three noble sons. The first was Būqūn Qanqī from whom the Qanqīn tribe is descended; the second was Yūsuqī Sāljī from whom the Sāljīūts are sprung. The third was Būzanjar Qāān. The descendants 67
of these nobly-born ones are called Nairūn, *i.e.*, light-produced and are considered to be the noblest class among the Mughuls.

Būzanjar Qāān.

Būzanjar Qāān is the ninth ancestor of Cingīz Khān and Qarācār Nūyān, the fourteenth of his Majesty, the Lord of Conjunction, and the twenty-second[1] of his Majesty, the king of kings. When he came to years of discretion, he adorned the sovereignty of Tūrān,

[1] So Text, but apparently it should be twenty-first.

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and the chiefs of the Tātār and Turk tribes, etc., who were like satraps (*Mulūk-i-ṭawā'if, i.e.*, the Arsacidæ) bound the girdle of service on their waists. He composed the distractions of the time by the vigour of his administration, distributed justice and benevolence and, for a prolonged period, soothed and adorned the world by his nobility and wisdom. He was contemporary with Abū Muslim Marwazī.[1] When his existence closed, there remained two sons, Būqā and Tūqabā (? Tūqtā).

Būqā Khān.

Būqā Khān was the eldest son of Būzanjar Qāān and the eighth ancestor of Cingīz Khān and Qarācār Nūyān. He ascended the throne in accordance with his father's testament and adorned the royal dīvān by justice and equity. He devised new regulations for world-ruling and world-subduing and framed the code of the Khāqāns of the world. He so carried himself towards his subjects that one and all were rendered happy by him.

Dūtamīn Khān.

Zūtamīn[2] Khān was the upright son of Būqā Khān. When the father perceived his own life passing away, he appointed him his heir and successor. Zūtamīn exerted himself in controlling the administration and in increasing the prosperity of the kingdom. He had nine sons, and on his death, their mother Manūlūn who was unique in wisdom and management, went into retirement and devoted herself to their upbringing. One day, the Jalāīrs who belong to the Darlgīn tribe, laid an ambush[3] and killed Manūlūn and eight of her sons. Qāidū Khān, the ninth son, had gone off to China (Mācīn) in order to become his cousin's[4] son-in-law and so escaped. With the

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[1] Abū Muslim 'Abdu-r-raḥmān, son of Muḥammad and called the missionary of the 'Abbasides, *i.e.*, *Ṣāḥib-i-da'wat* or author of the call of the 'Abbasides, (Gibbon cap. 52.) and also called جريان Jaryān. He was a general of the 'Abbasides and the origin of their power but was put to death 136 H. 753 by Khalīf Manṣūr. (Mas'ūdī, Meynard. VI, 58, 176, *etc.*) Merv was one of the four chief cities of Khurāsān and its inhabitants were called Marwazī. (D'Herbélot art. Merou.)

[2] The Text follows the MSS. which spell the name in two ways.

[3] The *Shajratu-l-atrāk* has a long story as to the cause of these murders.

[4] The *Shajrat* makes Mācīn his grand-uncle's son, *viz.*, son of Tūqtā or Tūqabā the brother of Būqā who was Qāidū's grandfather.

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help of Mācīn, the Jalāīrs were brought to rue their folly and induced to put to death seventy men who had been engaged in the murder of Manūlūn and her children. They also bound their wives and children and sent them to Qāidū Khān who marked their foreheads with the token of servitude. Their descendants remained for a lengthened period in the prison of slavery.

QĀIDŪ KHĀN.

Qāidū Khān after many adventures, sat upon the thone of sovereignty and supervised the world's civilization.[1] He founded 68
cities and had a following of many clans. He warred with the Jalāīrs and firmly established his power. When he passed away, he left three sons.

BĀYASANGHAR KHĀN.

Bāyasanghar Khān was the eldest son and the unique of his Age for administrative capacity and for the management of subjects and soldiers. He sat upon the throne agreeably to his father's testament.

TŪMANA KHĀN.

Tūmana was the worthy son of Bāyasanghar Khān. When his father was departing from this world, he made over the kingdom to him. The dīvān of sovereignty and world-rule gained lustre during his reign. He graced it by his courage and wisdom, and augmented the glory of the Age by his magnanimity and bearing of burdens. By strength of arm and vigour of mind, he increased his hereditary kingdom by adding to it, much of Mongolia (Mughulistān) and Turkistān. There was not his like for might and prestige in all Turkistān. He had two wives by one of whom he had seven sons and by the other twins. One of the twins was named Qabal and was the great-grandfather[2] of Cingīz Khān and the other was named Qācūlī.

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1 The *Shajrat* says he dug a canal.

2 Though he was only the third in ascent from Cingīz Khān, the latter was fourth in succession for Qūbila, the son of Qabal was succeeded by his brother Bartān Bahādur and he by his son Yasūkā the father of Cingīz. This accounts for Cingīz being the fourth star which emerged from Qabal's bosom. (See *infra*).

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QĀCŪLĪ BAHĀDUR.

Qācūlī Bahādur is the eighth ancestor of his Majesty the Lord of Conjunction (Tīmūr). He was a theatre of the lights of dominion and a station of the impressions of auspiciousness. The refulgence of greatness radiated from his countenance and the glory of fortune shone from his brow. One night he beheld in a dream [1] a shining star emerging from Qabal Khān's breast. It rose to the zenith and then was extinguished. This happened thrice. The fourth time, a wondrous bright star arose from his (Qabal's) breast and took the horizons with its light. The rays thereof reached and enkindled other stars, and each of them lighted up a region, so that when the globe of light disappeared, the world still remained illuminated. He awoke from his vision, and loosed the bird of thought that he might interpret the strange augury. Suddenly sleep again [2] overcame him and he saw seven stars rise in succession from his own breast and disappear. The eighth time, a mighty star appeared and lighted up the whole world. Then some small stars branched off from it so that every corner of the universe was illuminated. When the great star became invisible, these other stars shone forth and the universe remained bright as before. At daybreak, Qācūlī Bahādur reported the occurrence to his honoured father Tūmana Khān. The latter
69 gave the interpretation that from Qabal Khān there would come three princes who should sit on the throne of the Khānāte and be lords of lands. But the fourth time, a king would come after these, who should bring most of the earth under his sway and should have children, each of whom would govern a region. From Qācūlī would come seven dominant descendants, bearing on their brows the dia-

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[1] Khāfī Khān (I, 9) makes each brother have a dream but says that the stars seen by Qācūlī were less bright than those beheld by the elder brother Qabal. Apparently he either rejects the application to Timur or holds that he was descended from the elder brother (through Cingīz Khān). D'Herbélot has a full account of the dream. (Art. Toumanah Khān). See also Sharafu-d-dīn's *Ẓafarnāma*, (*Prolegomena*), and Bābar and Humāyūn, Erskine I, 70 and *Shajratu-l-atrāk* (Miles). There is a good deal about the dream and the covenant between the brothers in the so-called Memoirs of Timur.

[2] There is a play on the word *bāz*, the other meaning being "the hawk "(*bāz*) of his sleep snatched at" the bird of thought.

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dem of primacy and the crown of rule. The eighth time a descendant would arise who should exhibit world-wide sovereignty and exercise sway and chiefship over all mankind. From him would come descendants who should each rule a division of the earth.

When Tūmana Khān had made an end of his interpretation, the two brothers, in accordance with his orders, made a mutual league and covenant to the effect that the throne of the Khān should be committed to Qabal Khān and that Qācūlī should be Commander-in-Chief and Prime Minister. And it was established that the descendants of each should, generation after generation, observe this arrangement. They drew up a solemn compact (*'ahd-nāma*) to this effect in Uighūr (Turkish) characters and each brother put his seal to it and it was styled the "*Āltamgha* of Tūmana Khān." The illustrious ancestors of his Majesty, the king of kings,—who is the final cause of the series having been set in motion—were, from Adam to Tūmana Khān, distinguished by absolute sovereignty and by independent sway, and so established the throne of justice. Some members of the glorious company also attained to the spiritual world and so were, both outwardly and inwardly, plenipotent, as hath been set forth in ancient chronicles.

The Divine strategy—in providing for the apparition of the consummation of all degrees, spiritual and temporal, by the intervention of so many rulers of the visible and invisible worlds,—was awaiting the birth-time of his Majesty, the king of kings,—for, as being the quintessence of humanity, his robe must be gorgeously embroidered,—and so was day by day, accomplishing the preparations. Hence in order to completeness and to cause appreciation of the glory of service and the sweets of management, Qācūlī Bahādur was arrayed in the disguise of vicegerency (*wakālat*) so that the grades of this status too might come within the purview of this glorious company and a provision of every stage of development be accumulated for his Majesty, the king of kings. Thus, notwithstanding the guiding power, dexterity, greatness and high-mindedness of Qācūlī Bahādur, Qabal Khān became the heir. Though in the external point of age,—which is not regarded by the wise,—he was greater, yet in reality, the controlling power of the Divine wisdom was engaged in completing the work (of preparation for Akbar). When Tūmana Khān's star set in the west, Qabal Khān

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became established on the throne of rule and Qācūlī Bahādur, in accordance with that fidelity to his promise which is the material of eternal bliss, undertook with concord and singleness of aim, the management of the State in conformity with the rules of loving-mindedness and king-making.

And when Qabal Khān went from this world of troubled existence to the peaceful home of nothingness, Qūbila[1] Khān who out of six sons was the one worthy of the throne and crown, obtained the
70 sovereignty, and Qācūlī Bahādur remained engaged in the same high office of Commander-in-Chief, observed his compact and, by help of wisdom and courage, carried on the affairs of the State. Qūbila Khān with the support of such a grandee, who was possessed both of God-given wisdom and a world-conquering sword, took vengeance for his brother from Āltān Khān (*i.e.*, the Golden Khān) the ruler of Cathay and having made great wars which were masterpieces of men of might, inflicted a heavy defeat on the army of Cathay.

The abstract of this affair is as follows :—The rulers of Cathay always were in dread of some small state and always kept on friendly terms with it. The head of this noble race [illegible] the throne of some invincible. When Āltān Khān was confirmed on the throne of Cathay, he became much alarmed at hearing of the bravery and ability of Qabal Khān. By means of skilful embassies, he established concord between them to such an extent that he invited Qabal Khān to Cathay. The Khān with the sincerity and honesty which are the characteristics of this family, made over the care of the kingdom to Qācūlī Bahādur and went to Cathay. His reception was very friendly and after indulging in pleasure and enjoyment,[2] he set his face homewards. Some of Āltān Khān's grandees of base and ignoble nature, disturbed his mind with improper words so that he repented having said adieu to Qabal Khān and sent a message to recall him. Qabal Khān saw through the plot and replied that as he had left in an auspicious hour, it would not be proper to return.[3] This enraged Āltān Khān who sent troops with orders to bring him back by hook or by crook. Qabal Khān caused the officer in command to alight

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[1] Text, Qūīla, but a note says that the *Ẓafarnāma* (*Prolegomena*) has Qūbila and this appears the correct reading.

[2] The *Prolegomena* l.c. and the *Shajrat* say that Qabal got drunk and insulted Āltān.

[3] *Prolegomena* l.c. has *Shagūn na mīdānam* "I do not regard it as of good omen (to return)."

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at the house of a friend of his named Sāljūqī who had his dwelling by the way-side, and agreed to turn back. Sāljūqī secretly told him that to return was not advisable and that he had a swift and enduring horse which no one could come up with and that the proper[1] thing for Qabal Khān was to mount this horse and get away as quickly as possible from this dangerous neighbourhood.

Qabal Khān acted on this advice and getting on the horse, proceeded to his own camp *(yurt)*. When the Cathay messengers heard this, they pursued him with all rapidity but did not come up with him till he was in his own camp. Qabal Khān seized these wicked people and put them to death. Meanwhile his eldest child Ūqīn[2] Barqāq who was matchless for beauty, was keeping company with the gazelles on the borders of the wilderness when a party of Tātārs surprised him and took him to Āltān Khān. The Khān put this delicate fawn[3] to death[4] in satisfaction for those dog-souled wolves.

When Qūbila Khān who was the second son, came to the throne, he collected an army and marched against Āltān Khān to revenge his brother's[5] death. A great battle ensued and the Cathäians suffered a sore defeat and were plundered of their property.

When the onset of the army of death fell upon Qūbila Khān, his honoured brother Bartān Bahādur, was established on the throne, agreeably to the counsels of the nobles. He preserved the institutions *(yāsāq, i. e. yāsā)* of his father and brother and as in his time, he 71

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[1] The meaning apparently is that when Qabal was on his way back with Āltān's officer he got the latter to halt at the house of a friend by the wayside. The *Prolegomena* (l.c.), tells the story somewhat differently, stating that Qabal evaded his pursuers by entering the house of a friend but was inclined to give himself up and return with them, *etc.*

[2] The *izāfat* of the Text after *kalān* is wrong. See D'Herbélot art. Kil Khān and *Prolegomena* l.c.

[3] *Ghazāl-i-shīrnizhād*, "a milk-born gazelle." Cf. Dryden's milk-white hind.

[4] It is said that Āltān nailed or sewed him to a wooden ass in revenge for the death of his messengers. One account says he was hunting but A.F.'s words seem to imply that he was too young for this, that he was, as it were, a fawn himself and so, sporting with the gazelles. The *Prolegomena* seems to say that the child had strayed into the plain.

[5] The word *birādar* is loosely used and for the sake of assonance with *bahādur*. Qācūlī was really uncle of Bartān.

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had no rival who could contend with him in war, the title Khān was marked in people's mouths by that of Bahādur and they stamped the coin of his courage with this awe-augmenting appellative. At this period, Qācūlī Bahādur who was at once a life-sacrificing brother and a Commander-in-Chief Bahādur, departed to the eternal world.

Īradam-cī Barlās.

Īradam-cī Barlās was the upright son of Qācūlī Bahādur and was distinguished for his wisdom and military talent. On his father's death, the patent (*ṭughrā*) of the Commander-in-Chiefship was exalted by the entry of his name and he managed affairs according to the rules which his father had made illustrious. He was the first who bore the title of Barlās, the meaning of which fine word is brave and of noble lineage. The whole Barlās clan traces its origin[1] from him.

When Bartān Bahādur died, Yesugai[2] Bahādur, the third of his four sons, and father of Cingīz Khān, and who was adorned with the cuirass of wisdom and the helmet of courage, placed the crown of the Khānāte on his head and graced the throne of world-sway. At this time Īradam-cī Barlās died, leaving twenty-nine sons.

Sūghū Cīcan (The Wise).

Sūghū Cīcan was distinguished among the noble sons of Īradam-cī Barlās for courage, wisdom and administrative ability. He was also the eldest son. He took the place of his honoured father; ostensibly he was Commander-in-Chief, in reality he was sovereign. Yesugai Bahādur, by the world-adorning advice of Sūghū Cīcan marched against the Tātārs and trod under-foot their glory and their grandeur. When he had, by God's help and the might of good

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[1] If so, it seems an anachronism to speak of Ālanquwā as belonging to the Barlās family in the way A.F., (according to the MSS.,) has done in his account of that lady. And indeed there seems no doubt that Barlās is a clerical error for Qūrūlās which is the word in *Rashīdu-d-dīn*. The Text has *lafẓ-i-mu'allā* "lofty word," but Quatremère (*Rashīdu-d-dīn* 250*n*.) thinks that *mu'allā* is a clerical error for *mughalī* and translates "un homme brave et d'une naissance illustre;" and adds "le mot *barlās* dans la langue des Mongoles désignait un homme brave et d'une naissance illustre."

[2] Text, Bīsūkā, but a note states that many MSS. have Yasūkā. It is Yasūkā in the *Prolegomena* l.c., Yesugai or Jesugai seems to be the correct form.

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fortune, overcome the Tātārs, he set out for Dīlūn[1] Būldaq. When he arrived there, his chief wife (Khātūn) Ūlūn Anaga[2] whom he had 72
left pregnant, gave birth to a noble son on 20th *zī-l-qa'da* 549[3] (26th Jan., 1155), in the cycle-year of the Hog (*Tankūz*). Yesugai Bahādur called him Temūcīn.[4] Sūghū Cīcan, who possessed lofty intelligence and exalted understanding, told Yesugai Bahādur that by the secrets of calculation and the favourable aspects of the heavens, it was clear that this was the very star which had emerged the fourth time from Qabal Khān's breast.

Cingīz[5] Khān.

Though in the noble line of his Majesty, the king of kings, which in this book of Divine praise is the starting-point[6] of utterance, it is unnecessary to mention Temūcīn who is a branch of the holy tree, yet as he was a ray of the divine light of Ālanquwā, a brief account of him is indispensable. The horoscope of Temūcīn was in Libra and the seven planets[7] were in it. The Dragon's

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[1] Text, Dīlūn Yuldaq. Howorth (I, 47) says the place is called Deligun Buldagha, near the Onon by Ssanang Ssetzen and that it is still known by the same name, *viz.*, Delūn Boldaq. It is in northern Mongolia, near the Russian frontier and on the right bank of the Onon. D'Herbélot art. Genghiz Khān calls it Diloun Joloun.

[2] Called by Hammer Ūlūn Ike and by Erdmann Ulun Egeh. Apparently the Turkish pronunciation of *anaga* is *enegeh*. The *a* is not long.

[3] Chinese historians put his birth seven years later, *viz.*, 1162 A.D. for they say he died in 1227 at the age of 66 and not of 72, as Muhammadans state. D'Herbélot, Supplément, (Visdelou) art. Ganghiz Khān. Hammer-Purgstall (56) prefers the date 1155.

[4] Howorth, Temudjin and Temujin. The word is said to mean "finest iron." It may be noted here that the best biography of Cingīz appears to be Prof. Franz von Erdmann's Temudschin der Unerschütterliche. (Leipsic, 1862.) There is a Chinese Life of Cingīz trs. by Prof. R. R. Douglas, Lond., 1877.

[5] Gibbon, Zingis; Howorth, Jingis.

[6] Meaning, I suppose, that the book is called the *Akbarnāma*.

[7] *i.e.*, the five known to the ancients *plus* the Sun and Moon. Their conjunction is supposed to indicate a cataclysm. (D'Herbélot art. Keran). According to the *Ḥabību-s-siyar*, the seven planets were in conjunction in Cancer—the horoscope of the world—at the time of the Deluge. See History of the Golden Horde, Hammer-Purgstall, 75 *n.*, for statement of position of five of the planets on 6th Jan., 1155, *i.e.*, shortly before Temūcīn's birth.

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Head[1] was in the Third House and the Dragon's Tail[1] in the Ninth. But some say that in 581[2] (1185), when he became head of the Nairūn tribe and family, the seven planets were in conjunction in Libra.

Qarācār Nūyān.

Qarācār Nūyān was the noble son of Sūghū Cījan and was of kingly mind and princely[3] bearing. In the year of the Hog 562 (1167), Yesugai Bahādur died and in the same year, Temūcīn became thirteen and Sūghū Cījan, the centre of the sovereignty and administration and leader of the armies, marched nearly contemporaneously with this, to the camp of annihilation. Qarācār[4] Nūyān was then of tender age. The Nairūn tribe left Temūcīn and joined the Tāijiuts[5] so that Temūcīn was in difficulties and entangled in misfortunes. At length, by heaven's aid, he was rescued from these whirlpools and terrible dangers and waged war with the Jāmūqa, Tāijūt, Qanqarāt, Jalāīr and other tribes. When he was over thirty, he became head of his own clan and family (the Nairūn). On account of the opposition of various rulers of Turkistān, he went in his fortieth year, by the advice of Qarācār Nūyān to Āvang[6] Khān, the chief of the Kerāyat tribe and who had an old friendship with Yesugai Bahādur. Temūcīn did good service for him and displayed pre-eminent excellence. His favour and intimacy with him and the loftiness of his rank came

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[1] Anabibazon and Katabibazon. They are evil influences. The Third House is that of brethren and short journeys. D'Herbélot says that Libra which is regarded by us as the Sign of Justice, is considered by Orientals to be that of winds and tempests.

[2] I do not find this date in any of the lives of Cingīz Khān. He assumed the name of Cingīz, which apparently means the Powerful or Unshakeable, in 599 (1202). The period 581 seems again referred to a little lower where we are told that Cingīz became head of his tribe when over thirty. A.F.'s date does not differ greatly from the 1187 given by Marco Polo as that of Cingīz', recognition nor from the 1189 given by Ssanan Ssetzen.

[3] *Shahryār-nishān.* Qu. kingmaker.

[4] If A.F.'s other dates are right, Qarācār must have been an infant at this time for,—if he died in 652 at the age of 98,—he must have been some 12 years younger than Cingīz.

[5] Text, Tāljūt and another form is Tānjūt. It seems a different word from Tangūt.

[6] Or Wang,—the Prester John of mediæval writers and travellers D'Herbélot art. *Kerit* and Supplement (Vīsdelou) 279. Hammer-Purgstall says Toghril was the proper name of Āvang or Owang.

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NOTE

on page 180, line 4, from bottom of text.

The Society's MS. No. D. 29, in Maulavī Ashraf 'Alī's Catalogue, omits the *wāw* between *zamān wa-zamānīyān* of the printed editions, and this appears to me preferable. The passage accordingly runs thus :—

خدیو زمان در پرده‌آرایی زمانیـــان با درد چشـــم و زحیر باطن پرده در است

the translation would be: "The Lord of Time, for the advancement of timely beings, is in the habit of rending the curtain (*i.e.*, he is born again and again) with pain of the eyes and dolour of the heart."

The Lord of Time is Akbar, or rather the Divine Light conceived by Alanquwā, which had to go through a successive course of births, before it appeared in its final perfection in the person of His Majesty, King Akbar. This was done by him for the benefit of men, for the purpose of improving their condition (*parda-ārāī*). To the act of child-bearing the word *zaḥīr lit.* "pains" directly refers. The pun hardly can be translated. It lies in the fact that Akbar "rends the curtain for the purpose of mending it," both expressions being used in a metaphorical sense.

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to such a point that the sweet savour of his sincerity was made fragrant by the pastile of friendship[1] so that the great officers and relatives (of Āvang Khān) became jealous.

Jāmūqa, chief of the Jājarāt tribe, joined with Sankū,[2] the son of Āvang Khān, to speak evil of him and they devised falsehoods against him whereby the heart of Āvang Khān was drawn away from the right path and he began to entertain evil thoughts. Temūcīn became alarmed and escaped from that danger by the counsels and assistance of Qarācār Nūyān. Twice were great battles fought be- 73
tween them in which Temūcīn was victorious.

When in his 49th, or as some say, his 50th year, he, in *Ramaẓān* 599 (May–June 1203), attained the rank of a sovereign and ruler of the world. When three years of his reign and rule had passed But Tengri,[3] a seer of the invisible world and herald of the Divine Court, was inspired to give Temūcīn the title of Cingīz Khān or king of kings. Day by day, the star of his fortune rose higher and higher and year by year, the lightning of his majesty became more vivid. He acquired sway over all Cathay, Khotan, Northern and Southern China (*Cīn ū Mācīn*), the desert of Qibcāq, Saqsīn,[4]

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[1] According to one account, noticed by D'Herbélot, Cingīz married a daughter of Āvang.

[2] Also Shankū and Shakūn.

[3] Text, Tab Tengri; but I adopt the variant of But Tengri, given also in No. 564. Hammer-Purgstall (65) calls him Buttanri, the son of Itschke and says he was step-brother of Cingīz, being son of Cingīz's mother by her second husband.

[4] Text, سغين Safīn, but the notes give variants, Saqīn and Sabaqīn and the Āīn (Jarrett III. 100, where see note) Saqsīn. It is the Sacassīn mentioned in D'Ohsson. (I. 346 *n.*) "Sacassīn, dit le géographe de Bacu, était une grande ville du pays des Khazares. Sacassīn est à présent submergée." As D'Ohsson remarks it seems connected with the Sakae or Scythians. Apparently it was a place or country near the Caspian and is used by A.F. to indicate the extent of Cingīz' conquests in the West. The *Ẓafarnāma Prolegomena* says, in reference to Cingīz' conquests, that they extended *az ibtidā'i Bulghār ū Saqīn tā intihā'i Cīn ū Saqsīn (?) ū Mācīn* where apparently Saqsīn denotes an eastern country. Vullers *s.v.* Saqsīn, says "*nom. regionis ignotae*" and refers to the *Burhān-i-qāṭi'* and the *Farhang-i-Rashīdī*. The latter says it is a country of Turkistān and quotes a line of Niẓāmī which contains the expression "from Saqsīn to Samarkand."

In 1652 Greaves published two Geographical Tables one by Naṣīru-d-dīn Ṭūsī and the other by Ulugh Bēg. These are in great measure

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Bulgaria,[1] Ās,[2] Russia, Ālān,[3] etc. He had four sons, Jūjī, Caghatāī, Ōkadāī, Tulī. He placed with Jūjī the management of feasts and hunting. Judiciary matters (*yārghū*) and the carrying out of punishment, in which administrative government is involved, were committed to the wisdom of Caghatāī. Government and political matters were assigned to Ōkadāī. The management of military affairs and the protection of the camp were made over to Tūlī.

In the months of 615 (1218), he marched to Transoxiana against Sulṭān Muhammad, king of Khwārizm[4] and the people of that country received the chastisement of capital punishment.

When he had finished the affairs of Transoxiana, he crossed the Amu (Oxus) and turned his world-opening reins towards Bālkh. He despatched Tūlī Khān with a large army to Khurāsān and after conquering Īrān and Tūrān, he came from Bālkh to Ṭāliqān.[5] From thence he went off to put an end to Jalālu-d-dīn Mangbarnī[6] and in

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identical and perhaps the repetitions in Āīn (Jarrett III. 47 *et seq*), are due to indiscriminate copying from both. In Greaves' Tables, Saqsīn is given in Long. 86° 36′ and Lat. 43° and as belonging to the 5th climate; Bolgar, Long. 90° and Lat. 49° and as belonging to the 7th climate.

Quatremère (Hist. des Mongoles) states that Klaproth has treated at great length of the subject of Saqsīn.

1 Bular, *i.e.* Bulghār, (Āīn. Jarrett, etc.) III. 103) a town on the Caspian. This is therefore not the European Bulgaria to the west of the Black Sea but Great Bulgaria on the Volga.

2 Vullers (34*a*) gives Ās as a town in Qibcāk from which the Osseti took their name. But the Ās of the Text appears to be the Crimea or its neighbourhood. See Jarrett III. 102 where it is spelled Aṣ a form not given by Vullers. Quatremère (Hist. des Mongoles, Pref. 70*n*. 87), says "Le mot Ās ou آس désigne les Alains qui portent encore aujour d'hui le nom de *Ossets*."

3 See Vullers and D'Herb. Ālān is said to be a town in Turkīstān but apparently the Ālān of the Text is the Allan of D'Herbélot which was in the Caucasus and the home of the tribe known as the Alānī, and which occupied country between the Caspian and Black Seas.

4 The modern Khiva. The citizens were all massacred.

5 Ṭāliqān, a town in Khurāsān, E. of Bālkh. (Jarrett III, 87). The Khurāsān and Badakhshān Ṭāliqāns seem to be identical. See Howorth's map.

6 Text, Mankīrnī, but Āīn (II. 204 and Jarrett III. 343) has Mangbarnī or Mankbardī, Jarrett observes that Hammer-Purgstall says it should be written Mankbarnī but that on Jalālu-d-dīn's coins it is Mankbarīn. If as Hammer states, (74) the term means short or flat-nosed (*stumpf-*

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Ramaẓān[1] 624 (Aug. 1227), defeated him up to the banks of the Indus. From thence he went to Transoxiana towards his permanent encampment (Karakoram). He died in the year of the Hog which was also that of his birth and accession, on 4th *Ṣafar*[2] 624, in the borders of the country of Tangūt.[3]

Before his death, he directed that when the inevitable event occurred, they should keep it secret until the affair of the people of Tangūt was completed and that there might be no commotion in distant countries. His sons and officers carried out his instructions and took steps to conceal the event till the people of Tangūt had come out[4] and been made the forage of the sword. Then they marched off bearing the body (of Cingīz) in a chest, putting to death every-

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näsig) we should hardly expect to find such a nickname on coins. Vambéry (Hist. of Bukhara, 1342) says the word is Mengberdi, (heaven-sent); Raverty (*Ṭabaqāt-i-naṣīrī*, 285) that it means having a mole on the side of the nose. (See also 299*n*.) *Mang* is given as meaning a mole in Shaw's Vocabulary of Eastern Turkish. The epithet would thus be equivalent to *Khāldar*, and,—a mole being regarded as a beauty,—the sobriquet is honorific.

For an account of the gallant Jalālu-d-dīn see Gibbon Cap. 64 and D'Herbélot art. *Jelaleddin* and Āīn l.c.

[1] This date is wrong as perhaps the copyists might have inferred from the fact that just below Cingīz is described as dying in *Ṣafar*, the 2nd month of 624, whereas *Ramaẓān* is the ninth. Jalālu-d-dīn's defeat really occurred in *Rajab* 618 (Aug.-Sep. 1221). It was therefore the time of the rains which enhances the splendour of Jalālu-d-dīn's feat in swimming his horse over the Indus.

[2] D'Herbélot, 4th *Ramaẓān*. This agrees with Howorth and Hammer-Purgstall who also give the corresponding European date as 18th Aug. Apparently A.F. had inadvertently written the date of death as that of the defeat of Jalālu-d-dīn. 4th *Ṣafar* is 24th Jan. (1227). Ṣafar is given in one place by Rashīdu-d-dīn whom A.F. copies. (See Hammer-Purgstall, G. Horde 92 *n*. 4.) But see Erdmann l.c., p. 573.

[3] Text, Tankaqūt. It seems to be the Tunkah of the Āīn (Jarrett III. 98) in 5th climate and belonging to Tashkand. See D'Herbélot art. *Tangat* where it is stated that the Arabs call the town Tanghikunt a form which approaches that in Text. The country is also called Hia. (See Howorth I. 4 on Hia or Tangut). It lies north-west of China and west of the Yellow River. On some modern maps the country is marked as that of the Tangūts. See Supplement (Visdelou, 302), for remarks on Scheidercou and Tamghoul.

[4] They came out under their king Shīdaqu (called by Minhāj, Tingū Khān) to treat with Cingīz who had

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body whom they met, so that the news might not be quickly conveyed to the different countries. On 14th *Ramaẓān* of the same year, they brought the body to the great camp and proclaimed the death. They buried Cingīz at the foot of a tree which he had, one day when
74 hunting, approved as a site for his grave. In a short space of time, the branches became so thick that the tomb was hidden by them and no one could ascertain the spot. There is a strange mystery in this which cannot be understood, except by the wisdom of the wise and far-seeing, to wit, that as in life he was under God's protection, so also in death did he come under God's supervision, in order that the short-sighted might not put forth hands of disrespect against the place. Though to take much thought about a tomb is to make one self ridiculous to mankind, yet as rulers have to deal chiefly with the superficial-minded, this providential guarding (of Cingīz' tomb) is a great blessing. And why should not the Divine protection watch over one who was so great that an universe abode in the shade of his guardianship?

Though this great man be in the eyes of the vulgar and even to the *élite*,[1] at first glance, a leading exponent of Divine wrath, yet to the far-reading view of the wise, *élite* of the *élite*, he is an emanation of Divine blessings. For in the kingdom of Divine justice of which human government is a ray, there can be no injustice or oppression, and everything which comes into existence in the world of evil is based on certain spiritual principles, the real nature of which the superficial cannot perceive and which cannot be comprehended save by the intellects of the far-seeing and awakened-hearted.

His years were seventy-two complete and most of the seventy-third had also elapsed. Of them, twenty-five were spent in reigning and conquering. If we look to the dates[2] of his birth and his [illegible] death,

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promised them safety, but as he was dead, his heirs, I suppose, did not think themselves bound by his promise and put them all to death. Apparently it was to give a loophole for this that Cingīz bade the fact of his death to be concealed. (*Ṭabaqāt-i-naṣīrī*, Raverty 1087*n.*)

[1] Minhāj always calls Cingīz the accursed.

[2] *i.e.*, reckoning the death as in *Ṣafar*. If *Ramaẓān* be taken, the age would be 74, there being 10 solar months in a lunar year.

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as stated in histories, his age comes to seventy-four years and three months. Apparently the discrepancy is due to the difference between lunar and solar months and years, or it may be owing to some cause other than the ostensible one. During this period, the high matters of government and administration were made illustrious by the world-adorning counsels of Qarācār Nūyān. Why should not a potentate who hath such a kinsman (*birādar*) in blood and in spirit by his side as his director to dominion and fortune, brush with the head of majesty the highest zenith of conquest and rule?

Verse.

Qarācār and Cingīz are cousins (*ibn-i-'am and*).
In conquest too, they are allied (*qarīn-i-ham and*).

When the drum of death was beat, the Khānship was made over to Ōkadāī. The gist of this distressful occurrence is that when on the China expedition, he (Cingīz) had one night an intimation by a vision, that the time of leaving this mirage-like world was at hand. He called his sons, Qarācār Nūyān, the Commander-in-Chief, and the other nobles and pillars of his empire and after imparting to them counsels which might dominate mankind, he appointed Ōkadāī as Khān. He sent to the treasury for the covenant which had been executed by Qāculī and Qabal Khān and which was the Āltamgha of Tūmana Khān and which his high-souled predecessors had successively signed, and had it read before the noble assembly. He observed, "I swore to this deed together with Qarācār Nūyān, do you also fulfil its conditions." He also had another deed drawn up 75
between Ōkadāī and his other sons and his kinsmen and made it over to Ōkadāī.

Transoxiana, Turkistān, the borders of Khwārizm, the cities of the Uighūrs, Kāshghar, Badakhshān, Bālkh and Ghaznih as far as the Indus, he assigned to Caghatāī Khān. He also made over the covenant of Qabal Khān and Qācūlī Bahādur to Caghatāī and said to him, "Depart not from the counsels of Qarācār Nūyān and regard him as your partner in rule and realm." He also established between them the bond of fatherhood[1] and sonship. In this way the noble line

[1] According to a MS. of Tīmūr's Memoirs Cingīz did this by marrying Qarācār to a daughter of Caghatāī. If so, Qarācār must surely

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(Akbar's) came to be called Caghatāī;[1] otherwise the relationship of Caghatāī and his ancestors with his Majesty, the king of kings, is one of glory and superiority not of propinquity and similarity.

The Princes and Nūyāns acted according to the testament. Good God! could there be such a breach[2] of covenant by an eminently wise man like Cingīz Khān! The covenant which had been adorned by the seal-royal (Āltamgha) of Tūmana Khān should have been given to Ōkadāī Qā'ān and he should have been made over to be educated and succoured by the weighty counsels of Qarācār Nūyān so that the provisions of the compact might be carried into effect; or did they not produce[3] that covenant till he (Cingīz) was carried

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have been many years younger than Cingīz and hardly fitted to be his counsellor. The passage in the Memoirs is *dukhtar-i-Caghatāī Khānrā bā Qarācār Nūyān 'aqd kard ū bar āō Gurkān nām nihād.* But A.F.'s view and that commonly accepted is that Qarācār acted as a father to Caghatāī. (*Shajratu-l-atrāk,* Miles 344.)

[1] This does not seem quite correct. Bābar's mother was a Caghatāī being a daughter of Yūnus Khān, a descendant of Cingīz,—a fact which A.F. notices later on in his account of Bābar.

[2] A.F. holds that Cingīz broke the compact by not attaching Qarācār to the Khāqān (Great Khan). But Caghatāī was the elder son though passed over in favour of the younger, Ōkadāī and thus; in one sense, the assigning of Qarācār to him was right.

The *Prolegomena l.c.* states that Cingīz made the arrangement because Transoxiana had been assigned to Caghatāī and as Jalālu-d-dīn Mangbarnī was still alive, it was necessary to have Caghatāī supported by an experienced general like Qarācār.

Tīmūr does not seem to have thought there was a breach of agreement for he tells us that when Taghlāq Tīmūr shewed him the agreement—which had been written on a steel plate and signed by Qabal and Qācūlī,—he acquiesced and accepted the Commander-in-Chiefship. (Tīmūr's Memoirs, Stewart 12.) See too page 22 (Stewart) where Tīmūr's father tells him that he had been *Sipāh-sālār.* Apparently if there were a breach of compact, it occurred when Tīmūr's grandfather, Amīr Barkal gave up his duties as *Sipāh-sālār* and retired into private life.

[3] I am not sure of the meaning of this passage. My friend Mr. Beames thinks it is that the courtiers should not have produced the deed before Cingīz so that posterity might have ascribed his conduct to ignorance and not to a deliberate design of breaking the compact, so that they had not well have evaded its production, and it is difficult to see how an intentional omission to consult the deed could make Cingīz's conduct or that of his courtiers any better. Apparently the words "*ḥāzir namī-*

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away by the inbred forgetfulness[1] of human nature, and thus the mark of censure in the book of his knowledge was obliterated by the line of obliviousness. It is strange too that old writers while treating of this subject with verbiage, cavilling and equivocation have not come to a right determination about it. It appears as if the world-adorning Deity desired to remove from the frame of this lofty lineage, the disguise of the Commander-in-Chiefship which Tūmana Khān had imposed but which had really been fashioned by the Divine artificers while completing the evolution of his Majesty, the king of kings, (and that so) a forgetfulness ensued which surpassed in excellence thousands of good designs. Inasmuch as the Divine protection was ever guarding this lofty line, no failure in the compact and agreement occurred on the part of Qācūlī Bahādur's descendants so that when the turn of sovereignty, which was due to their innate and acquired power of direction, arrived and they attained the divan-adorning Caliphate, there could be no reproach brought against them by the wise. Likewise this was the beginning[2] of the rise of that

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sākhtand" must refer to the officers and not to Cingīz for they are commonly used of the act of inferiors in bringing something before their superior. I am inclined then to think that A.F. means to suggest as an excuse for Cingīz, that he was at death's door and incapable of recollecting the contents of the deed. Or it may be that the important word is *ān* (that) and that A.F. means to suggest that possibly the courtiers did not produce *that* deed, *i.e.*, the real deed, but some other.

The *Shajrat* (344) remarks that Cingīz exceeded in recommending Qāracār to Caghatāī. Probably this remark is based on A.F. and indicates that the *Shajrat* was written after the *Akbarnāma*.

[1] Alluding to the Arabic proverb (Abū'l-ghāzī, Désmaisons, Preface) *awwalu' n-nāsī awwalu' n-nās*, "the first forgetter was the first man." This again, I believe, refers to the tradition that Adam surrendered 40 years of life in favour of his descendant, King David but repudiated or forgot having done so when the Angel of Death came to him at the close of his 960th year. In consequence of this forgetfulness by Adam, it was laid down in the book which Seth received from heaven, that all promises or agreements should be ratified by the presence of two witnesses.

[2] Tīmūr is regarded as a lineal descendant of Qarācār Nūyān, though according to Vambéry, the claim is without foundation. It seems that Rashīdu-d-dīn says nothing about Qarācār's being Caghatāī's generalissimo. (D'Ohsson II. 109 *n.*) But he is mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-naṣīrī* by Minhāj who was

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light of fortune, his Majesty, the Lord of Conjunction (Tīmūr) whose holy existence was the forerunner of the perpetual dominion of his Majesty, the king of kings.

After his father's decease, Caghatāī Khān made Pēshbālīgh[1] his capital and having made over the control of the army and of the subjects to Amīr Qarācār Nūyān, he spent most of his time in the service of Ōkadāī Qā'ān. Though Ōkadāī was younger than himself, he shewed no slackness in performing his duties and in the *minutiæ* of obedience and heartily observed the conditions of the will.

When Caghatāī Khān arrived at his life's term, he appointed Amīr Qarācān Nūyān administrator of the kingdom and made over
76 his children to him. He died seven months before Ōkadāī Khān,[2] in the year of the Ox, *Zī-l-qa'da* 638 (May-June 1241). Qarācār Nūyān, in accordance with his promise, took charge of the management of the kingdom and after some time, made over to Qarā Hulāgū Khān, son of Mawātkān,[3] son of Caghatāī, the government of his grandfather's dominions.

After some years, when Giyūk Khān, son of Ōkadāī became Khān (*i.e.*, Khāqān) Qarācār Nūyān deposed[4] Qarā Hulāgū Khān, and appointed Īsū Mangū, son of Caghatāī in his room. Let it not be concealed that Ōkadāī Qā'ān had, during his sovereignty, nominated his eldest[5] son, Kūcū as his heir, but Kūcū died during his father's lifetime. He then made his (Kūcū's) son Shīrāmūn who was his favourite, his heir. When the Qā'ān (Ōkadāī) died, Giyūk Khān was in Russia, Circassia and Bulgaria (*i.e.*, Great Bulgaria) and came to the great camp[6] (*i.e.*, the capital) three or four years afterwards

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born 60 years, before Rashīdu-d-dīn. (Bib. Ind. ed. 365, 1.3 and Raverty, 1063.) In these the name is written Nūyān Qarācār but there can be no doubt that Qarācār is meant. There is also a great deal about him in the *Prolegomena* which was written in 822 (1419).

[1] D'Herbélot, Bishbalīgh (Pentapolis) and this is no doubt right. It is described in Ney Elias' introduction to the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* (62) but it is stated (l.c. 32 and 364) hat Caghatāī's capital was at Almālīgh.

[2] Ōkadāī died 11th Dec., 1241.

[3] Blochmann 429.

(Howorth I. 158. D'Ohsson, II. 87.)

[4] The *Shajratu-l-atrāk* (Miles 355) states that Qarā Hulākū was deposed at the instance of Giyūk who represented that a grandson could not succeed before his uncle (Īsū Mangū).

[5] Third, Howorth, I, 160. Kiyūk or Giyūk was the eldest.

[6] Karakoram, the Cambalu of Chaucer and Milton.

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He established justice and t ıt the lot of spiritual and temporal Īsū Mangū was covered with the brother. Like his honoured father again appointed Qarā Hulāgū to ı the threshold of the lords of holi- died during his reign in 652 (1254),[1] full of honours ands of eternity. the age of 89.

Shamsu-d-

Aijal Nūyān.

Aijal Nūyān was the most distinguished for wisdom and godliness of Qarācār Nūyān's ten[2] children. During the reign of Qarā Hulāgū he took, on account of his wisdom and vigour, the place of his father (Qarācār). In 662 (1264) he was confirmed on the divan of dominion. The Caghatāī tribe (*alūs*) was prosperous in his time, but as there was much opposition and strife among the descendants of Caghatāī Khān, he got disgusted with affairs and settled in his ancestral city of Kesh until the time when Mangū Qā'ān, son of Tūlī Khān, son of Cingīz Khān, sent his brother Hulāgū to Persia (Īrān) and attached to him officers and men from each of the four tribes (*alūs*) of Jūjī, Caghatāī, Ōkatāī (Ōkadāī) and Tūlī. By universal request, Aijal Nūyān was selected from the Caghatāī tribe and appointed as companion[3] to Hulāgū Khān. That Khān treated him with great respect and assigned Marāgha-Tabrīz[4] to him.

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[1] D'Ohsson (II. 109 *n.*) quotes Mīr Khwānd as saying that Qarācār died at the age of 79 but the lithographed ed. of the *Rauzatu-ṣ-ṣ ā* (Part V. 69) gives 89 as the age and Mīr Khwānd's source, the *Ẓafarnāma*, *Prolegomena*, gives also 89. He died in the Khāmsī the Hare in the Turkish cycle.

[2] Five, *Prolegomena l.c.* gives their names.

Text, *bi-r m-i-sālbūrī* *Sālbūr* does not occur in the dictionary and is perhaps *sālār-i-bār*, (*princeps aulae regiae*) — for which, see Vullers *s.v. sālār*. Possibly the true reading is ساوري *sāwarī*, a present. For an account of this word, see Quatremère, *Notices*, etc., XIV. 27*n*. The meaning would then be "He was sent as a *nazr* or present to Hulākū." I observe, however, that *sālbūrī* occurs as a title in the *Ẓafarnāma*. (See extract therefrom, *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*, 26, where we have Khwāja Sālibarī.) A MS. however of the *Ẓafarnāma* gives the word as Salbarī. So too, Bib. Ind. ed. I. 88 and II. 23 l.5 fr. ft.). *Sālbar* occurs in the *Burhān-i-qāṭi'* but only with the meaning of a tree which bears every second year.

[4] Jarrett III. 81*n*.

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light of fortune, his Majesty, the Lord of C[illegible]AR KHĀN. holy existence was the forerunner of the [illegible]e most distinguished son of Aijal Majesty, the king of kings.

After his father's deg[illegible] Caghatāī [illegible]om Tūrān with Hulāgū Khān to capital and having [illegible] was made his father's representative in the Caghatāī [illegible]ts to Amīr [illegible]nen Aijal left this deceitful world in Īrān, Davā Khān, son of Barāq Khān, son of Bīsūtavā, son of Mawātkān, son of Caghatāī Khān, son of Cingīz Khān who had become Sulṭān[1] made him *Amīru-l-umarā*[2] and gave him his father's rank and assigned to him powers of binding and loosing. And being full of wisdom and insight, he undertook the management of the affairs of the kingdom. He embraced the glorious Muhammadan religion.

AMĪR BARKAL.[3]

Amīr Barkal was very high-minded and when his noble father, Amīr Ailangar Nūyān left this comfortless world, in the time of Tarmashīrīn Khān, son of Davā Khān, he was the only surviving son. As he was always occupied with the care of his own soul, he had no leisure for other things and so, abstaining from the companionship of Khāns, he transferred the paternal avocations to his cousins and remained independent in Kesh. He was assiduous in seeking God's favour and in acquiring virtues. He spent his life in that neighbourhood and provided for his daily sustenance from the various estates and villages which belonged to his old possessions and was content therewith till he went to the holy kingdom and the eternal country.

AMĪR ṬARĀGHĀĪ.

Amīr Ṭarāghāī was the distinguished son of Amīr Barkal and is the father of the Lord of Conjunction (Tīmūr). From early years and the flower of youth, the lights of dominion and fortune shone from the court of his nature and the notes of greatness and glory illuminated the antechamber of his ways. That noble-minded man had a younger brother, Haibat[4] by name, who was a perfect paragon

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[1] R. A. S. MS. No. 114 has *ki salṭanat* before *ba ō rasīda būd* and they seem needed.

[2] This is regarded as the third renewal of the compact between Qabal and Qācūlī. (Miles 381).

[3] Aḥmad b. 'Arab Shāh gives Abghai as the name of Tīmūr's grandfather.

[4] In the *Prolegomena l.c.* the name seems to be Salbita or Malbita, and in the *Khulāṣatu-t-tawārīkh* to be Bīta

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of truth and truth-seeking. But the lot of spiritual and temporal eminence had fallen on the elder brother. Like his honoured father (Barkal) he always kept his face on the threshold of the lords of holiness and was favoured by the associates of the portals of eternity. Especially that pattern of the masters of ecstacy, Shaikh Shamsu-d-dīn Kalāl,[1] greatly honoured and respected the Amīr and by his spiritual insight apprized him of the advent of the star of the Lord of Conjunction.

I do not find his name in Tīmūr's Memoirs. An uncle, Ḥājī Barlās and another, Aidku, are spoken of, but they were probably his maternal uncles. They were unfriendly to him (Stewart's Tīmūr, 55).

[1] The *Prolegomena l.c.* and *Khulāṣat* call him Shamsu-d-dīn Kalār, and the former describes him as a successor of Shaikh Shihābu-d-dīn Shahrawardī (perhaps the famous Shahrawardī of Baghdād). The *Prolegomena* states also that in 775 (1374), Tīmūr removed his father's body to near Shamsu-d-dīn's shrine beside the chief mosque. Probably Kalār is right for the Amīr Kalāl whom Tīmūr often mentions seems a different person. (Price and Davey (Tīmūr's Institutes) call him Gulāl, a word which signifies red powder, *i.e., abīr*).

An Amīr Kalāl is described in the Ḥabību-l-auliyā also. D'Herbélot [illegible] Shamsu-d-dīn al-Fakhur who lived in Kesh and was consulted by Tīmūr, but Tīmūr's special *Pīr* seems to have been Quṭbu-l-aqṭāb Shaikh Zainu-d-dīn Abū Bakr. (Davey and White's Tīmūr 4*n.*) Apparently Aḥmad b. 'Arab Shāh is the authority for this, who in the beginning of his Life of Tīmūr, speaks of a Shaikh called Shamsu-d-dīn Al Fakhuri whom Tīmūr consulted.

A.F.'s reference to Shamsu-d-dīn's foretelling the greatness of Tīmūr to his father is interesting because it seems to be an allusion to Tīmūr's Memoirs where the story is told. If this is so, it goes to support the genuineness of the Memoirs by showing that they were in existence before, at least the reign of Shāh Jahān. The story, however, about Shamsu-d-dīn's prophecy also appears in the *Ḥabību-s-siyar*.

The Āīn (Jarrett III, 358) mentions an Amīr Kalāl who was a saint of the Naqshbandī order.

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CHAPTER XVI.

The Lord of Great Conjunctions, Third Pole[1] of the Universe, Pole of Realm and Religion, Amīr Timur Gūrgān.[2]

The eternal decree and unchanging will of God hath adorned the world by assigning thousands of designs to everything. Thus the Almighty, by implanting in the fifty-two persons who form the
78 lofty line of the king of kings and who are the instruction of the wise,—command, wisdom, sovereignty, guidance, favour, bounty and other glorious graces and illustrious qualities, fashioned and finished the unique pearl of the Imperial Vicegerency (*Khilāfat*). And from and after Qācūlī Bahādur, He caused seven heroes of the sacred line to descend from the position of visible sovereignty and awarded them the status of Commander-in-Chief and king-making (*shāhin-shāhī*) so that by experiencing the stage of subjection in the garb of obedience, they might in an admirable manner, set forth to the apparatus of the universal laboratory. And as for the exalted ancestors who spent their days in Īrganaqūn, albeit we have no record

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[1] *Ṣāliṣu-l-quṭbīn.* Probably this means that he is a Pole supplemental to the two Poles, making with them a Trinity. But it may mean umpire or arbitrator between the two Poles, or that he was three kinds of Pole, *viz.*, *quṭbu-l-millat* (religion), *quṭbu-d-dunyā* (the world) *quṭbu-d-dīn* (faith), as Tīmūr is styled in the *Prolegomena* (*Ẓafar-nāma*). Ruy Gonzales de Clavigo (Clements R. Markham trs. 124) says, "The arms of Timur Beg were three circles like "*o*"s drawn in this manner °₀° and this is to signify that he is lord of three parts of the world." He adds that Tīmūr ordered this device to be stamped on his coins and on everything that he had and that he ordered his tributaries to use it on their coins. Possibly the epithet in the Text alludes to this device.

[2] Tīmūr, we are told, never took any title higher than that of Amīr (officer) which is an allusion [illegible] Commander-in-Chiefship h[illegible] his branch and was accordi[illegible]gly a title hereditary in his family. The title *Gūrgān* (son-in-law) refers apparently to his ancestor Qarācār Nūyān's marriage with a daughter of Cagh̲atāī, son of Cingīz. But it may also refer to his own marriage with princesses.

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of them, yet they too, generation after generation, were seized of greatness. Though the name of sovereignty was not, they possessed the reality and shewed it forth by preserving their honour while shut out from the haunts of men. And now that the stages of solitude and society had been fulfilled and a complete preparation had been made for the coming forth of the unique pearl of his Majesty, the king of kings, God, the Creator of the world, stripped off the disguise of dependency which had seemingly been imported into the line by the counsels of Tūmana Khān, and displayed a hero fit for and capable of a great sovereignty. Such was the appearance of his Majesty, the Lord of Conjunction, Adorner of the Seven Climes, Exalter of Throne and Diadem, Amīr Tīmūr Gūrgān. This great one came forth and planted his foot in existence in the environs of Kesh,[1] commonly known as the *Shahr-i-sabz* (Green City) and one of the towns of Īrān,[2] on the night of Tuesday, 25th *Sha'bān*, 736[3] (9th April, 1336) in the Mouse Year (First of the Turkish cycle) under the Sign of Capricorn, from the fair womb and pure veil of her Majesty, the perfection of modesty and blessedness, glory of choiceness and purity, guardian of realm and religion, Tagīna[4] Khātūn. This axis of the sphere of the great vicegerency and ocean-centre of sublime sovereignty is the star of fortune which arose eighth from out the bosom of Qācūlī Bahādur.

According to the view of one historian,[5] the true vision of Qācūlī Bahādur was fulfilled thereby but, as has already been indicated, this

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[1] About 40 miles S. by E. of Samarqand. It was called the Green City on account of the verdure of its gardens. (*Ẓafarnāma* I. 301.) It has been described by Bābar (Erskine, 54), P. de Courteille (I. 106) and E. Schuyler. It is also mentioned in the *Āīn* (Jarrett, III. 97) as in the 5th climate and in Badakhshān (!). It is generally reckoned a day's journey from Samarqand.

[2] One MS. has Tūrān and so has Abu-l-ḥamīd (*Bādshāhnāma*, Bib. Ind. I. 43) Īrān is perhaps right, for the word is vaguely used. (D'Herbelot *s. v.*). Kesh is in what is usually called Transoxiana and a variant gives *Māwarā'u-n-nahr* (Transoxiana) instead of Īrān.

[3] Gibbon quoting Hyde says 1336, 9th April, 11-57 P.M., lat. 36.

[4] Sometimes Nagīna, *e. g.*, in Khāfī Khān.

[5] Sharafu-d-dīn 'Alī Yazdī (*Ẓafarnāma*). The *Ḥabību-s-siyar* says the same thing. A.F. has already censured Sharafu-d-dīn (Cap. I. near the end) for identifying the seven stars which emerged from Qācūlī's bosom, with the seven descendants

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day was, according to the profound investigations of the wise and far-seeing,[1] only the beginning of the ascent of the constellation and the flashing of the first star.

In the fortunate Age in which the Lord of Conjunction was born, Tarmashīrīn[2] Khān, son of Davā Khān, son of Barāq Khān, son of

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who intervened between Qācūlī and Tīmūr. A.F. says it is wrong to take for stars, men who did not rule, and holds that Tīmūr was the first of the eight stars and not the last. But his interpretation is liable to the same objection. It is true that Akbar was the eighth in descent from Tīmūr, but this was through a younger son of the latter, *viz.*, the third, Mīrān Shāh, and neither Mīrān nor his son, Muḥammad Mīrzā (who also was not an eldest son) were ever kings. Certainly they were never what A.F. calls world-adorners and cannot for instance, be compared for kingly qualities, extent of dominion and duration of reign with Shāhrukh Mīrzā (Tīmūr's fourth son) or for intellectual eminence with Shāhrukh's illustrious son Ulugh Bēg. Indeed of the six who intervened between Tīmūr and Akbar, only three were kings, *viz.*, Abū Sa'īd, Bābar and Humāyūn.

[1] This is singular and perhaps refers to Amīr Fatḥu-l-lāh of Shīrāz.

[2] This seems a mistake. Tarmashīrīn was killed in 1330 according to D'Ohsson (IV. Table II.), and Mr. Oliver (R. A. S. J. XX. New Ser.) thinks he died in 1334. It would seem that he was living in 1333, for Ibn Baṭūṭa apparently visited him in that year and Mr. Oliver (J. A. S. B. 1891, II. eleven) gives one of his coins dated 733 (1333). Both D'Herbélot and Miles speak of Amīr Kazgān as ruling in Transoxiana at the time of Tīmūr's birth but Amīr Kazgān was only a rebellious subject. According to Sharafu-d-dīn—who ought to be a good authority and whom Mas'ūdī servilely copies,—Sulṭān Qazān was the nominal ruler when Tīmūr was born and his reign lasted from 733–747 (1332–1346) but the real authority was possessed by Amīr Qazān.

(Bib. Ind. ed. has Qarān Sulṭān Khān and *Prolegomena* (A. S. B. MS. O*a*, 26, p. 69*a*) Qarā Sulṭān Khān. Pétis de la Croix has Cazan. See also Miles 374. Sharafu-d-dīn dilates in the *Prolegomena*, on the birth of Tīmūr in this reign).

Later on, (I. 43) Sharafu-d-dīn states that Tughlaq Tīmūr, a grandson of Davā and nephew of Tarmashīrīn, came to Transoxiana in *Rabī'u-ṣ-ṣānī* 761 (February 1360) and that in the 33 years previous, dating from the death of Tarmashīrīn, there had reigned eight kings of the Caghatāī line. This would fix Tarmashīrīn's death in 728 (1328). This is also the date expressly stated in the *Prolegomena* (A. S. B. MS. O*a*, 26, p. 68*b*) as that when Tarmashīrīn was put to death by his cousin Purān.

The evidence of Ibn Baṭūṭa against this is perhaps not of overwhelming

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Bīsūtawā, son of Bīsūkān, son of Caghatāī Khān was ruling in Transoxiana. In Īrān four months had passed since the death of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd[1] and there was on that account universal confusion in that country.

Amīr Sāḥib Qarān from his earliest years up to the flower of his youth, was occupied in practising the art of hunting[2] and the methods of war and battles. In the Mouse Year 762[3] (1361) Amīr Ṭarāghāī departed from this world. He had four sons and two daughters, *viz.*, Ṣāḥib Qarānī, 'Ālam Shaikh, Siyūrghtamsh, Jūkī, Qutlagh[4] Tarkān Āghā and Shīrīn Bēgī Āghā. 79

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weight for he is always confused and vague about dates and he seemingly never clearly states when he saw Tarmashīrīn. But the evidence of the coin is more difficult to get over. It is not however quite conclusive for apart from the fact that posthumous coins are not unknown, we have the fact that there was an apparently fictitious claimant to the title of Tarmashīrīn and the coin of 733 might have been struck by him.

Mr. Oliver's opinion is that Jinkshī or Jinikishai was reigning in 736 and he doubts that Buzūn ever reigned. This is the statement in the R. A. S. J., but in the subsequent list in J. A. S. B., Buzūn is put down as having reigned from 742–44. On the other hand, Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, as quoted by Mr. Ney Elias, gives Buzūn as reigning in Transoxiana at Tīmūr's birth (*Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*, Intr. 49.)

[1] The Abū Sa'īd "b. Algiaptou (*i.e.*, son of Oljaitu)" of D'Herbélot who gives a long account of him and states that he was the last prince of the house of Cingīz whom the Mughals recognized. He was descended from Hulāgū Khān. The *Shajratu-l-atrāk* (Miles 309) says he died at the age of 32, childless, on 13 *Rabī'u-l-ākhar* 736 (D'Ohsson and Beale, 30 Nov., 1335; Gladwin 1 Dec.). It was Abū Sa'īd who put to death the famous historian and minister Rashīdu-d-dīn. D'Herbélot mentions that as the year 736 was full of calamities, it was designated لوذ *lauz*. This word both gives by *abjad* the figure 736 (*viz.*, *l*=30, *w*=6, and *z*=700), and also indicates by its meaning of "taking refuge," the necessity for a protector of the Age, *viz.*, Tīmūr.

[2] This is from the *Ẓafarnāma* (15) which states that Tīmūr practised hunting and the art of war from 10 years of age.

[3] Apparently he died in 761 or very early in 762, otherwise the corresponding cycle-year must have been that of the Ox. The *Ẓafarnāma* too, although not explicit, seems to say that Tīmūr's father died in 761,—the year in which Tughlaq Tīmūr invaded Transoxiana and Tīmūr's uncle, Ḥājī Barlās fled to Khurāsān. However the *Tārīkh-i-Jahāngīr* (the *Prolegomena*, of the *Ẓafarnāma*) gives (near the end) the date of Ṭarāghāī's death, 762.

[4] She died 785 (*Ẓafarnāma* I. 355).

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When Ṣāḥib Qarānī arrived at the age of 34[1] solar years, he with auspicious horoscope and lofty fortune and by the counselling of his God-given wisdom which is a station of Divine inspiration, placed on his head on Wednesday, 12 *Ramaẓān*, 771 (9, April,[2] 1370), corresponding to the year of the Dog (Īt) the diadem of rule and the crown of world-conquest and made lofty the throne of sovereignty and world-government. And for 36[3] years which was the time of his supremacy and world-adornment, he brought under his control and into his permanent possession, the countries of Transoxiana, Khwārizm, Turkistān, Khurāsān, the two 'Irāqs,[4] Āẕarbāījān, Persia, Māzindarān, Kirmān, Dīyārbakr, Khūzistān, Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor (Rūm), *etc.*, by means of his world-conquering courage and his capacious intellect, and uplifted the banners of authority and sovereignty in the four quarters of the world and in the seven climes.

Whosoever was befriended[5] of Salvation, came forward to meet him with the foot of obedience and for such an one, the rose of auspiciousness bloomed on Fortune's pinnacle. Whoever had misfortune and eventual destruction enfolded in his skirt, and disengaged his head from the collar of submission, arrived with tearing of hair[6] at the Judgment-seat of the Dispenser (*Qahramān*) of Justice and beheld in his own bosom the thorn-brake offspring of his acts.

On Monday of Ẕī-l-qa'da[7] 789, he massacred the inhabitants of

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[1] Abū-l-ḥamīd (*Bādshāhnāma*, 43), gives Tīmūr's age then as 35 yrs. 17 dys.

[2] Apparently on his birthday.

[3] Abū-l-ḥamīd says for 35 yrs. 11 ms. 5 dys.

[4] This might mean either Media and Babylonia or the cities of Kufa and Basra but here it is the former for Abū-l-ḥamīd who copies A.F. says (43) the 'Irāqs of Arabia and Persia.

[5] *Lit.* to whomsoever Salvation was the friend of his fortune's day. Four MSS. have *daulatash* instead of *daulat* as in Text.

[6] *Mūī-kashān lit.* hair-dragging but here perhaps "dragged by the hair."

[7] It was 6 Ẕī-l-qa'da (6th November, 1387), according to Price (Retrospect III. 72.) The inhabitants rose against Tīmūr while negociations for the surrender of the city were going on and killed many of his soldiers. Tīmūr thus alludes to the affair (Institutes, White and Davy, 119) "And I conquered the city of Iṣpahān. And I trusted the people of Iṣpahān and I delivered the castle into their hands. And they rebelled and the *Darogha* whom I had placed over them, they slew with 300 of the soldiers. And I also commanded that a general slaughter should be made of the people of Iṣpahān."

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Iṣpahān on account of their sedition and rebellion. Thence he turned the reins of resolution towards the capital (Shīrāz) of Persia (Fārs) where the Muẓaffar[1] family (Āl-i-muẓaffar) became his servants. When news came of the opposition of Tūqtamish[2] Khān the ruler of Dasht Qipcāk[3] (the desert of Qipcāk, *i.e.*, the Khirgiz Steppe) and one of those who had been supported[4] by his Majesty (Tīmūr), he twice led his army against him and having exalted the banners of victory, he returned. He traversed Dasht Qipcāk which is a thousand leagues (*farsangs*) long and six hundred wide and cleared it of the rubbish of strife.[5] A second time he marched against Īrān in 795 (1393) and brought death to Shāh Manṣūr[6] who had cocked[7] the bonnet of frowardness, and he extirpated the Muẓaffar race.

And in that country, he performed feats which obliterated those of Rustam[8] and Afrāsīāb[9] and for the sake of the repose of the ministers[10] of his victorious dominion, converted the country of Persia into a thornless garden (*gulzār-i-bīkhār*). After[11] that he conquered Baghdād by the strength of his dominion and fortune. He went several times into Georgia and brought there as his companions, victory and conquest. In 12 Muḥarram, 801 (23rd September, 1398),

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[1] D'Herbélot art. Madhaffar, and Rieu's Cat. I. 82 and 168*a*. The dynasty was known by the name of Āl-i-muẓaffar. It began in 718 (1318) and was overthrown by Tīmūr in 795 (1393). It ruled over Kirmān.

[2] D'Herbélot art. Toctamish.

[3] Jarrett III. 102.

[4] Tūqtamish at one time owed his kingdom to Tīmūr. He was a descendant of Cingīz through his son Jūjī.

[5] *Khas ū khāshāk* "weeds and bria[illegible]

[6] D'[illegible]bélot art. Mansor; Ẓafarnām[illegible] Bib. Ind. I. 608, and Gibbon Cap. 65. Manṣūr was killed by Shāhrukh and Gibbon says Tīmūr declared his esteem of the valour of his foe by extirpating all the males of so intrepid a race.

[7] *Cf.* Macaulay's account of Sir John Fenwick cocking his hat in Queen Mary's face.

[8] Alluding apparently to the taking of the famous White Fort (*Qil'a-i-safīd*) 45 miles N.W. of Shīrāz and which was taken by Rustam also. (Hist. of Persia, Malcolm I. 27 and 46.)

[9] Afrāsīāb, *i.e.*, conqueror of Persia. He was afterwards killed by Zāl and his son Rustam.

[10] *Auliyā-i-daulat*, but this phrase is often only a respectful way of mentioning the king himself.

[11] This was the first taking of Baghdād, in Sep. 1393. It was taken again 20th June, 1401.

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he made a noble[1] bridge over the Indus and by dominion and fortune conquered Hindūstān.[2] In 803 (October 1400) he made an expedition against Syria,[3] and then raised the morning-breeze of fortune.
80 The lights of celestial victories illumined that world-conqueror. On that occasion Aleppo was taken and then the army went to Damascus and shed the blood of the rulers of Syria who were confined in the wretchedness[4] of prison.

Next year he raised his standards for the purpose of subduing Rūm and on Friday, 19[5] Ẕī-l-ḥijja, 804 (20th July, 1402), having arrayed his army and adorned the flag of contest with the crescent of victory,

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[1] The bridge was of boats and rafts and made in two days and hardly entitled to be styled a *jasr-i-'ālī* Tīmūr crossed where Jalālu-d-dīn Mangbarnī swam the river.

[2] A.F. has a short notice of this expedition in the Āīn, under the heading "Comers into India." See Jarrett 349, where instead of "the booty obtained was not considerable" we should read "they did not value it" (the conquest of India). Sir A. Cunningham (Indian Eras) gives the date of the capture of Delhi as Wed. 18th Dec., 1398.

[3] The reference appears to be to the slaughter of prisoners from Aleppo, etc., after the first battle before Damascus (*Ẓafarnāma* II. 314). Among them were Shadūn, governor of Damascus and apparently many other rulers of Syrian cities. These had all assembled at Aleppo under the orders of the king of Egypt (l.c. II. 287.) Aḥmad 'Arab Shāh tells how a number of the chief men of Damascus surrendered themselves to Tīmūr after the Sulṭān of Egypt had deserted the city and that many of these were afterwards put to death (Manger, II. Cap. VI and XIII).

Tīmūr killed them and also the prisoners taken in the battle, apparently because the king of Egypt had tried to have him assassinated and because he (the king) had put one of his ambassadors to death and imprisoned Altamsh Qujīn (l.c. II. 275). But the Text may also refer to Tīmūr's severities against the principal men of Damascus after he had taken the city. He was incensed against them because they were Sunnīs and belonged to the house of Yazīd, the slayer of Ḥusain, and because they had neglected the tomb of the Prophet's widows.

[4] I am not sure of the meaning of *ẕall-i-qaid*. Several MSS. write it without the *iẓāfat* and as if it were the name of a place. There is a town and fortress of Zillah in Asia Minor (near to which Cæsar gained his *Veni, Vidi, Vici* victory) but I cannot find that the Syrian Amīrs were confined there or that Tīmūr was ever there. Possibly *ẕall* is a variant for *ẕill*, shadow.

[5] Aḥmad 'Arab Shāh, Thursday, 27 Zī-l-ḥijja (*Thamuz*). (Manger, II. 255.)

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he fought near Angora (Ancyra), a glorious battle with Īlderim (Thunderbolt), the Cæsar of Rūm, and by the secret aids which rode always beside this royal cavalier of the plain of supremacy, the assembled armies of victory and conquest became his stirrup-holders, and the proclamation[2] of success was issued in the name of that world-subduing lord. Īlderim Bāyazīd (Bajazet) was made prisoner and when they produced him at the foot of the lofty throne, he was, out of perfect kindness and chivalry, given a seat above the princes.[3]

From thence[4] Tīmūr went to Āẕarbāījān and spent there eighteen months in the administration of justice. Kings and kings' sons from

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[1] *Ham-'inān, lit.* equal-reined.

[2] Referring to announcements of victory sent to Persia, Tartary, etc. (*Ẓafarnāma* II. 447).

[3] Text, *zīr-i-dast-i-shāhzāda* but most MSS. have *shāhzādahā* and no doubt this is the true reading. I am also convinced that *zīr* is a mistake for *zabar* which I have found in one A.S.B.MS. See Vullers *s.v. zabardast* where the meaning *prior locus in consessu* is given and also the phrase *zabardast nishastan, locum altiorem, i.e., magis honoratum occupare,* together with a very apposite Persian couplet.

I do not know whether A.F. was justified by his authorities for the statement in the Text. The *Ẓafarnāma* merely says Tīmūr gave Bāyazīd a seat near himself and the *Rauẓatu-ṣ-ṣafā* that Bāyazīd was given an honourable seat (*sharaf-i-julūs*).

A.F. knows nothing or says nothing about Bāyazīd's subsequent confinement in an iron cage (Gibbon). The story is, however, now regarded as disproved. The *Rauẓat* states that according to the testimony of an eye-witness, Tīmūr at first spoke roughly to Bāyazīd and reproached him for his obstinacy and folly. The *Ẓafarnāma* admits this but represents the reproaches as given after the removal of his chains.

Bāyazīd was restored to his kingdom and allowed the place of a subject or vassal prince (*Ẓafarnāma* II. 461). According to Hammer, the "cage" was a woman's litter. But a recent writer in the Z. D. M. G. has refuted Hammer and has, apparently unconsciously, vindicated the acumen of Gibbon.

[4] This statement is misplaced. Tīmūr went to Āẕarbāījān before the battle of Angora and the "18 months" referred to seems the interval between the taking of Damascus in January, 1401 and the battle of Angora in July, 1402. A.F. says nothing of the capture of Smyrna from the Knights of St. John which occurred after the battle of Angora in 805 (December, 1402) and was one of Tīmūr's greatest achievements. The whole of A.F.'s account of Tīmūr is very poor and bears marks of haste.

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various countries came and did homage. The ruler of Egypt coined much red and white money in his name and sent it to the world-protecting Court. Other rulers of the surrounding countries raised the flag of well-wishing on the plain of obedience. And from the pulpits of Mecca, Medina and other holy places, the *khuṭba* was read in his name. In Ẕī-l-qa'da, 806 (May, 1404), he marched against Fīrūza-kūh[1] and having won victory there that very day, he, without delay, turned towards Khurāsān. In the beginning of Muḥarram 807 (9th-10th July, 1404) he went by Nīshāpūr to Transoxiana and there in his native country inaugurated a great feast[2] such as astonished the lords of greatness and splendour.

After gratifying mankind with largesses and favours, he set forth to subdue the territories of China (*Khiṭā*).

On the night of Wednesday, 17 Sha'bān, 807 (18th February, 1405) in the village (*mauẓa'*) of Utrār[3] which is 76 leagues (*farsakh*) from Samarqand, he, by the irresistible order of God turned his face towards the eternal city and rode the steed of life into the spacious abode of the everlasting world. They brought his sublime corse to Samarqand with the respect due to so great a man. The following lines record the years of the events of this world-adorner.

Quatrain.

Sulṭān Tīmūr is he to whom no king was like;
In 736, he came into existence;
In 771, he ascended the throne,
In 807, he bade the world adieu.

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[1] A town in Māzindarān, on the Caspian. It takes its name from a neighbouring mountain which yields turquoise or according to another derivation, is the "Hill of Victory." (D'Herbélot art. *Firouzcouh* and Réclus 242.) It was seen by Clavigo who calls it Berescote, when on his way to visit Tīmūr (Markham, 101).

[2] The Diet and entertainment described by Clavigo and Gibbon and at which six marriages of Tīmūr's grandchildren were celebrated. It took place September, 1404, at Samarqand.

[3] Lat. 44 N. Long. 67 E. and about 300 miles N. by E. of Samarqand on right bank of the Sīhūn (Jaxartes). Bābar (Erskine I. 11*n.*) says it was called also Yenghi. Hence it is the Yenghi-kent (New Town) of Turkistān mentioned in the *Āīn* (Jarrett, III. 101).

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This auspicious Lord of Conjunction had four sons. (1) Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Jahāngīr Mīrzā. He died in Samarqand in 776[1] (1375) in the early part of his father's reign. He left two sons, Muḥammad Sulṭān 81
whom Tīmūr made his heir but who died after the conquest of Asia Minor (Rūm) on 17 Sha'bān, 805, at Sūrī[2] a fort of Rūm; and Pīr Muḥammad who was made his heir after his brother's death and in whose favour his Majesty Ṣāḥib Qarānī made a will at the end of his life. At that time he (Pīr Muḥammad) was ruler of Ghaznīn and the borders of India. But he was martyred on 14 Ramaẓān, 809 (22nd February, 1407), by Pīr 'Alī Tāz,[3] one of his officers and thus the stain of an eternal curse was affixed to the brow of that disloyal one.

The second son of his Majesty Ṣāḥib Qarānī is Mīrzā 'Umar Shaikh who ruled over Persia. He too died in his father's life-time in Rabī'u-l-awwal, 796 (January, 1394), below the fortress of Kharmātū.[4]

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[1] Tīmūr's Memoirs and *Ẓafarnāma*, 777. See *Ẓafarnāma* I. 271 where it is said that 777 corresponds with the Crocodile Year. The death was in the beginning of 777 and so about June 1375.

[2] I do not know the authority for this statement. Sūrī Ḥiṣār is mentioned in the *Ẓafarnāma* (II. 448) and Pétis de la Croix says it is a fortress between Angora and Kutaya (Cotyaeum). See also Retrospect, Price, III. 397. In Réclus' map it is Sivri Hissar.

But the *Ẓafarnāma* does not say Muḥammad Sulṭān died there. What it says is (II. 490), that he died three stages from Qarā Ḥiṣār (Black Fort) while his father was having him conveyed in a travelling-litter,—apparently from Qarā Ḥiṣār for change of air. (See for account of his illness and death, *Ẓafarnāma* II. 490. Also Price l.c. III. 424.) The *Ẓafarnāma* gives date of death 18 Sha'bān, (11th March, 1403), and thus about a fortnight after Bāyazīd's; according to Hammer, four days only—he putting Bāyazīd's death 14 Sha'bān, 803 (8th March, 1403). According to Aḥmad 'Arab Shāh (Manger, I. 147) Muḥammad Sulṭān died in Āq Shahr where died also Bāyazīd.

One MS. (B.M. Add. 27, 247) has *dar sawārī* for *dar sūrī*, and possibly this is the true reading, for apparently Muḥammad Sulṭān died in his travelling-litter.

[3] D'Herbélot and several MSS., *Yār*. Tāz appears right. For account of the murder (which was committed near Shibarghan, W. of Balkh) see Hist. of Bukhārā, Vambéry 215 and 'Abdu-r-razzāk, Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits* XIV. 101. Pīr 'Alī was afterwards put to death by Shāhrukh.

[4] Also Kharmānū. It is a petty fort in Kurdistān. The prince had been sent for by his father from Persia and was on his way to join

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The third son was Jalālu-d-dīn Mīrān Shāh Mīrzā of whom a short account will be given as he belongs to this noble series.

The fourth son was Mīrzā Shāhrukh who governed Khurāsān and who attended his father's stirrup in many battles. Shortly after his father's death, he became confirmed in sovereignty; and Īrān, Tūrān and such other countries as had been under his father's control, were under his successful sway for 43 years. He was born on Thursday 14th Rabī'u-l-ākhar, 779 (21st August, 1377), and died on New Year's Day (Pers. Era) Sunday morning, 25th Ẕī-l-ḥijja, 850 (13th March, 1447).

JALĀLU-D-DĪN MĪRĀN SHĀH.

Jalālu-d-dīn Mīrān Shāh is the sixth ancestor of the king of kings. His noble birth was in 769 and in his father's lifetime he governed the Arabian[1] and Persian 'Irāqs, Āẕarbāījān, Diyārbakr (Mesopotamia) and Syria.

When his Majesty Ṣāḥib Qarānī marched against India, all these countries[2] were placed under his (Jalālu-d-dīn's) management so that not for a moment, was there intermission of justice and sovereignty.

One day while hunting roebuck,[3] his horse shied (or perhaps took fright) in galloping and he was thrown from the point of the

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him in Diyārbakr. He was killed by an arrow from the fort while reconnoitering it. (*Rauẕatu-ṣ-ṣafā* B.M. Add. 27, 236, 107*b*, and lith. ed. VI. 69; also Retrospect, Price, III. 172).

[1] Text *wa*, after 'Irāq, is wrong.

[2] Syria can hardly have been among these for it was not conquered until after the Indian expedition.

[3] Text سر قوچ *sar-i-qūc*, but *Ẕafarnāma*, *qūc* which Vullers translates *aries bellicosus*. But *sar-i-qūc* also means roe-deer and Pétis de la Croix translates it *chevreuil* (Book V. Cap. I. 189). The *Ḥabību-s-siyar* calls the animal a *qūc-kuhi*, qu. ibex. *Sar-i-qūc* does not occur in the Dictionaries and is perhaps a mistake for *sāī-qūc*, a desert-antelope. Shaw's voc. gives *Sāī-kūk*, for an antelope.

For an account of the accident which occurred in the autumn of 798 (1396) and thus some two yrs. before the Indian expedition, see *Ẕafarnāma* II. 200; Retrospect, Price, III. 292 and *Rauẕatu-ṣ-ṣafā* Book VI. 98 lith. ed. where further details are given such as that Mīrān Shāh took up the deer on his saddle bow and that it fell off and so startled the horse. The accident was near Tabrīz where there were not likely to have been wild sheep.

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saddle to the ground and sustained grave injuries to his head and face.[1] Able physicians and surgeons applied remedies and restored him to physical health but his mind remained clouded (*lit.* a mist encircled the centre of his mind's equability) from the accident. After Tīmūr's death, Mīrān Shāh's eldest son Abābakr Mīrzā read the *khuṭba* and struck coins in his father's name. His Highness the Prince (Mīrān Shāh) lived principally in Tabrīz[2] and all affairs of 82
sovereignty were carried on by Mīrzā Abābakr. On 24th Zī-l-qa'da, 810 (21st April, 1408), he was killed[3] in a battle with Qarā Yūsuf Turkmān in the environs of Tabrīz. He had eight sons,[4] Abābakr, Alankar Mīrzā, 'Uṣmān Calbī Mīrzā, 'Umar Khalīl, Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, Ījil Mīrzā, Siyūrghtamish.

Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā.

Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā is the dominion[5]-holding son of Mīrān Shāh. His noble mother was Mihr Nūsh[6] and of the tribe of Fūlād

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[1] *Ẓafarnāma*, head and face.

[2] Clavigo (Markham 95) saw Mīrān Shāh at Sultania and describes him as 40 yrs. of age and a large, corpulent and gouty man. He describes his misconduct and why he had been deprived of power by his father.

[3] *Notices et Extraits*, Quatremère XIV, 135 and *Rauẓatu-ṣ-ṣafā* lith. ed. VI. 168 and Price l.c. IV. 504. The last two give date 26 Zī-l-qa'da 810.

[4] See Blochmann's *Āīn*, Genealogical Table.

[5] This is said merely for the jingle [illegible] *farzand-i-daulat-paiwanu*. In fact Sulṭān Muḥammad never reigned. It seems (*Ẓafarnāma* II. 735) that he died before his father and grandfather, *i.e.*, before 807, for he is not named in the *Ẓafarnāma*, among Tīmūr's surviving 36 sons and grandsons. This may account for Clavigo's not mentioning him and it also shows how confused and unreliable A.F.'s account is. A.F. would lead us to suppose Sulṭān Muḥammad living when Khalīl was sent by his uncle Shāhrukh (Price l.c. IV. 521) in 812 (March, 1410), to Rhey or Rey (Rhages) where he died in Rajab 814 (2nd November, 1411). If as is most probable, Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā died so early—before even his father had acceded to power—A.F.'s representing him as a *Jahān-ārāī wālā-qadr* (powerful world-adorner) and as typified by one of the seven stars of Qacūlī's dream, becomes doubly ridiculous.

[6] Perhaps the lady called Khānzāda by Sharafu-d-dīn (205), Clavigo, etc., who went off to Samarqand and reported her husband's insanity to Tīmūr. Clavigo says she was the mother of Khalīl and it seems probable from their living together that Khalīl and Sulṭān Muḥammad were

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Qīyā. The Mīrzā always lived with his brother Mīrzā Khalīl in Samarqand and when the latter proceeded to 'Irāq, Mīrzā Shāhrukh told Mīrzā Ulugh Bēg (his son) what he knew of Muḥammad Mīrzā's good qualities and praised his noble character; and the Prince (Ulugh Bēg) always shewed him brotherly (*i.e.*, cousinly) kindness. Muḥammad Mīrzā had two sons, Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā and Manūcihr Mīrzā. When he was ill and about to die, Mīrzā Ulugh Bēg came to inquire after him and the latter strongly recommended his son Abū Sa'īd to Mīrzā Ulugh Bēg. Accordingly Abū Sa'īd was brought up with all enjoyment under the care of Ulugh Bēg and daily moved upwards on the steps of dominion and fortune under his guidance. One day,[1] one of Ulugh Bēg's intimates observed to him "Your cousin (Abū Sa'īd) is serving you very zealously," to which the Mīrzā replied, "He is not serving us but is learning the arts of conquest and victory from our companionship." And in this the Mīrzā was speaking from his perfect insight and perception.

Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā.

Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā's auspicious birth was in 830 (1427) and he became Sulṭān when he was 25. For 18 years he ruled Turkistān, Transoxiana, Badakhshān, Kābul, Ghaznīn, Qandahār and the borders of Hindūstān and in the end of his reign, 'Irāq too came into his possession. And with this prosperity and extent of territory which might become a thousand-fold source of intoxication, he was discreet and open-minded and sought for enlightenment from dervishes and ascetics. In 872 (1468) Mīrzā Jahān Shāh, son of Qarā Yūsuf, the ruler of Āzarbāījān, had marched to put down Āzūn Ḥasan Āqquyanlu[2] but owing to his great carelessness and complete want of

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full brothers. Clavigo (147) calls her Hansada. He says "She was of the lineage of the old emperors and for this reason, Timur Beg treats her with great respect." This points to her identity with Mihr Nūsh to whose lofty lineage A.F. refers. Qīyā seems the same as Qiyāt mentioned by A.F. in the account of Irganaqūn but I do not know the tribe Fūlād (steel).

[1] Bābar, Erskine, Introduction LIV.

[2] White sheep. (Price l.c. III. 608). The proper spelling appears to be *Āq-quyan-lū*. The Black sheep are the Qarāquyanlū. Āzūn Ḥasan, *i.e.*, Ḥasan the Long, was maternal grandfather of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafavī, king of Persia.

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management, was killed by him.[1] The Sulṭān (Abū Sa'īd) led an army against him (Āẕūn Ḥasan). Though Āẕūn Ḥasan proferred peace, it was not accepted and being driven to extremity, he cut off the supplies of corn. Consequently a great famine arose in the camp (of Abū Sa'īd) so that for 14 days the royal horses had no barley and as a result of the famine, the soldiers dispersed. Āẕūn Ḥasan gained the victory and on 22 Rajab, 873 (4th February, 1469), the Sulṭān fell by fate into the hands of Āẕūn Ḥasan's men. Three days afterwards he was made over to Yādgār Muḥammad Mīrzā, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, son of Bāysangẖar Mīrzā, son of Shāhrukẖ Mīrzā who was an ally of Āẕūn Ḥasan. This worthless inauspicious one slew that powerful king on the pretext[2] of the murder of Gauhar Shād Bēgum who was the wife of Shāhrukẖ Mīrzā. The words *Maqtal-i-Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd* (the slaughter-spot of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd) give the date (873 = 1469). 83

'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā.

'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā was the fourth[3] son of Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā, being

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[1] This is the occurrence referred to by Herbélot in his notice of Abū Sa'īd. He says that in 861 (1457), Abū Sa'īd was in a bad humour owing to having failed to capture the citadel of Herāt and that at this time, some evil-disposed persons told him that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā (a grandson of Bāysangẖar and great-grandson of Shāhrukẖ) had sent messengers to Sulṭāna Gauhar Shād and that he had a secret understanding with her. In consequence, Abū Sa'īd hastily ordered her to be put to death. She was the widow of Shāhrukẖ, the great-grandfather of Yādgār and had been living in Herāt which had been her husband's capital and where he had died in 850 (1447). Abū Sa'īd had taken the town but had failed to get possession of the citadel.

[2] Gauhar Shād (Jewel of Delight) seems to have been Shāhrukẖ's favourite wife, and Vambéry states (Hist. of Bukhārā, 236) that some of his verses about her are still remembered by the people of Herāt. Bābar speaks of visiting her tomb. She must have been an elderly woman when put to death, and the vengeance taken by her descendant was not excessive and was in accordance with the Muḥammadan law of retaliation. She was put to death on 10 Ramaẕān, 861 (31st July, 1457. Price l.c. IV, 598.) See inscription on her tomb in Cap. Yates "Notes on the City of Herāt." (J.A.S.B. 1887, Vol. 56, p. 98.) She is there called Gauhar Shād Āghā and the date of her death is given only as the middle of Ramaẕān, 861. Yādgār was only a boy at the time, for Bābar (88) speaks of him as an inexperienced lad of 17 or 18 when he was killed at Herāt in the following year, 1470.

[3] A. F.'s list of Abū Sa'īd's sons

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younger than Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā, Sulṭān Muḥammad and Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mīrzā and older than Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā, Sulṭān Walad Mīrzā, Ulugh Bēg Mīrzā, Abū Bakr Mīrzā, Sulṭān Khalīl Mīrzā and Shāhrukh Mīrzā. He was born in Samarqand in 860 (1455). Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā at first gave Kābul to the Prince and sent him off under the guardianship of Bābā Kābulī, but he recalled him from Dara-gaz[1] for the purpose of a festival.[2]

After it was over, he gave him the country of Andijān and the Takhtī-Ōzjand[3] and after providing him with officers, sent him to that country under the guardianship[4] of Tīmūr Tāsh[5] Bēg. The reason for giving this country to the best of his sons was an exceeding desire to preserve his ancestral territory and as his Majesty Sāḥib Qarānī gave it to his son 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā who was of singular ability, so did Abū Sa'īd on account of the sameness of name, gave it to his son 'Umar Shaikh. Sāḥīb Qarānī is reported to have repeatedly remarked, "We conquered the world by the might of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā's "sword, by his staying in Andijān and being a strong barrier between "our territory and the desert of Qipcāk and by his guarding the "passes, the people of Qipcāk were not able to rebel or be turbulent "and we could in security brace ourselves up for the conquest of the "world."

And this wise ruler ('Umar Shaikh the Second) also took extreme precautions that no hostile army should be able to cross this territory

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does not agree with Khwāndamīr and is incorrect. S. Maḥmūd was the second, and S. Muḥammad the third son. Abū Sa'īd left eleven sons, and it would appear in spite of Bābar's own statements, that his father was the 6th and not the fourth son, the 5th being Ulugh Bēg. The 11th son was apparently a Sulṭān 'Umar, who was distinct from 'Umar Shaikh.

[1] "The valley of Gez or Manna which lies on the Dihas or Balkhab, south of Balkh." (Erskine l. c. 7n.) According to Sir H. Rawlinson, (R. G. S. Pro. 1876, 170n.) Daragaz means valley of the tamarisk. As Abū Sa'īd had sent 'Umar Shaikh from Samarqand, the latter would pass Dara-gaz on his way to Afghānistān.

[2] Abū Sa'īd's famous six months' festival which he celebrated at Merv, in 1465 and in honour of the circumcision of his sons.

[3] Apparently Ōzkand in Eastern Farghāna.

[4] 'Umar Shaikh was then only ten years old. Much of this is from Bābar's Memoirs.

[5] His full name is Khudābandī Tīmūr Tāsh. (Bābar, Erskine 8 and 14.)

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which was the boundary of Mongolia. And though Yūnus[1] (Jonas) Khān tried, he could not get possession of it and not the slightest injury happened to its tranquillity. That fortunate and lofty-starred 84
Prince was one who weighed his words and was eloquent; he had a great liking for poets and could recite poetry. He had a poetical temperament but was not solicitous of writing verses and spent most of his time in reading books, historical and poetical. The *Shāhnāma* was often recited before him and he was an excellent companion; of open brow and good disposition and fond of quoting good poetry. A lofty genius warmed his soul and the beauty of fortune was manifest on his brow. He had no equal among his contemporaries for administrative ability, care of his subjects and dispensing of justice. His courage and generosity were on an equal footing and his genius was companioned by his energy. He adorned the throne of sovereignty.[2]

For example, once a caravan from China (Khiṭā) had come to the hill-country east of Andijān. There was a heavy snow-storm and the caravan was overwhelmed so that only two persons escaped. When this just man heard of the catastrophe, in spite of his necessities at the time, he did not touch any of the goods but appointed trustworthy persons and attached the property until the heirs were collected from their native country to receive the goods, the rights of each being ascertained.[3]

This king was always of a dervish mind and inclined to the society of religious persons and asked for wisdom at the doors of the hearts of the God-knowing. Especially the holy Nāṣiru-d-dīn[4] Khwāja 'Abīdu-l-lāh, known by the name of Khwāja Aḥrār.

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[1] This is hardly a fair description of Yūnus Khān's proceedings. 'Umar Shaikh made over his capital Akhsī to Yūnus and then repented and made war on him. He was defeated and taken prisoner and owed his life to Yūnus' generosity. (*Tār. Rashīdī*, 96.)

[2] All this is from Bābar. (Erskine 8 and also Pavét de Courteille.) But the Turkish seems more concise than the Persian. A.F. probably used the latter for his account is in closer accord with Erskine than with De Courteille.

[3] This story is told in Bābar's Memoirs (8). The stress laid on this simple act of honesty by Bābar and A.F. is rather significant of the morals of the time. Probably 'Umar Shaikh's self-denial on this occasion inspired his son Bābar to similar action towards the Hindustānī merchants at Kilāt-i-ghilzāī. (Memoirs 225.)

[4] For references to this saint, see

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In succession to his father, he ruled in Andijān, the capital of Farghāna and also Tāshkand, Shāhrukhīya and Sīrām were in his possession. He several times led an army against Samarqand and he several times brought to his help Yūnus Khān who possessed the dominions of Caghatāī Khān and was Khān of the Mughals and was nearly related to him. Whenever he brought him, he assigned some province to him and then as occasion served, Yūnus Khān would go back to Mughalistān. On the last occasion 'Umar Mīrzā gave him Tāshkand and up to 908 (1502-3) this and Shāhrukhīya were in the possession of the Caghatāī rulers. At this last date the Khānship of the Mughal tribes belonged to Maḥmūd Khān, eldest son of Yūnus Khān. This Maḥmūd Khān and Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā brother of 'Umar Shaikh ruler of Samarqand, having concluded an alliance, marched their forces against the Mīrzā ('Umar Shaikh). Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā proceeded from the south of the Khajand river and Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān from the north of it. Just at this crisis an
85 extraordinary thing happened to the Mīrzā. The brief account of it is as follows.

Akhsīkat which is known as Akhsī, is one of the seven towns of Farghāna. Mīrzā 'Umar Shaikh had made it his capital. The town was on a precipitous ravine and all the buildings were on its edge.[1] As fate would have it, on Monday 4th Ramaẓān, 899 (9th June, 1494), he was sitting near his pigeon house which was one of these buildings, watching the motions of his birds, when an attendant reported that the precipice was breaking away. The Mīrzā at once got up and had put one foot into its slipper but had not had time to put in the other, when the whole precipice gave way and the terrace fell down. The Mīrzā's outward form fell to the bottom but in reality, he ascended to the zenith. He was then 39 years old, having been born in 860, at Samarqand. (This last fact has been mentioned already.)

Be it known that Farghāna belongs to the fifth climate and is on

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Tār. Rashīdī 97, etc., and *Nafaḥātu-l-uns*, Lees, 465. He lived in Samarqand. Dr. Rieu gives the date of his death as 29th Rabī' I. 895 (2nd March, 1490), (Pers. Cat. III, 1086*a*). See also Blochmann 423.

[1] Apparently only the fort was on the edge of the ravine and the town some distance off. The fort looked down on the Sīhūn and 'Umar Shaikh had increased the steepness of the precipice by scarping the rock of the ravine. Perhaps this partly caused the accident.

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the borders of the civilized world. East of it is Kāshghar and west, Samarqand; south, the mountains on the borders of Badakhshān. To the north, although formerly there were cities such as Almālīgh, Almātū, Yāngī, known as Utrār, but at present no traces or ruins even of them remain. In the west where are Samarqand and Khajand, there are no mountains. Except in this direction, there is no entry for foreigners. The river Sīhūn, known as the Āb-i-khajand, coming from the north-east flows west. It then runs on the north of Khajand and south of Finākat which is known as Shāhrukhīya. Then inclining to the north, it flows towards Turkistān and meeting no other river in its course, it disappears beyond Turkistān in the sands. In this country there are seven towns, (*qaṣba*) five to the south of the Sīhūn and two to the north. The southern towns are Andijān, Ūsh, Marghīnān,[1] Asfara (var. Isfaraj) and Khajand. The northern are Akhsī and Kāsān.

This unique pearl of sovereignty had three sons and five daughters, the eldest son being his Majesty Firdūs-makānī Ẓahīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Bābar Pādshāh. Jahāngīr Mīrzā was the next and younger by two years and was the son of Fāṭima Sulṭān who belonged to the Tōmān officers (*i.e.*, chiefs of 10,000 men) of the Mughals. The third was Nāṣir Mīrzā younger than Jahāngīr by two years. His chaste mother was from Andijān and was a concubine named Ummed. The eldest daughter was Khānzāda Bēgum, full sister of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī and older than he by five years. When Shāh Isma'īl Ṣafawī defeated the Uzbēgs (Shaibānī) at Merv, that chaste one was in Merv and Shāh Isma'īl sent her with all respect to his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī at Qunduz.[2] 86

After a lapse of ten years, an interview took place between them, and his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī says, "When they "came I and Maḥmūdī Kōkultāsh (foster-brother) went to meet them "but the Bēgum and her attendants did not recognize us, although "we made ourselves known. After a while they recognized us."[3]

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[1] The modern name is Marghīlān (Erskine l.c. 3n.) It is west of Andijān.

[2] A town north, of Kābul and east of Balkh. Sometimes spelled Khunduz. (*Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*, 239.)

[3] Perhaps the meaning is that she could not distinguish Bābar from his foster-brother. (See Erskine, 10 and P. de Courteille, 17). The non-recognition of her brother is curious considering that she was about 24

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The next daughter was Mihr Bānū Bēgum, full sister of Nāṣir Mīrzā and eight years younger than Firdūs-makānī. The next was Yādgār Sulṭān Bēgum. Her mother was a concubine named Āghā Sulṭān. The next was Raẓīya Sulṭān Bēgum. Her mother was Makhdūma Sulṭān Bēgum known as the Qarā-gūz (Black-eyed) Bēgum. Then two daughters were born after 'Umar Shaikh's death. There was also a daughter born of Anūsh Āghā, daughter of Khwāja Ḥusain who died young.[1]

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when separated from him and also that Ḥaidar Mīrzā says (Ney Elias 239) that Shaibānī divorced her on account of his suspecting her attachment to her brother. When Bābar left her she became the wife of Shaibānī and had a son by him. The *Shaibānī-nāma* says her marriage with Shaibānī was a love-match and it seems probable that Bābar has not mentioned the whole of the circumstances and that her being left behind was a part of Bābar's agreement with Shaibānī. Ḥaidar Mīrzā, Bābar's cousin, distinctly states (*Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*, Ney Elias, 175, 196 and 239) that Bābar gave his sister to Shaibānī. Bābar's own daughter Gulbadan mentions the arrangement in her Memoirs, so that there can be no doubt as to the fact. When Shaibānī divorced Khānzāda, he gave her in marriage to a Sayyid, but he as well as Shaibānī, was killed in the battle of Merv.

[1] A.F.'s account of 'Umar Shaikh's family as well as of Farghāna (Khōkand) is taken almost *verbatim* from Bābar, Memoirs. He omits the name of Bābar's third daughter, Shahrbānū Bēgum, from the list, nor can she be the nameless daughter mentioned at the end of his account by A.F. for her mother was Anūsh Āghā whereas Shahrbānū was full sister of Nāṣir Mīrzā son of a concubine named Ummēd. In fact A.F. has confused Mihrbānū and Shahrbānū. The former was two years older than Bābar and it was Shahrbānū, misnamed Mihrbānū by A.F., who was eight years younger than Bābar. Bābar gives the youngest daughter's name as Ruqīya and not Raẓīya as in A.F.

The Turkish version of Bābar's Memoirs gives, apparently wrongly, Qarā-gūz as a sobriquet of Bābar's sister instead of his step-mother. The nameless daughter mentioned by A.F. is referred to later by Bābar (Erskine 14 and P. de Courteille 25) so that in fact 'Umar Shaikh had six daughters. The wife whom the text calls Anūsh Āghā is called by Bābar, Ūlūs Āghā and a note to the text states that this name appears in many MSS. She was removed from the harem a few months after she had given birth to a daughter.

With reference to A.F.'s omission of the name of the third daughter Shahrbānū, it is curious to note that a similar omission occurs in two MSS. of the Persian translation of Bābar's Memoirs, B. M. Add. 24, 416 and 26,200, though No. 26,200 has a marginal correction giving her name.

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CHAPTER XVII.

His Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī Ẓahīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Bābar Pādshāh Ghāzī.[1]

King of the four quarters,[2] and of the seven heavens; celestial sovereign; diadem of the sublime throne; great of genius and greatness-conferring; fortune-increaser; of excellent horoscope; heaven in comprehensiveness; earth in stability; lion-hearted; clime-capturer; lofty in splendour; of active brain; searcher after knowledge; rank-breaking lion rampant; exalter of dominion; ocean-hearted; of illustrious origin; a saintly sovereign; enthroned in the kingdom of reality and spirituality, Ẓahīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Bābar Pādshāh Ghāzī. His pearl-like nature was a station for the marks of greatness and sublimity; freedom and detachment together with lofty restraint and majestic power flashed forth in his nature; in asceticism and absorption (*faqr ū fanā*[3]) a Junīd[4] and Bāyazīd; while the magni-

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[1] World-gripper, Paradise-inhabiting, Defender of the Faith, Muḥammad Bābar (Lion), the holy warrior-king. Bābar is commonly said to mean lion or tiger, but this seems to me a little doubtful, for the word for lion is *babr*, not *bābar*. Besides why should the Turks use a Persian word? May it not be connected with the Caghatāī word *bābari* or *bawarī* old or primitive. *See* P. de Courteille, Turc Dict. 155.

[2] *Cār bālish-i-haft manẓar*, lit. four cushions or elements, seven scenes or theatres. The four cushions mean four thrones and so four quarters of the world.

[3] Another favourite expression is *fanā ū baqā* for which see *Notices et Extraits*, S. de Sacy, XII., 327n. *Fanā* is used by mystics for the Ṣūfī's relation to externals, *viz.* his dying to them and *baqā* for his relation to God.

[4] Usually Junaid but here Junīd, unless Bāyazīd be written Bāyazaid. Junaid was a famous ascetic known as Al-Baghdādī and is said to have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca thirty times, on foot and alone. (Beale art. Junaid). He died about 909 A.D. See *Nafaḥātu-l-uns*, Lees, 89, No. 81 and Jarrett III. 352, where however A. F.'s account is only an abridgement of Jānī. S. de Sacy has translated Jāmī's life of Junaid. (*Notices et Extraits* XII, 366 *et seq.*)

Bāyazīd is Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī, also known as Ṭayfūr b. 'Īsā. He, as well as Junaid, belonged to the Naqsh-

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ficence and genius of an Alexander and of a Farīdūn shone from his brow. The holy birth of this majestic one was on 6 Muḥarram 888 (14th February 1483) from the holy womb and pure veil of the gloriously chaste and nobly-born, Qutlaq Nigār Khānum. That jewel of fortune's ocean and sparkling star (*durrī*) of the heaven of glory arose from a happy quarter. She, the coiffure of purity and scarf of chastity, was the second daughter of Yūnus (Jonah) Khān and elder sister of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān. Her lineage is as follows :—daughter of Yūnus Khān b. Vais Khān, b. Shīr 'Alī Ōghlān, b. Muḥammad Khān, b. Khiẓr Khwāja Khān, b. Tughlaq Tīmūr Khān, b. Isān Bughā Khān, b. Davā Khān, b. Barāq Khān, b. Īsūn Tava,[1] b. Mutakan, b. Caghatāī Khān, b. Cingīz Khān. Maulānā Ḥisāmī[2] Qarākūlī recorded the date of the noble birth as follows.

Verse.

Since on 6 Muḥarram was born that bounteous king,
His birth's chronogram is also 6 Muḥarram (*shash-i-Muḥarram.*[3])

87 Though the chronogram be of marvellous coincidence and unfathomable in its significance, there is something stranger yet, *viz.*, the chronogram is in six letters which are reckoned by the masters of

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bandī order and he was Junaid's his predecessor and teacher. According to the *Khazīnatu-l-auliyā* (I, 519) Junaid said, "Bāyazīd among us is like Gabriel among the angels." Bāyazīd was descended from a family of fire-worshippers and was a native of Bisṭām in Persia. (S.S.E. of the Caspian and 3 m. N.E. of Shāhrūd.) He died 261 A.H. (874 A.D.) and is buried in Bisṭām. See Meynard's Yāqūt 104, Jarrett III., 352 and 359 and Curzon's Persia I.,283 who spells the name of the town Bostam and notices the saint's tomb.

[1] Text, Bīsun Tava.

[2] T. R. 173, calls the author of the chronogram Munīr Marghīnānī and describes him as having been one of the *'ulamā* of Ulugh Bēg. The Luck. ed. calls him Jāmī Qarākūlī. I have consulted the B. M. MSS. of T. R., the name is not clear, it may be Munīr or Mushīr. Erskine (MS. trs. Add. No. 26, 612) calls him merely Maulānā Marghīnānī. Munīr means illustrious in Arabic and may here be descriptive, so that the difference between the two names may be only as to that of origin, *viz.*, Marghīnān or Qarākūl.

Qarākūl (Black Lake) is about 28 miles S. W. of Bukhārā. (Bābar, Ers. 54.)

[3] Bābar, Ers. Intro. LXI.

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computation as a lucky number[1] and also the phrase (*lafẕ*) *shash ḥarf* and the pips (*naqsh*) *'adad-i-khair* both indicate the date. Another wonderful thing is that the units, tens and hundreds of the date are all the same (8-8-8), thus pointing to equability of dispositions. His life corresponded to these mysteries of birth. That exemplar of high saints, Khwāja Aḥrār himself with his own bounty-shedding tongue gave him—the auspicious one—the names of Ẓahīru-d-dīn Muḥammad, but as this weighty appellation with its majesty and sublimity, was not readily pronounceable or current on the tongues of the Turks, the name of Bābar was also given to him.

His Majesty was the eldest and straightest of the sons of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā. In his twelfth year, on Tuesday, 5 Ramaẓān, 899 (10th June, 1494), he sate upon the throne in Andijān. Few kings have encountered such difficulties as he, and the courage, self-reliance and endurance which he displayed in the battle-field and in danger were superhuman. When the inevitable accident of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā occurred in Akhsī, his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī was in the Cārbāgh (Palace) of Andijān. Next day, *viz.*, Tuesday, 5 Ramaẓān, the news was brought to Andijān. In a moment he mounted his horse and proceeded to the fort of Andijān. As he was alighting at the gate,[2] Shīram[3] Ṭaghāī seized his bridle and carried him towards the namāzgāh (place of prayer) in order to take him to Ōzkand and the foot of the hills. His idea was that, as Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā was coming with great power, the treacherous officers might make over the country to him; if out of disloyalty, they did so, his Majesty's sacred person might be saved from this danger and be conveyed to his maternal uncles Ilanja[4] Khān or Sulṭān Maḥmūd

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[1] Referring to throws at dice, I suppose. *Shash-ḥarf* and *'adad-i-khair* both yield 888, *viz.*, 2*sh*=600, *ḥ*=8, *r*=200 and *f*=80, total 888. Again, *a*=70, 2*d*=8, *kh*=600, *i*=10, *r*=200, total 888. The great standard was called *shash tughjī*. (*T. R.* l. c. 93.) The chronogram is in six letters, *viz.*, sh, sh, m, ḥ, r, m.

[2] Bābar, Ers., Mīrzā's Gate.

[3] Apparently the Shīrun Ṭaghāī mentioned in *T. R.* l. c. 228, as maternal uncle of Bābar and as a pillar of the State. See too Bābar, Ers. 59 and 94. Apparently he was Bābar's grand-uncle, being his mother's uncle. (Erskine, B. and H. I, 334) Ṭaghāī or ṭaqāī means maternal uncle in Caghatāī and Firishta calls him the taghāī of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā.

[4] P. de C. (I. 32). Alaja and Bābar,

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Khān. The officers, on becoming aware of this intention, sent Khwāja Muḥammad Darzī to dispel anxieties that had arisen in his mind. The *cortêge* had reached the *namāzgāh* when Khwāja Muḥammad came up with it. He calmed his Majesty and induced him to
88 return. When he (Bābar) alighted at the citadel of Andijān, all the officers came to wait upon him and received marks of favour from him. It has already been mentioned that Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā and Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān had united and come against 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā. Now that by the decree of fate, an inevitable accident had occurred, all the officers, small and great, united to defend the fort. Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā had taken possession of Ūrātippa, Khajand and Marghīnān which are districts of Farghāna, and had encamped within four *kos* of Andijān. Though they sent ambassadors and knocked at the door of peace, he did not listen but continued to advance. But as secret aids were always in attendance on this family, on account of the strength of the fort and the unanimity of the officers and of a pestilence which broke out in the camp and of the deaths of the horses,[1] Sulṭān Aḥmad got into difficulties and came to despair of his former designs. He therefore came to terms and returned without effecting anything. Coming from the north side of the river of Khajand, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān invested Akhsī. Jahāngīr Mīrzā, brother of his Majesty, and a large number of loyal officers were there. The Khān made several assaults, the officers made a spirited resistance, and so the Khān also did not effect his purpose, and being attacked by a sickness, had to give up his vain enterprise and turn his reins towards his own country. For eleven[2] years, his Majesty waged great wars in Transoxiana against the Caghatāī princes and the Uzbēgs. Thrice he conquered Samarqand, *viz.*, once in 903 (end of November 1497) when coming[3] from Andijān, he took it from

(Ers. 18) Ilcheh. His real name was Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān and Ilcheh is a sobriquet meaning slayer. (Ers. l. c. 13). He was a son of Yūnus Khān and half-brother of Bābar's mother.

[1] Many horses were drowned in crossing the Kaba and many died of disease.

[2] Apparently a clerical error for 18, *viz.*, for the period from 899 to 917. Some MSS. seem to have 15 (which is easily confounded with 11) and Price has 15. (Ret. IV, 666.)

[3] The Text reads as if it were Bāyasanghar who came from Andijān but Bābar's Mem. show what is meant.

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Bāyasanghar Mīrzā, son of Sulṭān Maḥmud Mīrzā; secondly, from Shaibak (Shaibānī) Khān in 906 (autumn of 1500); and thirdly, after Shaibak Khān had been killed in 917 (October 1511). As God's plan was the revealing of that unique pearl, his Majesty the king of kings, and designed that the country of Hindustān should be acquired and that his Majesty should proceed to a strange land and there arrive at greatness and felicity,—he caused the gates of trouble to be opened in his own native land which is the meeting place of faithful servants, so that in no way could that be fit for him. He was compelled to proceed with a small force towards Badakhshān and Kābul. When he reached Badakhshān, all the people of Khusrū Shāh who was ruler there, accepted his service. And the ruler himself was compelled to do so, though this wretch was ring-leader of the unjust ones and had martyred[1] Bāyasanghar and blinded Sulṭān Mas'ūd Mīrzā, which two princes were his Majesty's cousins. He (Khusrū) also showed signs of pitilessness and inhumanity when at a time of calamity,[2] his Majesty's army was passing into Badakhshān. 89

Now when he beheld the face of his deeds in the mirror of recompense, and fortune had turned away her countenance from his worthless self, his Majesty from perfect humanity and excessive generosity, did not exercise retaliation,[3] but gave orders that he should carry away as much of his property as he desired and go off to Khurāsān. So he took five or six strings[4] of mules and camels, laden

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[1] (Bābar, Ers. 73.) Bāyasanghar, who was a poet, was second son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā of Herāt, the second son of Abū Sa'īd. He was put to death on 17th August, 1499. (Bābar, Ers. 72.) Mas'ūd was his brother. See account of his being blinded I. c. 63. It was in 1497 that Bābar drove Bāyasanghar out of Samarqand.

[2] Text *ṣāḥibqarānī* which does not make sense. Luck. ed. and several MSS., *qarānī*, calamity or crisis. قران *qairān* seems to be Turkish for breaking. This passage must refer to Khusrū Shāh's treatment of Bābar when he came to Ḥiṣār (Ḥiṣār-i-shādmān) on his flight from Samarqand in 907. Bābar says, (Ers. 126), "Twice did my course "lie through the country of this "Khusrū Shāh, so famed for his "liberal conduct and generosity, "and that humanity which he dis-"played to the meanest of men, he "never showed to me." See also T. R. 175. See Ers.'s remarks on Bābar's behaviour to Khusrū Shāh (125).

[3] Bābar, Ers. 131 and 132. *T. R.* 176.

Leyden states that seven mules

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with jewelry and gold ornaments and went off to Khurāsān. And his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī having put Badakhshān into order, went to Kābul.

At that time Muḥammad Muqīm, son of Ẕū-n-nūn Arghūn had taken Kābul from 'Abdu-razzāq Mīrzā, son of Ulugh Beg Mīrzā, son of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā, who was his Majesty's cousin. On hearing the noise of the coming of the victorious standards, he fortified himself, but after some days he sought for peace and obtained permission to go to his brother Shāh Bēg in Qandahār with his property. Kābul fell into the hands of his Majesty's servants in the end of Rabī'u-l-awwal 910 (beginning of October 1504). After that his Majesty proceeded in 911 to capture Qandahār, and Qilāt (Khelat) which is a dependency of Qandahār was conquered. After that, for reasons of state policy, he abandoned the taking of Qandahār and went south and having attacked the Afghān tribes of Sawāsang and Alātāgh,[1] returned to Kābul.

In the beginning[2] of this year there was a great earthquake in Kābul and its environs. The ramparts of the fort and many buildings in the citadel and city fell down. All the houses in the village of Pemghan[3] fell down and there were three-and-thirty shocks in one day and for a month the earth shook two or three times day and night. Many persons lost their lives, and between Pemghān and Baktub a piece of ground a stone's throw[4] in breadth separated itself and

go to a string (*qaṭār*), (Bābar 132) but A. F. (Blochmann 152) gives five as the number.

[1] Bābar, Ers. 171n.

[2] The year 905 began 4th June but the earthquake must have been in July. From Bābar's Memoirs, it appears that it occurred about 40 days after his mother's death which was in the beginning of the year.

[3] Also Pemghān. Bābar, Ers. 146. It is S. or S. W. of Kābul.

[4] Text, *yak kata bāsh andāz* which is unintelligible. I have examined the two B. M. Persian MSS. of Bābar's Memoirs. In both, the passage is the same but in the margin of Add. No. 26, 200—the copy used by Erskine—we have *bir kata tāsh andāz*. No doubt *tāsh* (Turk. stone) is correct. *Kata* is Turkish for large but its use here in that sense is not apparent unless we take *tāshandāz* as one word and say "a great" or "long stone-throw." Neither Erskine nor P. de Courteille translates *kata* by great. I should be inclined to regard it as the Hindūstānī *kitta* and as pleonastic; *yak kitta tāsh* might then mean merely a stone. The passages in the B. M. MSS. are p. 135*b* of No. 24,416 and p. 141*a* of No. 26,200.

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descended the length of a bowshot and springs burst out from the breach. From Istirghac[1] to Maidān,[2] a distance of six *farsangs*, (cir. 24 m.) the ground was so contorted that part of it rose as high as an elephant. In the beginning of the earthquake, clouds of dust rose from the tops of the mountains. In the same year there was a great earthquake in India.[3]

One of the occurrences of this time was that Shaibak (Shaibānī) Khān collected an army and proceeded towards Khurāsān. Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā assembled all his sons and marched to oppose him. He also sent Sayyid Afẓal, the son of Mīr Sulṭān 'Alī Khwāb-bīn (vision-seer) to urge on the advance of his Majesty Firdūs-makānī. Accordingly he proceeded towards Khurāsān in Muḥarram 912 (end 90
of May 1506). On the way he received at Kāhmard[4] the news of Sulṭān Ḥusain's death. His Majesty Firdūs-makānī, thinking it still more necessary[5] to advance, went on towards Khurāsān contrary to the calculations of politicians. Before his army reached Khurāsān, short-sighted[6] and inexperienced men had placed jointly on the throne the Mīrzā's sons, Badī'u-z-zamān and Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzās.

On Monday, 8th Jumāda-l-ākhar his Majesty met the Mīrzās at the Murghāb and at their request came on to Herāt. But as

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[1] Now Sirghac. Bābar, Ers. 146n.

[2] Ers. (Bābar, 170) has "to the plain" (*maidān*) but P. de C. (I, 349) seems correct in taking it as the name of a place, Maidān. His trs. completes the description by saying there were holes large enough for a man to hide in.

[3] Ers. (B. and H. I, 229) notes that there was an earthquake at Āgra on 5th July, 1505. Elliot (V, 99) gives Sunday, 3rd *Ṣafar* (6th July).

[4] P. de C., Kāhmard. Wood (Journey to Source of the Oxus, 132), Kamrūd. It is in Afghanistān, N.-W. of Kābul and according to Bābar (Ers. 199) in a valley not far from the Dandān-shikan (tooth-breaking) Pass.

[5] Bābar (Ers. 200) says that he went on "from a regard to the repu-"tation of our family though I also "had other motives," apparently to try conclusions once more with Shaibānī.

[6] The folly consisted in the dual appointment for A.F. and his school held that kingship, being the shadow of Godhead, must be single. Bābar, referring to the joint appointment, says, (199) "This was a strange "arrangement. A joint kingship "was never before heard of. The "well-known words of Shaikh Sa'dī "in the *Gulistān* (I, 3) are very appli-"cable to it. Ten dervishes sleep "in one coverlet (*galīm*) but two "kings have not room in one clime "(*iqlīm*)." See also *T. R.* 196.

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he did not perceive in them signs of guidance and dominion, he set out on his return to Kābul on 8th Sha'bān (24th Dec., 1506). While in the Hazāra Hills, news arrived that Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā Daghlāt[1] and Sulṭān Sanjar Barlās had drawn over to their side all the Mughals left in Kābul and had raised up Khān Mīrzā[2] and were besieging Kābul. They also spread among the commonalty a report that the sons of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā were meditating[3] treachery against his Majesty Firdūs-makānī. Mullā Bābāī[4] Bashāgharī, Amīr[5] Muḥibb 'Alī Khalīfa, Amīr Muḥammad Qāsim Kōhbar[6] Aḥmad Yūsuf and Aḥmad news, [illegible] to whom the protection of Kābul had been entrusted, were what ill,[3] a[illegible] after the defence of the fort. As[7] soon as he heard this Hindū Kōh[illegible] made over the baggage to Jahāngīr Mīrzā who was some-cended one morn[illegible] accompanied by a few men crossed the passes of the concealment at the news [illegible] full of snow, [illegible] great difficulty, and des-[illegible]'s approach. He first went to his step-grandmother (mother's step-mother) Shāh[9] Bēgum, who

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[1] Text, wrongly, *wafāt kard ōghlat* (Bābar, Ers. 214). This Muḥammad Ḥusain was the father of Bābar's cousin Ḥaidar, author of the *T. R.*

[2] Bābar's cousin; being son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, third son of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd and Sulṭān Nigār Khānum, daughter of Yūnus Khān and Shāh Bēgum. He was thus doubly Bābar's cousin, being son of Bābar's father's elder brother and of his mother's half-sister. Mīrzā Khān's proper name was Sulṭān Vais Mīrzā. Khusrū Shāh killed his brother Bāyasanghar and blinded his brother Mas'ūd. He afterwards became king of Badakhshān.

[3] The report was that they had imprisoned Bābar in the Eagle Castle, near Herāt. (Mem. 214).

[4] *T. R.* l. c. 356. Both Bābāī and Muḥammad Aḥmad Kōhbar afterwards rebelled against Bābar.

[5] Bābar, Ers. 214, Khalīfa Muḥibb 'Alī Qurca.

[6] Price (Ret. IV, 67) renders this, mountain-piercer, but it probably comes from the town Kōhbar, in Sind, mentioned by Jarrett, (II, 337). Kōhbar appears also to be the name of a Caghatāī tribe (Blochmann 613n.) Mr. Blochmann quotes the name of Muḥammad Qāsim Kōhbar as that of a poet; perhaps this is the Kōhbar of the Text.

[7] Taken from *T. R.* l. c. 200.

[8] Apparently from excessive drinking.

[9] Daughter of the king of Badakhshān and widow of Yūnus, Bābar's maternal grandfather. Bābar's own grandmother was Ais or Isān Daulat Bēgum. (Memoirs, Ers. 12.)

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had been the cause of the putting forward of Khān Mīrzā, and addressed her after kneeling down before her. Knowing well what her state of mind was, he spoke to her with modesty and magnanimity, and with soothing words observed to her, "If a mother have special "affection for one child, why should another child be aggrieved ?, "there is no limit to her authority." Then he said, "I have been "up long and have come a long way," and laying his head on her lap, he went to sleep. Thus in order to reassure the Bēgum who was very uneasy, he behaved in a very kind manner[1] to her. Ere he had fully fallen asleep, his aunt, Mihr[2] Nigār Khānum, came in and his

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[1] Ers. B. and H. I, 253 and *T. R.* 200. The Text is not quite clear.

[2] Eldest daughter of Yūnus Khān. She was first married to Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā, uncle of Bābar, and on his death, to Shaibānī. (*T. R.* 96 and 196). Bābar, in order that he might escape from Samarqand, gave his sister Khānzāda in marriage to Shaibānī and as she was niece of Mihr Nigār, Shaibānī divorced the latter "as it was unlawful for both to be married to the same man." Mihr Nigār died childless. (*T. R.* 155).

A.F. has apparently taken his account from the Tārīkh-i-rashīdī but has altered its language. Erskine who, I believe, had not read the *T. R.* when editing Leyden's Bābar, makes some mistakes here. (Bābar, 217 and 218). It is clear hat the Khānūm was Mihr Nigār, Bābar's maternal aunt. She was probably called Khānum because she was the eldest daughter and indeed eldest child of Yūnus Khān, by his chief wife, Isān Daulat Bēgum. (*T. R.* 86). She was also the only surviving daughter of that marriage, for her younger sister, Bābar's mother, had lately died. The Khānum was certainly not Khūb Nigār for she had died some years earlier. (Bābar, Ers. 99 and *T. R.* 157 where we are told that Khūb Nigār died a year and a half before 907=1500 or 1501). Nor is it correct to say that A.F. speaks of Mīrzā Khān's being brought by his mother Sulṭān Nigār. His mother was the daughter of Yūnus Khān by Shāh Bēgum but, as Erskine correctly states, she does not appear to have been at Kābul at the time. (It should, however, here be said that Gulbadan, in her Memoirs, describes Khān Mīrzā as having been brought before Bābar by his mother, Sulṭān Nigār. This must be a mistake, I think). She was first married to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, and had by him one son, *viz.*, the Mīrzā Khān or Sulṭān Vais of the Text and afterwards king of Badakhshān. Sulṭān Maḥmūd died in January, 1495, and some years later (Bābar 13) she was married to 'Ādil Sulṭān (Ers., Uzbak Sulṭān) and when 'Ādil died, to his brother, Qāsim Khān (the famous ruler of the Kirghises who defeated Shaibānī's troops, *T. R.*

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Majesty hastily arose and saluted her (*īshān-rā daryāftand*). They arrested Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā and brought him in. His Majesty being a mine of kindness, gave him his life and gave him permission to go to Khurāsān. After that the Khānum (Mihr Nigār) brought in Khān Mīrzā and said, "O life of your mother! I have brought

373). Ḥaidar Mīrzā's account, from which A.F. has copied, may be seen in Ney Elias and Ross' trs. (200) but the word grandson is there a mistake for nephew. The MS. of Ḥaidar's Text has apparently not *nabīra* but *yugan* or "*yezneh*," nephew, as Erskine has written in the margin of his MS. trs. of *T. R.* B. M. Add. No. 26,162. Erskine has apparently written *yezneh* but the right word seems to be یگن *yugan* which like the Latin *nepos*, means both a nephew and a grandchild. Perhaps *nabīra* has a similar double meaning. یزنه the *yezneh* of Erskine is given by P. de Courteille as brother-in-law or son-in-law. A.F. calls Mihr Nigār the Khālazāda, *i.e.*, cousin of Bābar and the same word appears in the *T. R.* Erskine in a marginal note (B. M. Add. No. 26, 612, 192) observes that this word which signifies cousin, seems an error. I am not sure that the original word is not *khālazāid* which perhaps might be held to mean a birth-aunt or full-aunt. Or perhaps it is *khānazāda*, home-born in allusion to her being his mother's full sister.

The discrepancies in the three accounts, *viz.*, Bābar's (Ers. 217, etc.) Ḥaidar's and A.F.'s, are curious. Bābar is presumably most correct. for Ḥaidar was but a child at the time, but Ḥaidar's account, derived presumably from his father, is the most graphic. He says that just after Bābar had laid his head in his grandmother's lap, the aunt Mihr Nigār Khānum came in. He saluted her and then she bade him go to the castle and see his family and that she would come there after him. He went and she followed, bringing with her, her nephew (Mīrzā Khān) and Ḥaidar's father, Muḥammad Ḥusain. Bābar advanced to meet her and she said, "O life of your "(dead) mother, I have brought your "guilty nephew and your unfor-"tunate cousin." (*Ai jān-i-mādar yezneh* (or *yugan*)-*i-gunāhgār ū bi-rādar-i-nāsāzkār bar āwurdam.*) "What do you say to them?" A. F. has altered the words which Bābar used to his grandmother. Shāh Bēgum and Mihr Sulṭān afterwards went towards Badakhshān with Khān Mīrzā but the ladies were caught on the road by Abū Bakr and taken to Kāshghar where they were imprisoned and eventually perished miserably. Evidently Mihr Nigār was strongly attached to her step-mother and her nephew and perhaps she was displeased with Bābar for having contributed to her divorce. Bābar expresses himself as vexed at her leaving him for Badakhshān. "It would have been better and more becoming for her to have remained with me." (Ers. 232).

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"your guilty cousin (*birādar*), what is your pleasure?" His Majesty took him in his arms and spoke kindly to him. After that he left it to his option to go or stay. The Khān Mīrzā was so ashamed that he could not make up his mind to remain. He took leave and went to Qandahār.[1] This happened in the same year. 91

Next year he (Bābar) proceeded to Qandahār[2] and fought a great battle with Shāh Bēg, son of Zū-n-nūn Arghūn and Muḥammad Muqīm his younger brother. The Khān did good service here. His Majesty presented Qandahār to Nāṣir Mīrzā, the younger brother[3] of Jahāngīr Mīrzā and returned to Kābul. He permitted Shāh Bēgum and Khān Mīrzā to proceed to Badakhshān. After many adventures Khān Mīrzā put Zabīr Raghī[4] to death and became confirmed in the dominion of Badakhshān. He always retained his loyalty (to Bābar).

In 916 (early in December 1510) an express[5] brought the news and Shaibānī Khān was killed and that it was proper for Bābar to move in that direction. Accordingly in Shawwāl, he proceeded[6] there and fought great battles with the Uzbēgs. He was ever victorious and took Samarqand for the third time, in 917 (Oct. 1511). He ruled there for eight months but in Ṣafar 918 (April 1512) he had a great battle at Kūl Malik with 'Ubaidu-l-lāh Khān. Though he had won the victory, suddenly by the jugglery of the heavens, he sustained a defeat and proceeded to Ḥiṣār.

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[1] This is in accordance with *T. R.* 201, but Bābar says he got leave to go to Khurāsān. It would seem from *T. R.* that both Mīrzā Khān and Maḥmūd Ḥasan got leave to go to Qandahār but that the latter went as far then, while Mīrzā Khān stayed. Ḥaidar says his father went on because he wished to go to Mecca. He, however, accepted an invitation from Shaibānī and was killed by him.

[2] *T. R.* 357, Bābar besieged Qandahār for 5 years and 5 months.

[3] Half-brother only of Jahāngīr and Bābar, his mother being a concubine. (Bābar, Ers. 10).

[4] Probably Rāgh a hill-district in N.-W. Badakhshān and not the Rāg which is the Rhages of Tobit and lies south of Teheran. See *T. R.* 203*n*.

[5] The express was sent by Mīrzā Khān from Badakhshān. The courier had traversed the Hindū Kush in the snow and got frost-bitten. He arrived early in *Ramaẓān* which in that year began 3rd December. Ers. B. and H. I, 306 and *T. R.* 237).

[6] Lit. turned the reins of his world-traversing steed. Ers. B. and H. I, 322 and *T. R.* 260 for account of battle. 'Ubaidu-l-lāh, called also Sulṭān, married Mīrzā Ḥaidar's sister and became king of Bukhārā. He was Shaibānī's nephew.

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On another occasion,[1] he along with Najm Bēg, had a great battle below Fort Ghajdiwān with the Uzbēgs. Najm Bēg was killed and his Majesty went towards Kābul.[2] Moreover by secret inspiration, he was led to lay aside marching to Transoxiana and to press forward to the conquest of Hindustān. Four times did he turn towards this enterprise and as often did he, from stress of circumstances, retrace his steps. The first[3] time was in Sha'bān 910 (Jan. 1505) when he went by Bādām Cashma[4] (Almond Spring) and Jagdalīk, passed through the Khaibar and halted at Jam (Jamrūd). In the *Wāqi'āt-i-bābari*, a Turkī book written by his Majesty himself, it is stated that when in six marches, he went from Kābul to Ādīnapūr,[6] he had never before seen the *Garmsīr*[7] (warm regions) nor the country of Hindustān. "Immediately on "reaching them, I beheld a new world. The grass was different, the "trees different, the wild animals of a different sort, the birds of a "different plumage, the manners and customs of the people (ایل والوس[5] "*ail ū ālūs*) of a different kind. I was struck with astonishment, and "indeed there was room for wonder."[8] Nāṣir Mīrzā came to this stage from Ghaznīn to pay his respects. He (Bābar) halted at Jam-

[1] Ers. B. and H. I, 325 and *T. R.* 261. Ghajdiwān is north of Bukhārā. The battle was apparently fought on 3 *Ramaẓān* 918 (12th November, 1512). *Najm* means star and the real name of the general was Yār Muḥammad. He is said to have been Finance Minister. He seems to have been put to death in cold blood and in revenge for the massacre of Karshī.

[2] He did not go direct to Kābul but first to Ḥiṣār and was there nearly murdered by the mutinous Mughals. Thence to Kunduz and "at last, despairing altogether of "recovering Ḥiṣār, he returned to "Kābul." The date of his return does not seem known but probably it was in 920, (1514). Ers. B. and H. I, 329*n*.

[3] Bābar, Ers. 156. Bābar (309) seems to reckon the expedition of 925 as the first of the five, and Firishta and Khāfī Khān take the same view. Ers. B. and H. I, 417*n*.

[4] Jarrett II, 399 and Bābar, Ers. 141*n*. Bādām Cashma is a pass S. of the Kābul River and between Little Kābul and Barīk-āl.

[5] From Jamrūd, Bābar rode out to Bikram (Peshawar).

[6] Now Jalālābād. Ers. (B. and H. I, 233. Jarrett II, 405). But Ādānīapūr lay about a mile south of the modern Jalālābād.

[7] *Āīn* V. Jarrett II, 394.

[8] The change here described occurs at Gandamak. Bābar's Mem. 157 and Erskine's note.

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rūd and consulted about crossing the river Indus known as the Nīlāb. Owing to the avarice of Bāqī [1] Cagh̲anā'īānī the crossing of the Indus was postponed and he proceeded against Kohāt. After taking Kohāt, they attacked Bangash̲ and Nagh̲z.[2] Then they went to the country of the 'Isā Kh̲ail and halted in the environs of Tarbīla[3] which is a village on the Indus and in the country of Multān. Then he made several marches down the river. From thence he came to the borders of Dūki[4] and after some days to Gh̲aznīn. In the month Z̲ī-ḥajja (May 1505) he returned to Kābul. 92

The second[5] time, the illustrious army proceeded in the month of Jumāda-l-awwal 913 (Sep. 1507) by way of Little Kābul (Kh̲urd Kābul) to the conquest of Hindustān. They went first from Mandraur[6] by 'Atar and Sh̲iweh and then returned owing to differences of opinion among the officers. They crossed by Kūner[8] and Nūrgil[7] and from Kūner he (Bābar) came on a raft (*jāla*)[8] to the camp and then by way of Bādīj[9] to Kābul. By order of his Majesty, the date

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[1] Text, "some Cagh̲atāīs." The Luck. ed. is right. (Bābar Ers. 156 and 256). The "avarice" refers to Bāqī's love of plunder. He was younger brother of Kh̲usrū Shāh, Bābar's Memoirs, 128, Cagh̲ānīān was in Transoxiana. *T. R.* 177*n.*

[2] Text, Newar. Jarrett II, 389, 399 *n.* 6.

[3] The Belah of Ers. p. 163. Apparently the Darbēlah of the *Āīn* Jarrett II, 334. Cagh̲ānīān is a name given to Ḥiṣār. Bābar. Ers. Intro. XXXV.

[4] Jarrett, II, 397. Dukī means a [illegible] or hill-country. Text, Kī. Luck. ed. دكي. See Bābar 164*n.* and 149 where the expedition is described.

[5] Bābar, Ers., 232.

[6] Jarrett II, 406.

[7] Bābar, Ers., 143. The two places are on opposite sides of the river of Cagh̲ānserāī or Kameh, Jarrett II, 392*n.*

[8] Also ژاله z̲hāla. (*Farhang-i-rashīdī s. v.*). The *Burhān-i-qāṭi'* describes a raft as a thing made of wood and grass on (? under) which inflated *massaks* are laid and which is used for crossing deep streams. Probably Bābar used one only for crossing the river. Raverty (Notes, 34) quotes a description of a raft from Jahāngīr's Memoirs. This kind of raft is still in use. "From Jalālābād we embarked on rafts of inflated skins and dropped down with the stream to Pesh̲awur." (Journey to the source of the Oxus. Wood, 280). See too "At the Court of the Amīr," Gray, 12.

[9] This name does not seem known now. Ers. (Bābar, 142*n.*) suggests Bādpāsh. Price remarks (173*n.*) that he has not been able to find in the maps any of the places mentioned in this expedition. I have altered the names of the Text so as to accord with Erskine.

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of his crossing was engraved on a stone above Bādīj. This wondrous[1] writing still exists. Till this time, the noble descendants of the Lord of Conjunction were called Mīrzās. His Majesty ordered that in this inscription,[2] he should be styled Pādshāh.

On Tuesday, 4 Ẕī-l-qa'da of this auspicious year (6th March, 1508), occurred, in the citadel of Kābul, the fortunate birth of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshīyānī (Humāyūn). Of this an account will be given hereafter.

The third time, on Monday,[3] 1 Muḥarram 925 (3rd Jan., 1519), while the army was marching against Bajaur, there was a great earthquake which lasted for half a sidereal hour. Sulṭān 'Alā'u-d-dīn Siwādī (of Swat) arrived as an envoy on the part of Sulṭān Vais Siwādī. In a short time, the fort of Bajaur was captured and was presented to Khwāja[4] Kilān Bēg, son of Maulānā Muḥammad Ṣad[illegible] who had been one of the great officers under Mīrzā 'Umar Shaikh. This Khwāja was related to his Majesty in a singular manner for his six brothers had given their lives in his service. He himself was a special *protegé* of his Majesty on account of his wisdom and sagacity. When his Majesty was contemplating the Siwād (Swat) expedition and the conquest of the Yūsufzāīs, Ṭāūs Khān, the younger brother

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[1] One MS. has "This writing has not yet disappeared."

The pass was east of Kābul and near the Lamghan (Laghman) district. (Bābar, Ers., 142). According to Raverty, (Notes, 100) the proper spelling is بادپج Bādpaj ;— *bād* meaning wind and *paj* or *fajj* Ar. for pass. "Thus Bādpaj means the Windy Pass, the name being given on account of the strong wind generally blowing there and which at times, renders its passage impracticable." Probably then this is the pass described by a friend (? Alexander Burnes, Erskine Hist. I, 517) of Mr. Erskine as Bādpāsh. (Bābar, Ers., 142*n.*) "Bādpāsh is a steep *kotal* (pass) half a day's journey to the north of Audrūr on the Kābul River and about 16 or 18 miles west of Targarī where the streams of Alingār and Alishang join." (l. c. 142*n.*)

[2] Bābar merely says that the change took place at this period but, by the word *tārīkh*, A.F. seems to mean that the title was adopted in the inscription. It would be interesting to know if it still exists. Bābar complains that it was not well cut.

[3] Text, Saturday but Monday, MSS. and Bābar's Memoirs? de Courteille II. 36 note.

[4] *T. R.*, 468. According to Bābar's Mem. Bajaur was taken before Sulṭān 'Alā'u-d-dīn's arrival and not after, as A. F.'s account implies.

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of Shāh Manṣūr, who was chieftain of the Yūsufzāī tribe, brought the latter's daughter[1] and uttered words of humility and submission. There was also a difficulty about supplies of corn in that country of wild beasts. His (Bābar's) fixed determination too was to undertake the expedition to Hindustān. He turned his rein from Siwād. Although the preparations for the march to India had not been made and the officers were not in favour of it, he lighted the torch of courage and set forth for the tenebrous regions[2] of Hindustān. On the morning of Thursday, 16 Muḥarram, he crossed the river (Indus) with horses, camels and baggage,[3] while the camp (*urdū*) bāzār was floated across on rafts. They encamped at Kacākōt.

Seven kos from Bhīra,[4] towards the north, there is a mountain, 93
called in the *Ẓafarnāma* and other books, the hill of Jūd and there they encamped. His Majesty writes in his Memoirs (Erskine, 254), "At first I was ignorant of the origin of its name, but afterwards "discovered that in this hill there were two races of men descended "of the same father. One tribe is called Jūd, the other Jenjūḥeh." He sent 'Abdu-r-raḥīm Shaghāwāl to Bhīra in order to reassure the people and prevent anyone from committing violence. At the end of the day, he halted east of Bhīra, on the bank of the river Bihat

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[1] Bābar married her. (Ers., 250*n.*) Her name was Bībī Mubārak according to Raverty. (Notes, 234). Erskine, Bābar's Memoirs, 251*n.* calls her Bībī Macherikah.

[2] Siwād means also blackness.

[3] Text, *partāl* but the word is Hindūstānī and spelt *partal.*

[4] Perhaps there are two Bhīras. (Bābar, Ers., 253*n.*) Bābar speaks (253) of Jūd as 7 *kos* from Bhīra and (255) of the middle of Jūd's being 10 *kos* from Bhīra. Jūd evidently belonged to the Salt Range. Erskine remarks that Bābar's account of it is not very exact and that he considered all the rough and mountainous country between the Khaibar and Salt Ranges to be one hill. Erskine or rather Leyden (for the latter's translation comes down to this point) says (254) "This hill got the name of Jūd from a supposed resemblance to the celebrated hill of Jūd (Ararat)." This makes Bābar and A.F. more intelligible but the passage is not in the Turkish (P. de C. II, 54) and has the air of being a marginal note which has slipped into the text. Moreover Ararat is Jūdī or Jūda and not Jūd. Nor does it seem likely that there is any resemblance between the lofty isolated Ararat and a spur of the Salt Range. *Jūd* is probably Sanscrit *yuddha* 'war.' The reference to the Kūh-i-Jūd in the *Ẓafarnāma* is at II, 48, l. 1.

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(Jhelam, the ancient Hydaspes). He levied 400,000 *shāhrukhīs*[1] from Bhīra as the price of protection, and presented the country to Hindū Bēg, assigning the revenues of it to him as a maintenance. Khushāb he made over to Shāh Ḥasan[2] and arranged that he should assist Hindū Bēg. He sent Mullā Murshid[3] on an embassy to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lōdī, who had succeeded his father five or six months previously[4] in the kingdom of Hindustān, in order to convey to him salutary counsels. Daulat Khān, the governor of Lāhōr, detained the ambassador and with utter folly, sent him back without having fulfilled his mission. On Friday, 2 Rabī'u-l-awwal (4th March, 1519), the news came of the birth of an auspicious son. As the expedition against Hindustān was then in progress, he was by secret inspiration and augury, named Hindāl.[5] On Monday,[6] 5 Rabī'u-l-awwal the administration of Bhīra was given to Hindū Bēg and he

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[1] About ten or eleven pence each, (Bābar, Ers., 254*n.* and 335) so that the sum levied was some £20,000. The Text might read that this money was given to Hindū Bēg and has been so understood by Price (Ret. IV, 674), but if so, A F. seems to have mistaken his authority (Bābar, 256, 258 and 309) where Bābar says he divided the money among his troops. P. de C. (II, 64) does not mention the sum 400,000 *shs.* but represents Bābar as stating that he assembled the headmen of Bhīra and fixed their ransom at a thousand *shāhrukhīs* apiece. A.F.'s Text has *cahār ṣad shāhrukhī māl* and which is unintelligible. The MSS. give the correct *māl-i-amān*, price of peace.

[2] Incorrect. Bābar says (Ers., 260) that he bestowed Khushāb on Lenger Khān who was the prime cause and adviser of the expedition and that he left him behind to support Hindū Bēg. Khushāb is on the right bank of the Jhelam while Bhīra is on the left.

[3] P. de C. II, 62 gives Thursday 1 Rabī'u-l-awwal (3rd March, 1519). Apparently the ambassador was sent partly to claim some portions of the Panjāb which had been held by the Turks from the days of Tīmūr.

[4] Erskine considers the date of Sikandar's death uncertain but would put it in 1518 (B. and H. I, 407*n.*) but there does not seem sufficient reason for doubting Firishta's statement that he died in November 1517. Bābar's statement (Ers., 257) is too loosely expressed to be relied on.

[5] The affix *āl* is Turkish and means 'to take,' so that Hindāl would mean "taken of India." According to Bābar, P. de Courteille II, 46 (the passage is not in Erskine) the name was given by Māhim the wife of Bābar and adopting mother of Hindāl.

[6] Text, Sunday, 15th, but *vide* Bābar, 259. One MS. has 11 (eleventh) which is the right day of the month for Sunday.

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(Bābar) for state reasons, proceeded to return to Kābul. On Thursday, the last day of Rabī'u-l-awwal (31st March) he arrived at Kābul. On 25 Rabī'u-l-ākhar (April 25th) Hindū Bēg who, out of carelessness,[1] had left Bhīra, came to Kābul.

The date of the setting out of the fourth expedition has not come to light but it appears that he (Bābar) returned after the taking of Lāhōr and from the chronogram[2] of the taking of Dīpālpūr, which will be stated hereafter, it appears that the expedition was in 930 (1524). As every event has its special time, this splendid project (of conquering India) was postponed. The ostensible cause of this was the sluggishness of the officers and the non-co-operation of his brothers. At last, on the fifth time, by the guidance of God and the leadership of Fortune, on Friday, 1st Ṣafar 932 (17th Nov., 1525), when the Sun was in Sagittarius, the standards of light were unfurled, such as might disperse the darkness of an universe, and placing the foot of resolve in the stirrup of reliance on God and of abstention from sin,[3] he proceeded towards the conquest of India. Mīrzā Kāmrān was left in Qandahār and the care of Kābul was also entrusted to him. When this expedition was made, victory followed on victory and fortune upon fortune. Lāhōr and some other large cities of India were taken and on 17 Ṣafar (3rd Dec.) his Majesty Jahānbānī, Jannat-āshīyānī, Naṣīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn arrived from Badakhshān with his army, at the camp which was in the Bāgh-i-wafā[4] 94

[1] Bābar does not blame him but says he was left without sufficient means. (267).

[2] This is explained by Bābar (Ers., 3[illegible] where *Wāsiṭ shahr Rabī'u-l-aw[illegible]* given as the chronogram of the taking of Dīpālpūr. These words [illegible] yield "Middle of Rabī'u-l-awwal 930" and so the conquest occurred about 22nd Jan., 1524. See *Akbarnāma* I, 110 where the reading is *Wasaṭ*. This seems the more correct as *Wāsiṭ* would yield 931. Bābar thus alludes to this expedition (Ers., 141). "In the year in which I defeated Bahar Khān and conquered Lāhōr and Dībālpūr, I brought plantains and planted them here," (in the Bāgh-i-wafā, near Jalālābād). Dīpālpūr is in the Montgomery District, Panjāb, and formerly on the Beas. It is now in a state of decay owing to its distance from the river. Text, Dībālpūr and according to Raverty, this is correct. (J.A.S.B. 1892, Part I. 375*n*. 380) Khāfī Khān (I, 47) has a good deal to say about this expedition.

[3] For Bābar's vows of penitence, see Memoirs, Ers., 292.

[4] Bābar made this garden in 914, (1508). It was opposite Ādīnapūr which was south of the Kābul River

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(Garden of Fidelity). Khwāja Kilān Bēg also came at this time from Ghaznīn.

On 1st Rabī'u-l-awwal (16th Dec.) he crossed the Indus near Kacakōt[1] and held a muster[2] of the army. Twelve thousand[3] cavalry, Turks, Tājīks, merchants,[4] *etc.*, were reckoned up. Then they crossed the Bihat (Jhelam) above[5] Jīlum (Jhelam). Near Buhlūlpūr they crossed the Cīnāb and encamped.

On Friday, 14 Rabī'u-l-awwal (29th Dec.) they encamped at Sīālkōt and his Majesty formed the plan of transferring its population to Buhlūlpūr. At this time news came that the enemy was assembling and when his Majesty reached Kalānūr, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, 'Ādil Sulṭān and the other officers who had been appointed to defend Lāhōr, arrived and paid their respects.

On Saturday, 22 (Text 24) Rabī'u-l-awwal, the fort of Milwat[6] was taken. Booty was obtained and the books of Ghāzī Khān which were in the fort were got possession of. Some of them were given to his Majesty Jahānbānī and some were sent as a present to Kāmrān in Qandahār. As it was reported that Ḥamīd Khān, governor[7] of Ḥiṣār-fīrūza[8] had advanced two or three stages, on Sunday, 13 Jumāda-l-awwal the army marched from Ambāla and halted on the bank of a tank (*kūl*) and Humāyūn was sent against him (Ḥamīd Khān). Amīr Khwāja Kilān Bēg, Amīr Sulṭān Muḥammad Dūldāī, Amīr Walī Khāzin, Amīr 'Abdu-l-'azīz, Amīr Muḥibb 'Alī, Khwāja Khalīfa and some of the officers who had stayed in Hindustān such as Hindū Bēg, 'Abdu-l-'azīz, Muḥammad 'Alī Jang-jang were appointed to accompany

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and about a mile south of Jalālābād. (Bābar, Ers., 141 and 278 and Raverty, Notes, 49).—Eleven years later, he made the Bāgh-i-ṣafā at the lake of Keldeh-Kehār, in the Salt Range. (Ers., 255).

[1] Bābar (293) says they crossed the river of Kacākōṭ, *i.e.*, the Haroh (Jarrett, II. 324).

[2] Text *shān* but I prefer the variant *sān*, *viz.*, a review or counting of an army. It would seem from P. de C.'s version (II, 36) and from Erskine (Bābar, 293) that advantage was taken of the crossing to count the troops while they were embarking or disembarking.

[3] "Great and small, good and bad, servants and no servants, they amounted to 12,000 persons." (Bābar, 293).

[4] *Saudāgar*. So too, Bābar (Ers., 310) but the meaning here seems doubtful, perhaps mercenaries.

[5] Bābar, below.

[6] The Malot of the Imp. Gaz.

[7] Text, *ḥākim*. Bābar, *shikdār*.

[8] (Ḥiṣār, Jarrett II, 105, 293).

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him. Baban, who was one of the nobles of Hindūstān, came in on this day and did homage. His Majesty Jahānbānī gained an easy victory.

On Monday, the 21st of the same month, he returned to the camp. His Majesty bestowed on him, Ḥiṣār-fīrūza with its dependencies and subordinate districts (*lawāḥiq*) which were worth a *kror* and also a *kror* in money as a guerdon for this victory which was the first of countless ones. The army continued its march. News repeatedly came that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm was advancing with 100,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. The army encamped near Sirsāwah (Sirsa). Here Ḥaidar Qulī (Text, 'Alī) a servant of Khwāja Kilān Bēg who had been sent to procure information brought the news that Dāūd Khān and Ḥaitim Khān (Text, Ḥātim) had advanced in front of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm's camp with five or six thousand horse. Accordingly on Sunday, 18 Jumāda-l-ākhar (1st April) Cīn Tīmūr Sulṭān, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, Mahdī Khwāja, 'Ādil Sulṭān, with the whole left wing commanded by Sulṭān Junaid, Shāh Mīr Ḥusain and Qutlaq Qadam, as well as part of the centre under Yūnus 'Alī, 'Abdu-l-lāh Aḥmadī, Kita Bēg and others, were appointed to operate against this body. And these heroes proceeding swiftly to the field of battle, were victorious over the enemy and slew a great number of them with the lightning of the sword and the rain of the arrow. Ḥaitim Khān with 70 others were made prisoners and sent alive to the exalted camp where they suffered capital punishment. Orders [1] were issued that wheeled carriages should be collected and Ustād 'Alī Qulī was directed to yoke them together in the Ottoman [2] (Rūm) manner with chains [3] and cow-hides of which they made ropes. Between every two car- 95

[1] The corresponding passage about collection of carts, is not in Erskine (Bābar, 304, l. 1) but in P. de Courteille, (II, 161) we read, "I ordered all "the soldiers to bring carriages, each "according to his means. They col-"lected in this manner 700."

[2] Elliot (VI, 468) observes that the reference is doubtless to the victory obtained by Sulṭān Salīm the Grim (*Yāwaz*) over Shāh Isma'īl in 1514, in which this method had been found very effective. The battle was fought on 23rd Aug. at Caldīrān near Tabrīz. (His. of Persia, Malcolm I, 504 and Hist. of Ottoman Empire, Hammer-Purgstall II, 412). Probably Ustād 'Ālī had been present in it.

[3] A.F.'s rendering does not seem quite correct. The twisted cow-hides were in lieu of chains.

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riages there were placed six or seven gabions[1] so that the matchlock men might fire their pieces from behind them in security. In a few days these arrangements were completed.

At length on Thursday, the last day of Jumāda-l-ākhar (12th April) the phœnix (humā) of victory made a shade with his wings at the city of Pānīpat. The ranks of the army were arranged in an excellent manner. The right wing rested on the city and environs, and the carriages and gabions were placed in front of the centre. The left wing was defended by trees and ditches. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, with a large army was drawn up six *kōs* from the city and for a week the young men and the veterans daily engaged numerous bodies of the enemy on the borders of the hostile camp and were always victorious. At length on Friday, 8 Rajab (20th April) Sulṭān Ibrāhīm marched against the camp with a mighty army and an array of elephants. His Majesty Gītī-sitānī also drew up his forces and adorned the battle-field in the following manner.[2]

Battle between his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī and Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and account of the array.

As the Protector and Doer desired to repair old defeats and to convert past afflictions into felicities, He arranged the preli- [illegible] for this, and set things in order. Among s[illegible] [illegible]ū Dūdāī, Amīr Walī [illegible]ī, Khwāja Khalīfa and the advancing of Sulṭān Ibrā hīm for the pur[illegible] in such as Hindū Bēg, the drawing up of the army of his Maje[illegible] appointed to accompany Divine aid was accompanying the latter, an[illegible] was in his van, he, in spite of a plenitude[illegible] the crossing to count the city of favouring circumstances, had recour[illegible] hile they were embarking and firm soul to the inalterable Arbiter an[illegible] barking. marshalling of his troops.

[illegible] reat and small, good and bad, The centre was adorned by the p[illegible] vants and no servants, they amount- In the right centre which the Turā to 12,000 persons." (Bābar, 293).

96 Sulaimān Mīrzā, Amīr Muḥammad [4] *Saudāgar*. So too. Bābar (Fanṣu[illegible] Barlās, Amīr Yūnus 'Alī, Amīr Darwesh Muḥammad Sārbān, Amīr 310) h[illegible]

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[1] *Turā*, (Vullers s. v. and Quatremère, Hist. of the Mongols, 337*n*. 130). The latter quotes the passage from the *Akbarnāma*.

[2] Text, اوچیان which may be intended for cuirasses but the true word seems *āncunān*, as follows.

[3] Text, *ūn*. Erskine *ung*. See Bābar, Ers., 227 where this and other terms are explained.

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'Abdu-l-lāh Kitābdār were stationed. On the left centre which the Turks call *sūl-ghūl*, Amīr Khalīfa, Khwāja Mīr Mīrān Ṣadr, Amīr Aḥmadī Parwāncī, Amīr Tardī Bēg, brother of Kūc Bēg, Muḥibb 'Alī Khalīfa, Mīrzā Bēg Tarkhān were stationed. The right wing was in charge of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshīyānī; Amīr Khwāja Kalān Bēg, Sulṭān Muḥammad Dūldāī, Amīr Hindū Bēg, Walī Khāzin, Pīr Qulī Sīstānī were in attendance on him. On the left wing were stationed Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, Sayyid Mahdī Khwāja, 'Ādil Sulṭān, Sulṭān Junaid Barlās, Khwāja Shāh, Mīr Ḥusain, Amīr Qutlaq Qadam, Amīr Jān (text, Khān) Bēg, Amīr Muḥammad Bakhshī and other heroes. In the vanguard were Khusrū Kōkultāsh and Muḥammad 'Alī Jang-jang;[1] Amīr 'Abdu-l-'azīz had charge of the reserve. At the flank of the right wing, Walī Kazil,[2] Malik Qāsim, Bābā Qashqa with their Mughals, were appointed as a flanking-party (*tūlghāma*). At the extremity of the left wing, were stationed Qarāqūzī, Abū-l-Muḥammad Nīzabāz (lance-player), Shaikh 'Alī, Shaikh Jamāl, Tengrī Qulī Mughal, as a flanking-party. Accordingly the brave swordsmen stood with firm foot on the battle-field and with life-taking arrows (*sahām*) and blood-drinking scimitars (*ṣamṣām*) displayed bravery and daring.

Verse.

The brave stood with firm foot,
Trees learned from them how to stand.

At length after great contest, the heavenly aids accompanied the centre and wings of the army and by the Divine aid, there ensued victory and the defeat of the enemy. A great victory for the servants always taking refuge in God became manifest. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm was slain unrecognised and in a corner, and numerous Afghāns were the harvest of the royal sword, and the caravans of the city of destruction were conducted to the rest-house of annihilation by the escort of victorious soldiers and the flambeaux of world-opening swords. Near the body of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, there lay

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[1] (Ers. 305) states that this officer was wounded on the day before and unable to take his place in the battle. But in S. Zain's recension we are told that though wounded he contrived to take part in the great battle.

[2] Text, Sharmal.

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on one spot five or six thousand dead. The sun had mounted spear-high when the onset of battle began and at noon there blew the breeze of victory, and the north wind of vernal conquest.

How can this great victory, which was the masterpiece of fortune, be explained? And how can language describe what is beyond the bounds of comprehension? When Sulṯān Maḥmūd[1] Ghaznavī came to Hindūstān, he was in possession of Khurāsān; the kings of Samarqand and Dāru-l-Marz[2] and of Khwārizm were subject to him and he
97 had an army of over 100,000 men. Nor was Hindūstān subject to one monarch. Rāīs and Rājas were stationed here and there and were not on terms with one another. Sulṯān Shihābu-d-dīn[3] Ghōrī came to the conquest of India with 120,000 cuirassiers, mounted on mail-clad[4] horses. Then too, there was no ruler in all that vast territory. And though his brother Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn held Khurāsān, yet he was not outside his influence. His Majesty,[5] the Lord of Conjunction (Tīmūr), at the time of his conquest of Hindūstān, gave orders for a muster of his troops in the plain of Samānah,[6] and Maulānā Sharafu-d-dīn 'Alī Yazdī states (*Ẓafarnāma* II, 83) that the line of the army (*ṭūl-i-yesāl*) occupied a space of six *farsakhs* in length, and persons experienced in military matters have calculated that a *farsakh* represents 12,000 horse, consequently, exclusive of the servants of servants (*naukar-i-naukar*[7]) there were 72,000 horsemen. The servants of servants occupied two *kos*.[8] His opponent, Mallū

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1 Jarrett, III, 340. A.F. bewails there Sulṯān Maḥmūd's bigotry but was it worse than Bābar's?

2 *Lit.*, Land of the marches. Redhouse, Turkish Dict. explains that it means the whole country under the chain of the Persian Caucasus, bordering on the Caspian Sea.

3 Called also Mui'zzu-i-dīn. Jarrett, III, 342 and Bābar, Ers., 148.

4 "Cataphract horse" (Bābar, Ers., 310). Minhāju-d-dīn is the authority referred to by Bābar. See his *Ṭabaqāt-i-nāṣirī*. Raverty, 465.

5 It is singular that Bābar (Ers., 309) takes no account of the conquest of India or at least, of Delhi, by his ancestor Tīmūr. He mentions the expeditions of Maḥmūd of Ghaznih, Shihābu-d-dīn and then says his own was the third. Evidently he did not count Tīmūr's because it was not followed by any permanent settlement in the country. He has a reference to Tīmūr's expedition at p. 255.

6 W. of Thaneswar and cir. lat. 29·55 and lat. 76·6. (Bābar, Ers., 301*n*. See also Jarrett, II, 296).

7 The Text is incorrect here.

8 Sharafu-d-dīn says 2 miles (*mīl*). A.F.'s description is not clear neither is Sharafu-d-dīn's account (*Ẓafar-*

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Khān, had 10,000[1] horse and 120 elephants. Yet with all this, many of those in the Lord of Conjunction's camp were frightened and his Majesty observed the alarm of his soldiers and heard improper remarks from them. And in order to reassure them, he commanded that a palisade should be made of branches of trees, in front of his troops, and that in front of this, a ditch should be dug and that behind that bullocks and buffaloes should be placed opposite each other, and fastened by their necks and feet with leathern thongs. Also many triangular (caltrops) iron prongs[2] were made and it was arranged that foot soldiers should take these and throw them in the way at the time of the onset and when the elephants came on. His Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī who was the fourth world-soother (*gītī-nawāz*) of India, in that great victory, [illegible]ch was one of the glorious gifts of God, had not with him more that 12,000 men, both soldiers and others. More astonishing still, his territories consisted of Badakhshān, Qandahār and Kābul. Nor did he get assistance from these countries for his armies; on the contrary, the expenditure, in order to protect some of the borders from the enemy and for other state purposes, was such as to exceed [illegible] body. [illegible] points. And the contest was with Sulṭān Ibrāhīm who had were victorious over the [illegible]alry and 1,000 war-elephants and who ruled from the lightning of the swo[illegible]hout an opponent. It was solely by the Divine with 70 others were made [illegible]tance of heaven that that glorious work was where they suffered capi[illegible]

wheeled carriages should b[illegible]lich A.F.'s is ed to yoke them together i[illegible]tand. Apparand cow-hides of which th[illegible]e line of the [illegible]rsakhs (about [illegible] but ac[illegible] 415), 6 [illegible]erhaps, [illegible]arding [illegible] however, A.F. is justified in [illegible] a *mīl* which he says was the third or a *farsakh*, as equal to one *kos*. (Jarrett II, 415 and 417). The breadth according to Sharafu-d-dīn was two miles (*dū mīl*) and not two *kos* as A.F. puts it.

The cavalry are called *naukar* and their servants *naukar-i-naukar*. The latter would probably be on foot. See trs. of these passages in Retr., Price, III, 250 and IV, 681. Major Price considers that the horse were arranged two deep.

Gibbon, quoting the Institutes, says Tīmūr had 92 squadrons of each 1,000, corresponding to the 92 [illegible] [illegible] that Alā u-of Muḥammad.

[1] Text, two, but MSS. and Retr., Price, show this a mistake. 10,000 also is named in *Ẓafarnāma* (II, 100). Mallū Khān was Prime Minister of Maḥmūd Tughlaq, the young king of India.

[2] *Ẓafarnāma* II, 102.

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accomplished. Men of judgment and experience feel powerless to panegyrize properly this masterpiece of the Ages. Hail, Holy One, carrier of the world illuminating light of his Majesty, the king of kings, what marvel if such feats were wrought by Thee! In
98 short, his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī, on the rising of the lights of victory glorified his forehead-mirror with the dust of thanksgiving prostration. He proclaimed presents to all mankind and sent his servants to all countries and regions.

But a deed fit to surpass the lofty designs of those world-opening princes who conquered Hindūstān, was the victory of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshīyānī which by the blessing of the existence of his Majesty, the king of kings (Akbar) took place in the plain of Sihrind.[1] Accordingly an account will hereafter be given of how with 3,000 men, he delivered India from Sikandar Sūr who had more than 80,000 men. Still stranger is the masterpiece of fortune of the Shadow of God (Akbar) who by the Divine aid so rescued India with a few men from the hands of many rebellious[2] chiefs that the tongue of the Age becomes dumb before it. An abridged account will be given in its proper place.

Verse.

Should Fortune grant me hope,
Heaven, leisure and opportunity,
By the kindling society of the truthful,
I shall embroider tale upon tale.[3]
On this tablet of immortals,
I'll draw a picture for posterity's behoof.

On the very day of the victory, his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshīyānī, Amīr Khwāja Kalān Bēg, Amīr Muḥammad Kōkultāsh, Amīr Yūnus 'Alī, Amīr Shāh Manṣūr Barlās, Amīr 'Abdul-l-lāh Kitābdār, Amīr 'Alī Khāzin were by orders of the king sent with a force [illegible] the capital, the seat of Sultān Ibrāhīm [illegible] the chain of the Persian Caucasus, [illegible] government, to take possession of the treasure. They gave confidence to the inhabitants—

[1] 22nd June, 1555. (B. and H. Ers. II, 518).

[2] Referring apparently to the rebellion of 'Alī Qulī and others against Akbar which is known as the Rebellion of Jaunpūr. (Emperor Akbar, Von Noer, A. S. Beveridge, I, 106 *et seq*).

[3] Text *dāstān dāstān*. One MS. has *dāstān darastān*.

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who are trusts from God—by diffusing the lights of justice. Sayyid Maḥdī Khwāja, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, 'Ādil Sulṭān, Amīr Junaid Barlās, Amīr Qatlaq Qadam were sent to Delhi, to preserve the treasures and secret stores of that place and to acquaint the subjects and inhabitants with the royal graciousness. On the same day proclamations of victory were written and sent by couriers to Kābul, Badakhshān and Qandahār. And he himself, on Wednesday, 12 Rajab, (25th April, 1526), alighted at Delhi. On Friday, 21[1] (4th May) he unfolded the umbrella of fortune in Agra and dispelled the darkness of the land.

Everyone,[2] small and great, in Hindūstān experienced the royal kindness and balminess. Out of his comprehensive kindness, the mother, children and dependants of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm were made partakers of his bounty and special stipends were assigned to them. An 99
allowance of a property worth seven *lakhs* of *tankas* was made to Ibrāhīm's mother. Similarly pensions were bestowed on his other relatives. The distracted world was soothed. His Majesty Jahānbānī 'Ummat-āshiyānī who had previously arrived at Agra, presented a diamond eight *miṣqāls*[3] in weight and which was valued by jewellers at one-half of the daily expenditure of the inhabited world. They said that this diamond had belonged to the treasury of Sulṭān 'Alā'u-d-dīn (Khiljī). He[4] (Humāyūn) got it from the family of

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[1] Bābar, 22, but if Wed., 12 Rajab, be right, Friday was the 21st.

[2] Mīrzā Ḥaidar remarks that all the world, from Turkey to China, benefited by the expedition, for the treasures obtained by the army, enabled them to buy the goods of these countries. An interesting allusion to the effects of commerce!

[3] 320 *ratīs*=279$\frac{9}{16}$ carats. (Bābar, Ers., 308) Erskine (B. and H. I, 438) inclines to identify this diamond with the one shewn by Aurangzēb to Tavernier and valued by him at £888,000. By some it is regarded as identical with the Kōh-i-nūr. For full discussion of the question, see Tavernier's Travels trs. Valentine Ball, II, 431 *et seq.*

I have treated of this subject in the *Calcutta Review*, &c., and my conclusion is that the Bābar diamond is the Kōh-i-nūr. Humāyūn carried the diamond away with him and gave it to Shāh Ṭahmāsp who sent it to the king of Aḥmadnagar.

[4] The text seems to say that 'Alā'u-d-dīn got it from Vikramāditya's heirs and has been so understood by Price. But both Ers. and P. de C. make it Bābar's statement that Humāyūn got it from Vikramāditya's heirs. How 'Alā'u-d-dīn got it is not explained. Khāfī Khān says 'Alā'u-d-dīn got it in the Deccan.

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Bikramājīt, the Rāja of Gwāliār. His Majesty, from the nobility of his nature, first accepted it and then returned it to him (Humāyūn) as a present.

On Saturday,[1] 29th Rajab, he began to examine and distribute the treasures and hoards, the collections of many kings. He gave his Majesty Jahānbānī, 70 *lakhs* of Sikandarī *tankas* and a treasure-house of which no account or inventory had been taken. To the Amīrs, he gave in accordance with their rank from five to ten *lakhs* of *tankas* and to every soldier and servant he gave presents superior to their position. All the man of learning, small and great, were made happy by gifts. No one, either in the camp or the cantonment (*urdū-bazār*) went without a share in the good fortune. The scions[2] of the royal family in Badakhshān, Kābul and Qandahār also received presents, *viz.*, Kāmrān Mīrzā, 17 *lakhs* of *tankas*; Muḥammad Zamān[3] according to their rank 15 *lakhs* and similarly 'Askarī Mīrzā, Hindāl Mīrzā and all the ladies of the *harem* and shining stars[4] of the *Khilāfat* and all the officers and servants who were absent from the dais received in accordance with their degree, jewels and rich varieties and also gold and silver money. Also to all the relatives and dependants, of his Majesty in Samarqand, Khurāsān, Kāshghar and 'Irāq, there were sent valuable gifts. Presents too were despatched to the holy sepulchres (*mashāhid*) and blessed shrines in Khurāsān, Samarqand, *etc.* And an order was issued that to every inhabitant of Kābul, Ṣaddara,[5] Warask, Khūst, and Badakhshān, male and female,

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[1] Saturday, Erskine (Bābar, 334) says the date is wrong, for 29th Rajab was a Friday and suggests that the distribution of treasure on a Friday might have interfered with Bābar's religious duties. P. de C., Monday, 29th *Rajab*. Price, "30th of the month."

[2] *Lit.* trees of the garden of success. The reference is to the presents sent to Kāmrān and others. (Bābar, Ers. 335).

[3] Son of Badī'u-z-zamān Mīrzā, son of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā of Herāt, but the gift was probably made to him as being the emperor's son-in-law. He served under Bābar and Humāyūn and was drowned in the Ganges at Causa in 1539. (Elliot, V. 203).

[4] *Darrārī*, pl. of Ar. *durrī*, a sparkling star or gem.

[5] There are some unintelligible words here. P. de C. (II, 233) has "Dans toute la circonscription de "versek et la principauté de Kābul, "il n'y eut pas une âme vivante, "maître ou dame, esclave ou homme "libre, adulte ou non adulte qui ne "reçut un *báberi* de gratification,"

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small and great, a *shāhrukhī* should be sent. Thus all and sundry, the *élite* as well as the commonalty, were fed from the table of his Majesty's bounty.

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and adds in a note to "circonscrip-"tion," "Le mot que je traduis ainsi "par conjecture est *sada* que la "version persane se contente de "réproduire sans l'intrepréter." To "bâberi," he has the note, "Un "*chahrokhi* suivant la version per-"sane et la traduction anglaise." Erskine (Bābar, 335) seems to have considered that *ṣada ū rasak* should be read *ba sadur rashk*, (for producing emulation), for he translates, "To the country of Kābul, as an "incentive to emulation, to every "soul, man and woman, slave or free, "of age or not, I sent one *shahrukhī* "as a gift!" I have examined the passage in the two B.M. MSS. Add. Per. of Bābar's Memoirs, *viz.*, No. 24,416, p. 269*b*, and No. 26,200, p. 285*a*. The latter was used by Erskine and the passage is as follows :—

بولایت کابل و مدهٔ و ارسک براهر
جان داري از مرد وزن از بنده و ازاد بالغ
و نا بالغ یکم شاروخي انعام شد *

There is nothing in either MS. about Badakhshān or Khūst.

The explanation of their mention in the A.N. however seems to be that A.F. used Shaikh Zain's trs. of Bābar's Memoirs. This was made much earlier than 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's for Shaikh Zain was one of Bābar's courtiers and wrote for him the pompous *firmāns* given by Bābar. (Ers., 355 and 359). He is also mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* (I, 119) as Shaikh Zain, the *Ṣadr* and grandson of Shaikh Zainu-d-dīn Khwāfī (Blochmann, 592*n*). There are two fragments of this translation in the B.M., *viz.*, Add. No. 26,202 (Rieu, I, 246) and Or. No. 1999 (l. c. III, 926) Shaikh Zain's version is written in an ornate and rhetorical style and in the third person. Both fragments contain the transactions of 932 and both speak of Khūst or Khwāst Badakhshān in describing the sending of the *shāhrukhīs*. The passage in Add. No. 26,202 occurs at 70*a*, and in Or. No. 1999 at 70*b*. It runs thus,

و فرمان صدور یافت که تمامي متوطنان
دار الملک و ساکنان صده درسک و از
خوست بدخشان که اهالي آن بزهد و
واخ امتیاز تمام دارد هو مرد را از مرد
و زن —

"And an order was passed that all "the inhabitants of the capital (? Kābul) and the dwellers in Ṣada Darask (or Warask) and Khust Badakhshān, who were distinguished for religion and piety, should each get a *shāhrūkhī*." Apparently then, Ṣada Darask is some hamlet of Khūst in Badakhshān. All the other B.M. MSS. of 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's trs. agree with the two already named in omitting any mention of Badakhshān.

The Ṣaddara of the Text might mean the hundred valleys and according to Steingass *Dara* is a district in Badakhshān. Ṣada is given by Vullers, on the authority of *Notices et Extraits*, (XIV, 771) as meaning a company of 100 men and possibly it may be the title of a divi-

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Verse.

From the showering of the jewel-shedding hand,
Joy burst out afresh in the world.
Pleasant is the gift that cometh from afar,
As the Moon sheds light on earth from her sphere.

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sion of a country, *e.g.*, the English hundred. I can find no such district as Warsak or Versak but possibly Wakhsh or Vakhsh is meant. (T. R. N. E. & R. 263, and Bābar, Ers. Intro. XXX).

"Khūst or Khost is a district on the northern slope of the Hindū Kūsh, between south and south-east of Kunduz and lies very near the hill tracts known on our time as Kāfiristān." T. R., trs. 103*n*.). Khūst is given in Raverty's Pushtū Dictionary, as a province in Afghānistān. (See Bābar, Ers. 151, 268 and 270.) It lay in the west of Badakhshān. Mr. Ney Elias' map marks it as north of Cārīkār and west-north-west of Citrāl.

On the whole it appears that Erskine's rendering "to excite emulation" cannot be correct though he adheres to it in his Bābar and Humāyūn (I, 440) adding that perhaps Bābar's object was to assist in recruiting his army, but Mr. Erskine had not then probably examined Shaikh Zain's translation. It appears to me that Bābar's motive was rather to enable the people of Afghānistān to defend themselves against the Uzbēgs and to strengthen their loyalty. It is probably to these presents that he alludes when he says (Ers. 310) that Badakhshān, Kunduz, Kābul and Qandahār were dependent on him, but that instead of being a help, he had to send extensive supplies to some of them, on account of their being near the enemy. This enemy can only mean the Uzbēgs. I should note that the last *ū* of the Text, *viz.* that between Khūst, and Badakhshān does not occur in all the MSS. Price (Retr. IV, 684) has "at Kābul and the neighbourhood." Firishta too has nothing about Badakhshān and merely speaks of the inhabitants of the city of Kābul, adding that Bābar received, on account of his improvidence, the title of Qalandar. Nor does Khāfī Khān (Bib. Ind. I, 53) speak of Badakhshān. Bābar sought afterwards to recoup his extravagance by adding 30 per cent. to the taxes (Memoirs, 387).

There is still another trs. of Bābar's Memoirs, that by Mīrzā Pāyanda Ḥasan Ghaznavī and Muḥd. Qulī Mughal Ḥiṣārī. Rieu, II, 799*b*.

Since writing the above note I have seen Wood's Journey to the Source of the Oxus (Lond. 1872) and am now inclined to think that Ṣada is a mistake for the Arabic صدّة *ṣadda*, a gate or pass. Ṣad or Ṣadda seems a common name of places in Badakhshān and in one of Wood's maps (p. XC) there is a pass marked Sad-īshtragh or Ishtrākh which may be the Ṣada or Ṣaddara rasak of the Text. It is north of Citrāl and perhaps recent expeditions to that neighbourhood, have thrown or will throw light on the locality mentioned in the Text. *Ṣad* seems to be used in Badakhshān as equivalent to *dara*.

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It is a fixed law that when the world-adorning Creator designs 100
to reveal a unique jewel from its casings, he brings strange things to pass so that a man being tried in such ways by word and deed may become glorious in the minds of all for firmness and foreseeing. Among these, there was this strange circumstance that with all this victory and largesse, there was a defect of similitude (*qillat-i-mujānasat*) which worked a want of intimacy (*'illat-i-'adam-i-muwānasat*) with the people of India.

The soldiery and the peasantry (of India) abstained from intercourse (with the invaders). Although Delhi and Agra had come into possession, opponents held the country. Many of the neighbouring forts were held by rebels. Qāsim Sanbalī held Sanbal (Rohilkhand) and in the fort of Bīāna (Bhartpūr) Niẓām Khān was beating the drum of opposition. Ḥasan Khān Mewātī had established himself in Mewāt (south of Delhi) and raised the standard of revolt. Muḥammad Zaitūn had established himself in Dhōlpūr (Rājpūtānā) and was breathing opposition. Tātār Khān Sārangkhānī (Firishta, son of Sārang Khān) was holding Gwālīār; Ḥusain Khān Lōḥānī, Rāprī (on the Jumna); Quṭb Khān, Etāwa, 'Alām Khān, Kālpī. Marghūb, a slave of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, held Mahāwan (Mathurā) which is near Agra. Qanauj and the other cities beyond the Ganges, were in the hands of the Afghāns, under the headship of Nāṣir Khān Lōḥānī and Ma'rūf Farmulī who had contended also with Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. After his death, they had acquired many other countries and having advanced some stages, had made Bahār Khān, son of Daryā Khān, king and styled him Sulṭān Muḥammad.[1]

During this year, while his Majesty had his head-quarters in Agra, the hot winds were very oppressive. An impure *samūm* and sickness were added to the pusillanimity of the camp. A large number absconded out of senseless imaginations. Owing to the rebels, the inclement weather, the impassableness of the roads, the delay of coming by merchants, there was distress for food and a want of necessary articles. The condition of the people became bad. Many officers resolved to leave Hindūstān for Kābul and its neighbourhood, and many soldiers deserted. Though many old officers and veteran soldiers used improper language in the Presence, and also secretly

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[1] B. and H., Ers. I, 412.

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used language disagreeable to his Majesty, yet his Majesty Gītī-sitānī who was unique for far-seeing and endurance, did not heed this but set about the administration of the country. At length on the part of the *élite* and those who had been trained by his Majesty and from whom different things were to be looked for, there were stale movements of old times.[1] Especially was this the case with Aḥmadī Parwāncī and Walī Khāzin. Still more astonish-
101 ing, Khwāja Kalān Bēg,—who in all the battle fields and occasions, especially in the expedition to Hindūstān, had always spoken gallantly and given such opinions as befitted a brave man—now changed his views and was the foremost in advocating the abandonment of the country, both openly and by covert hints. At length his Majesty summoned his officers and spoke wise words of counsel to them, unveiling their secret imaginings (*makhṭūrāt*) and forbidden (*maḥẓūrāt*) ideas. He announced his firm determination, saying, "We have "won this fine country by labour and hardship, to give it up for a "little fatigue and contrariety, is neither the way of world-conquerors "nor method of wise men. Joy and sorrow, comfort and distress are "linked together. Now that all those labours and troubles have "been brought to their end, assuredly rest and smoothness will ap-"pear in like degree. You must lay firm hold on the strong cable "of reliance on God and not utter any more vain and factious words. "Whoever has a mind to depart to Kābul (*Wilāyat*) and to exhibit "his own worthlessness, it matters not, let him go. But we, relying "on the lofty courage which rests on the Divine help, have fixed "India in our heart." At last all the officers, after consideration and meditation, agreed and confessed that what his Majesty said was true and that "the king's word was the word-king." With heart and soul they placed the head of submission on the ground of command and bound themselves to remain. Khwāja Kalān who was keener than the others about leaving for Kābul (*Wilāyat*) received permission to depart and the presents for the princes and others were sent with him.[2] Ghaznīn, Gardēz,[3] and the Sulṭān Mas'ūdī

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[1] The meaning is not clear, but I think A.F. is sneering at the presumptuous ways of old servants, Cf. text 133, seven lines from foot.

[2] He received money also for repairing a reservoir at Ghaznīn. (149).

[3] *Cir.* 65 *m.* south-east of Kābul. Jarrett II, 407. Bābar, Ers., 150).

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Hazārca[1] were given to him in fief. In Hindūstān too the *pargana* of Ghurām[2] was given to him. Mīr Mīrān also got leave to go to Kābul.

The Khwāja got leave to depart (to Kābul) on Thursday,[3] 20 *Ẕī-ḥijja* (28th August). It is manifest that every right-minded, fortunate one who conducts business with subtle prudence, is more and more successful in proportion as he arrives at high positions. A mirror of this is the grand story of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī who in such a commotion of the soldiery and in presence of much opposition, had recourse to world-conquering courage, and who, relying on the Divine protection, set his face to accomplish his work and achieve his desires and made the city of Agra, which is the centre of Hindūstān, his fixed residence and with strength of counsel and courage and abundant liberality and justice, composed the distractions of the country. Accordingly many of the officers of Hindūstān and rulers of the country gradually entered his service. Among them was Shaikh Ghūran[4] who brought with him as many as 3,000 men of mark.[5] Everyone of them received favours above his 102
condition.

There were also Fīrūz Khān, Shaikh Bāyazīd, Maḥmūd Khān Lōḥānī, Qāẓī Jīā, who were amongst the famous *sirdārs*, and who entered the service and obtained their desires. Fīrūz Khān received a *jāgīr* from Jaunpūr of one *kror* odd[6] of *tankas*. Shaikh Bāyazīd one *kror*[7] from Oudh; Maḥmūd Khān 90[8] *lakhs* from Ghāzīpūr. Qāzī Jīā had an assignment of 20 *lakhs* from Jaunpūr. In a short time, there was peace and comfort and joy and pleasure and such prosperity as belongs to a permanent government. Some[9] days

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[1] Bābar, Ers., 151 and 156. Jarrett, 401*n*.

[2] Guhrām, Jarrett II, 296. As my friend Mr. Beames has pointed out to me, this is Ghurām in Sihrind. It is now in the native State of Patiala and on the Ghaghar (the old and famous Saraswatī), about 25 miles south-west of Ambāla and 24 miles due west of Shāhābād.

[3] Bābar, Ers., 341.

[4] Ers. and P. de C., Kūren. Badāonī I, 337, Khūran. Badāonī speaks of him as unrivalled in his knowledge of music.

[5] Bābar calls them bowmen (*tarkashband*) from the Dūāb.

[6] I kr., 46 lakhs, 5,000, P. de C.

[7] I kr., 48 lakhs, 50,000, P. de C.

[8] 90 lakhs, 35,000 P. de C. See also Ers. B. and H. I, 446*n*., correcting trs. of Mem.

[9] About 11th July, 1526.

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after the 'Id of Shawwāl, there was a great feast at Agra, in the palace of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm when a treasury of gifts was showered into the lap of the public. Sambal was assigned to Jahānbānī, in addition to Sarkār Ḥiṣār-fīrūza which formerly had been given him as the reward of valour. Amīr Hindū Bēg was appointed as his deputy to preside over that district. As Bīban had besieged the fort of Sambal, the aforesaid Amīr, Kita Bēg, Malik Qāsim, Bābā Qashqa with his brothers and Mallā Āpāq, Shaikh Ghūran and his soldiers from the middle Dūāb were rapidly sent there. Biban engaged them and was defeated and as that seditious and disloyal one (*ḥarām-nimak*) after having experienced the sweets of service, had out of evil nature turned his back, never again did he behold fortune's face.

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CHAPTER XVIII.[1]

Deliberations of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī (Bābar) and undertaking by Humāyūn of the expedition to the eastward.

As his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī was now victoriously established in Agra, the capital of the kingdom, and as the rainy season,—which is the spring of India and the period of freshness and verdure, of enjoyment with one's friends, and of garden delights,—had passed away and the time for expeditions had arrived, he consulted with his ministers as to whether he should proceed to the east to quell the Lōḥānīs who had advanced with nearly 50,000 cavalry beyond Qanauj and were meditating hostilities, or should march westward against Rānā Sāngā[2] and subdue him, as he was very strong and had recently got possession of the fort of Khandār[3] and was cocking the cap of disobedience. After consultation, it was decided that as Rānā Sāngā had repeatedly sent representations to Kābul and had made protestations of loyalty, the facts of his not having done so since and of his having taken the fort of Khandār 103
from Ḥasan, the son of Makan, who had not yet done homage,—were not sufficient evidence of disloyalty, and that it was not advisable to proceed against him at present. The proper course was to send capable men to ascertain his dispositions and that until the truth about him was known, the first thing was to march eastwards and put down the Lōḥānīs. The Emperor intimated that he would attend to this matter in person, but meantime his Highness Jahānbānī,—the plant of whose greatness had grown tall in the garden of hope,—represented that if this weighty affair were committed to him, he would by the help of the royal fortune, bring it to a successful ter-

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[1] Chalmers resumes his translation here after missing out from p. 112, p. 102 of the text.

[2] According to Tod, Sāngā is a contraction of Sangrām Singh, "the lion of battle."

[3] Kandār is a strong hill-fort a few miles east of Rantanbhur. Bābar, Ers., 339. Text and Jarrett II, 275, Khandār.

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mination. The Emperor greatly approved of this request and gladly accepted the offer, and his Highness Jahānbānī girded himself for the task with energy and good fortune. Orders were issued that there should join themselves to Humāyūn, 'Ādil Sulṭān, Muḥammad Kōkultāsh, Amīr Shāh Manṣūr Barlās, Amīr Qatlaq Qadam, Amīr 'Abdu-l-lāh, Amīr Walī, Amīr Jān Bēg, Pīr Qulī, Amīr Shāh Ḥusain,—who had been deputed to take Dhōlpūr and its neighbourhood from Muḥammad Zaitūn and to make it over to Sulṭān Junaid Barlās and then to march against Bīānā. For this purpose Kābulī Aḥmad Qāsim was despatched in all haste to direct these officers to meet Humāyūn at Candwār. Sayyid Mahdī Khwāja, the *jāgīrdār* (fief-holder) of Etāwa, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, Sulṭān Muḥammad Dūldī, Muḥammad 'Alī Jang Jang and 'Abdu-l-'azīz,[1] Master of the Horse, with the rest of the army which had been sent to subdue Quṭb Khān Afghān who had raised the standard of revolt in Etāwa,—were also appointed to serve his Highness (Humāyūn). On Thursday, 13 Ẕīlq'ada (21st August, 1526) he came out from Agra at an auspicious moment and encamped at a distance of three *kos* from the city. He marched on from there, accompanied by the breeze of victory. Naṣīr Khān who had collected an army in Jājamū', fled while Humāyūn was 15 *kos* distant, and crossing the Ganges went to the territory of Kharīd.[2] Humāyūn also went in that direction, and having brought that region into order, partly by severity and partly by gentle measures, turned the reins of enterprise towards Jaunpūr. Having reduced Jaunpūr to order by justice and equity, he administered the country with the wisdom of age and the energy of youth. When near Dalmau, Fatḥ Khān Sarwānī, who was one of the great nobles of India and whose father had received from Sulṭān Ibrāhīm the title of A'ẓam Humāyūnī,
104 came and did homage to his Highness Jahānbānī. He (Jahānbānī) sent him to the imperial Court under the charge of Sayyid Mahdī Khwāja and Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā. There he was royally[3] treated and received a robe of honour. He received the allowances of his father and also a *kror* and six *lakhs* in addition. Though out of sim-

[1] Text, 'Alī, but this is wrong as Bābar's Mem. and A.S.B. MS. C. 27 and Text 107 and 108 show.

[2] Mentioned also in Bābar's *firmān*. Ers., 360. It is a large *pargana* in the district of Balia, N.-W. P. Jarrett II, 163.

[3] Cf. Bābar, Ers., 344. The total amount of the allowances is there stated as one *kror* and 60 *lakhs*.

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plicity he wished for the title which his father had possessed, he received that of Khān Jahān and was dismissed to his estates. His son Maḥmūd Khān was exalted by obtaining permanent service. His Majesty Gītī-sitānī was both in appearance and in reality successful and munificent in the capital.

In Muḥarram 933 (Oct. 1526) the joyful news came from Kābul that Māham Bēgam, the mother of his Highness Jahānbānī, had given birth to a son. His Majesty Gītī-sitānī named him Muḥammad Fārūq. His birth occurred on 23 Shawwāl, 932 (2nd Aug., 1526), and he died in 934 before his father had ever seen him.

DESCRIPTION OF VARIOUS AUSPICIOUS EVENTS IN THIS YEAR (933), OF THE NEWS OF THE REBELLION OF RĀNĀ SĀNGĀ AND OF THE MEETING OF HIS HIGHNESS JAHĀNBĀNĪ WITH HIS MAJESTY GĪTĪ-SITĀNĪ.

On Wednesday, 24 Ṣafar[1] (30th Nov., 1526), orders were issued to his Highness Jahānbānī that he should make over Jaunpūr to some officers and himself return with all speed, as Rānā Sāngā was advancing with a large army of Hindūs and Muḥammadans. The conveyance of this message was given to Muḥammad 'Alī, son of Mihtar Ḥaidar Rikābdār.

In this year Niẓām Khān, the governor of Bīāna, did homage through the instrumentality of that fountain of blessings Rafī'u-d-dīn Ṣafavī,[2] and made over the fortress of Bīāna to the imperial officers. Tātār Khān also tendered Gwālīār and kissed the threshold; and Muḥammad Zaitūn made over Dhōlpūr and submitted himself. Everyone received royal favours corresponding to his sincerity and loyalty and was secured against calamities.

On 16 Rabī'u-l-awwal (21st Dec.) of this year, the mother of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm formed a plot[3] by the means of the cooks which had a happy[4] issue,—the crude imaginings of evil-disposed persons coming to nothing and they themselves meeting with punishment.

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[1] 24 Muḥarram, Ers. and P. de C. This is probably correct. A.F. has probably written Ṣafar because that month appears in a preceding entry in Bābar's Mem. 24 Muḥarram= 31st October.

[2] A native of Īj near the Persian Gulf. He was a teacher of A.F.'s father and was buried opposite Agra. Blochmann, Preface ii and 523 and Jarrett II, 180 and III, 423.

[3] She attempted to have Bābar poisoned. Bābar, Ers., 347.

[4] *Bakhair guzasht*, qu. turned out

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When the orders were received by his Highness Jahānbānī, he appointed Shāh Mīr Ḥusain and Amīr Sulṭān Junaid Barlās to the command of Jaunpūr, and leaving Qāẓī Jīā who was one of those trained up by his Majesty Gītī-sitānī, to assist these two officers, he set out for the capital. He also appointed Shaikh Bāyazīd to Oudh and as ʻĀlam Khān held Kālpī and it was necessary to dispose of him, either peaceably or by force, he led his victorious army thither. By working on his hopes and fears, he brought him into the path of
105 obedience, and taking him in his train, presented him at the world-protecting Court. On Sunday, 3rd Rabīʻu-ṣ-ṣānī, he arrived at the Cārbāgh,[1] known later as the Hasht Bihisht (Eight Paradises) and which was by its verdure the spring of power and fortune, and presented himself before his Majesty Gītī-sitānī. On the same day Khwāja Dōst Khāwand arrived from Kābul, and was received with honour.

At this time representations were continually arriving from Mahdī Khwāja who was in Bīāna, about the rebellion of Rānā Sāngā and his warlike preparations.

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well. Price (IV. 691) seems to have read *bukhīr guzasht*, went into darkness, *i.e.*, was killed. But it would seem from the Memoirs that she was only put into confinement. See too Firishta.

[1] Now called Rāmbāgh; A. F.'s birthplace and opposite Agra. Blochmann, ii and Jarrett II, 180 and 423.

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CHAPTER XIX.

Of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī's drawing up his forces against Rānā Sāngā, and uprearing the standards of victory.

Whene'er a design takes root in the bosom of an auspicious one, on whose honoured head God, the world-arranger, hath placed the diadem of true sovereignty, and whose lofty intellect is set on obeying the behests of the Lord of Lords, his action rises above the petty views of the vulgar, and he achieves success in realm and religion (*dīn ū dunyā*). The wondrous deeds of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī are an instance of this, for as his felicity increased so also did his wisdom, and in proportion as the causes of dizziness augmented, so also did his prudence become enhanced. He ever took refuge in the Divine Unity, and in the administration of justice and the management of State affairs, never deviated a hair's breadth from the highway of reason. And at this time when Rānā Sāngā, in the pride of his numbers and courage and with his brains full of boastful madness, began to act presumptuously, and to remove his foot from the circle of equanimity, and was drawing nigh with the stride of boldness, he (Bābar) made the favour of God his stronghold, and gave no admission to the attacks of dismay but proceeded to quell that ill-fated disturber of the Age.

On Monday, 9 Jumāda-l-awwal (11th February, 1527), he marched out from Agra to extirpate this sedition, and pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of the city. Reports were continually arriving that the ill-fated one (Rānā Sāngā) had attacked Bīāna with a large army, and that the troops who had come out of that town, had not been able to withstand him and had turned back. Sankar Khān Janjūha was killed on that occasion, and Amīr Kita Bēg[1] wounded. Having halted four days, he (Bābar) marched on the fifth and encamped in the plain of Mandhākar[2] which lies between Agra

[1] *T.R.* 313ff. He was brother of Mīr Aḥmad Qāsim Kohbar.

[2] Perhaps the Mandāwar of the Āīn. Jarrett II, 182.

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and Sikrī. It occurred to him that there was no water-supply for the troops except in Sikrī—(which after returning thanks for his victory, his Majesty Gītī-sitānī, by giving diacritical points, named Shukrī (thanksgiving) and which is now by the auspicious felicity of
106 the king of kings, known as Fatḥpūr, from its giving victory to hearts)—and it might happen that the hostile army by using despatch, would get possession of this. In consequence of this just thought, he proceeded next day towards Fatḥpūr and sent Amīr Darvēsh Muḥammad Sārbān in advance in order that he might find a proper ground for encampment. The said Amīr fixed on an eligible spot in the neighbourhood of Fatḥpūr Lake (*Kūl*) which is a broad sheet of water and an ocean-like reservoir, and that was made the pleasant ground of encampment. From thence messengers went to summon Mahdī Khwāja and the other officers who were in Bīāna. Bēg Mīrak[1] who was a servant of Jahānbānī and a number of the Emperor's special attendants were sent to collect information. In the morning intelligence was brought that the opposing army had advanced one *kos* beyond Bisāwar and were eighteen *kos* distant. On the same day Mahdī Khwāja,[2] Muḥammad[3] Sulṭān Mīrzā and the other officers who had been in Bīāna, arrived and did homage. During this time, daily skirmishes took place between the outposts in which gallant soldiers distinguished themselves and received the royal approbation.

At length on Saturday, 13 Jumāda-l-ākhar 933 (16th March, 1527), Rānā Sāngā advanced with a large army to a hill near the village of Khānwa[4] in the Sarkār of Bīāna and about two *kos* from the imperial camp.

His Majesty states in his Memoirs that according to the Indian calculation by which territory yielding one *lakh* of revenue furnishes 100 horse, and one of a *kror* of revenue, 10,000 horse, the dominions

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[1] Possibly the grandfather of Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt*.

[2] Bābar's brother-in-law. The statement that he was a son-in-law is a mistake of Erskine. Khwāndamīr tells us near the end of the Ḥabību-s-siyar that Mahdī Khwāja was married to Bābar's sister Khānzāda.

[3] A grandson of Sulṭān Ḥusain of Herāt. Bābar made him governor of Kanauj, Mem. 181.

[4] 37 miles west of Agra, in the Bhartpur State.

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of Rānā Sāngā, as yielding ten *krors* of revenue, furnished 100,000 horse. Many chiefs also, who had never served under him before, gave in their allegiance and increased his army. Thus Silāḥu-d-dīn,[1] the ruler of Rāīsīn and Sārangpūr, etc., supplied 30,000 horse; Rāwal Ūdī Singh of Nagaur, 12,000; Ḥasan Khān Mewātī, ruler of Mewāt, 12,000; Bihārī[2] Mal Īdarī,[3] 4,000; Nirpat Hādā, 7,000; Sitarvī Kacī (of Cutch), 6,000; Dharan[4] Deo, ruler of Mīrtha, 4,000; Narsingh Deo Cūhān,[5] 4,000; Maḥmūd Khān, son of Sikandar Sulṭān, though he had no territory, yet[6] in hope of regaining his ancestral throne, brought with him 10,000 horse; so that the whole force amounted to two *lakhs* and 1,000 horse.

When his Majesty heard of the arrival of the enemy, he set about arranging his forces. The royal station was in the centre. Cīn Tīmūr[7] Sulṭān, Mīrzā[8] Sulaimān, Khwāja Dōst Khāwand, Yūnus 'Alī, 107
Shāh Manṣūr Barlās, Darvēsh Muḥammad Sārbān,[9] 'Abdu-l-lāh Kitābdār, Dōst Īshak Āqā and others of the great officers were stationed in the right. On the left were 'Alā'u-d-din,[10] son of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lōdī; Shaikh Zain Khwāfī, Amīr Muḥibb 'Alī, son of Niẓāmu-d-dīn 'Alī Khalīfa; Tardī Bēg, brother of Qūc Bēg; Shīrāfgan, son of Qūc Bēg; Ārāish Khān, Khwāja Ḥusain and many other servants of the Sulṭānate and pillars of the State.

The right wing was adorned by the fortunate presence of his

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[1] Text, Silhadī. See Erskine's B. & H. I, 471*n*.

[2] Erskine, *Bārmal* (360).

[3] Īdar or Edar in Kāthiāwar, Gujrāt.

[4] Text, Parm and also in fragment of Bābar's Mem. trs. by P. de C. II, 445.

[5] This passage occurs in the report of the victory drawn up by Shaikh Zainu-d-dīn (Bābar, Ers., 360). There is some discrepancy about the proper names and I have corrected some of those in the Text.

[6] Copied from Bābar (Ers., 360), but the meaning there is that 10,000 horsemen followed him because they hoped that he would recover his ancestral possessions.

[7] The eighth son of Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān and grandson of Yūnus Khān, so he was Bābar's cousin, *i.e.*, his mother's nephew. He died of dysentery at Agra. (*T.R.* N. & R., 161).

[8] Son of Mīrzā Khān and afterwards ruler of Badakhshān.

[9] A disciple of Khwāja Aḥrār.

[10] Brother of Sulṭān Sikandar and uncle of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān who was killed at Pānīpat. Ers. B. & H. I, 423 and 421*n*. According to another account, 'Alā'u-d-dīn was Ibrāhīm's brother. He was generally known as 'Ālam Khān.

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Highness Jahānbānī and on his right were Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān, Aḥmad Yūsuf Ōghlāqū, Hindū Bēg Qūcīn, Khusrū Kōkultāsh, Qawām Bēg, Urdū-shān, Walī Khāzin, Qarāqūzī, Pīr Qūli Sīstānī, Khwāja Pahlwān Badakhshī, 'Abdu-l-shakūr and many other gallant men. On the victorious left of his Highness Jahānbānī, were Mīr Hama, Muḥammadī Kōkultāsh, and Khwājagī Asad Jāmdār.

And on the right wing there were nobles of India such as the Khān-khānān, Dilāwar Khān, Mulkdād Karāranī and Shaikh Ghūran.

On the left wing were Sayyid Mahdī Khwāja, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, 'Ādil Sulṭān, son of Mahdī Sulṭān, 'Abdu-l-'azīz Mīr Akhūr, Muḥammad 'Alī Jang Jang, Qatlaq Qadam Qarāwal, Shāh Ḥusain Bārbēgī, Jān Bēg Atka. And of the nobles of India there were Jalāl Khān and Kamāl Khān, sons of Sulṭān 'Alā'u-d-dīn, 'Alī Khān Shaikhzāda Farmulī, Niẓām Khān of Bīāna and many other brave warriors who girt the waist of service with perfect loyalty. And as a flanking party, there were Tardī Īkka, Mulk Qāsim, brother of Bābā Qushqa and many Mughals on the right wing. Mūman Atka and Rustam Turkamān with many of the Emperor's special dependants were stationed on the left wing.

For the sake of protection, the practise of the holy warriors of Rūm was followed and a line of carts was arranged and connected by chains so that there might be cover for the matchlock-men and cannoniers, who were in front of the soldiers,—and Niẓāmu-d-dīn 'Alī Khalīfa was appointed to command this line. Sulṭān Muḥammad Bakhshī, after arranging the commanders and officers in their posts, stood near the Emperor to hear his commands which were allied to Divine inspiration,—and despatched adjutants (*tawāciān*) and couriers to all sides who conveyed the orders to the officers. When the pillars of
108 the army had been arranged in this excellent manner, a command was issued that no one should stir without orders from his position, nor without permission advance his foot into the battle. A watch of the day had passed [1] when the fire of war was kindled.

Verse.

The soldiers bestirred themselves on each side,
Day and night were commingled,

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[1] About 9 A. M.

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On each side arose a war-cry,
Two seas of hate foamed at the lips,
The steel-shod hoofs of the chargers
Reddened the ground with the blood of the brave.
The world-holder mid his glorious camp
Moved exultant on his prancing steed.

Such a battle raged on the right and left wings that the earth quaked and the universe resounded with the clangour. The left wing of the enemy moved against the imperial right and fell upon Khusrū Kōkultāsh, Mulk Qāsim and Bābā Qushqa. Cīn Tīmūr Sulṭān was ordered to go to their assistance and by his intrepid aid he drove the enemy nearly to the rear [1] of their centre. A noble reward was assigned to him for this. Muṣṭafā Rūmī brought forward the carts from the centre of his Highness Jahānbānī's division and by his matchlocks and culverins (*zarbzan*) so broke up the ranks of the enemy that the rust was scoured off from the mirror-hearts of the brave combatants, and many of the enemy were laid level with the earth and were annihilated. And, as from time to time, the hostile troops advanced, so did his Majesty Gītī-sitānī send on picked men to succour his victorious soldiers.

At one time orders were given to Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān, Aḥmad Yūsuf and Qawām Bēg; at another to Hindū Bēg Qūcīn; at another to Muḥammad Kōkultāsh and Khwājagī Asad. After that Yūnus 'Alī, Shāh Manṣūr Barlās and 'Abdul-l-lāh Kitābdār received orders. Then Dōst Īshak Āqā, Muḥammad Khalīl Ākhta Bēgī were sent to assist. The enemy's right wing repeatedly attacked the left wing of the victorious army but every time the loyal souled Ghāzīs affixed some of them to the ground by a rain of calamitous arrows, and slew many of them with the lightning of daggers and scimitars. Mūman Atka and Rustam Turkamān acting according to orders, attacked the benighted bands from the rear, and Mullā Maḥmūd and 'Alī Atka Bāshlīq who were servants of Khwāja Khalīfa went to their assistance. Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, 'Adil Sulṭān, 'Abdu-l-'azīz Mīr Akhūr, Qatlaq Qadam Qarāwal, Muḥammad 'Alī Jang Jang, Shāh Ḥusain Bārbēgī and Mughal Ghānjī engaged in action and maintained a firm position. Khwāja Ḥusain went with a body of the household troops

[1] Bābar, nearly to their centre.

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109 (*dīwānīān*) to their assistance and all the victorious warriors,—who with jeopardy of their lives devoted themselves to service,—made lofty the standards of toil by taking vengeance on the enemy, and choked the springs of the enemy's hope with the dust of failure.

Verse.

The hands[1] of the javelin-throwers were knot upon knot (*girih bar girih*),
The backs of the brazen-bodied ones were cuirass upon cuirass (*zirih bar zirih*).
On each side, the rock-piercing spears
Closed with thorns the path of safety.
The shining of caerulean scimitars
Deprived eyes of sight by their gleaming.
The dust of the earth put a cap on the Moon
And stopped the breath in the throat.

As the engagement was long, owing to the numbers of the enemy, orders were issued to the household troops, who were behind the carts like chained tigers,—to emerge from the right and left centre and after leaving a space in the middle for the musketeers, to charge from both sides. In accordance with the noble call the gallant youths and valiant warriors, like tigers breaking from their chains and gaining their liberty, dashed forward. The clashing (*cakācāk*) of swords and the whizzing (*shipāshāp*) of arrows reached the heavens, and that rare one of the Age, 'Alī Qūli,[2] stood with his following in front of the centre and performed wonders in discharging stones[3] and in firing of culverins and muskets. Just then orders were issued for moving forward the carriages of the centre and his Majesty himself moved against the foe. When this was perceived by the glorious army, they became agitated like a billowy sea and all at once made an assault on the hostile ranks. At the end of the day the flame of conflict so blazed up that the right and left of the victorious army forced and drove the enfeebled left and right of the

[1] The meaning seems to be that the opposing soldiers were locked together in flight. The phrase brazen-bodied was an epithet of Isfandiyār, a Persian hero killed by Rustam.

[2] Ustād 'Alī Qūlī the cannonier.

[3] *Sang*. It may also mean cannon-balls.

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enemy into one mass with their centre, and so beat upon that wretched body that all those ill-fated ones washed their hands of life and rushed upon the right and left centre of the imperialists. They approached very near but the high-minded Ghāzīs stood firm and quitted themselves like men. By heaven's help, the opponents were unable to abide the contest and those ill-fated, wretched ones were compelled to loose the rein of firmness from the palm of contrivance and to take flight and to regard as meritorious their escaping half-dead from such a courage-testing contest. The breezes of victory and success blew on the grove of fortunate standards, and the buds of strength and help blossomed on the branches of faith and exertion. Many of the 110
hostile troops became the food of the blood-drinking sword and of the hawking arrow. And many wounded, the remains of the sword, turned the dust-stained cheek of courage, and the besom of dismay swept away the rubbish of their presence from the field of battle, quivering like moving sands, they became a Sahara of wretchedness. Ḥasan Khān Mēwātī was killed by a bullet and Rāwal Uday Singh,[1] Mānik Cand Cūhān, Rāī Candrabhān Dilpat Rāī, Gangū, Kram Singh, Rao Nagarsī[2](?) and many of their great chiefs were slain. Many thousand wounded were destroyed by the hands and 'neath the swift feet of the victorious army. Muḥammadī Kōkultāsh, 'Abdu-l-'azīz Mīr Ākhūr, 'Alī Khān and some others were sent to pursue Rānā Sāngā.

His Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī having become victorious returned thanks for this great victory and sublime blessing to Almighty God, Glory be to His Name, (who arranges the series of fates by re-setting the openings and shuttings of things visible and invisible), and pursued the enemy for one *kos* from the field of battle, till at length night fell; that day was black for foes and that night joyful for friends. Then he recalled his lofty spirit from the enemy and beating high the drum of success, turned and reached his camp some hours after night-fall. As it was not ordained of God that that abandoned one (Rānā Sāngā) should be taken, the men who were sent in pursuit of him, did not manage well. His Majesty observes thereon, "The time was critical, I should have gone myself and not have trust-

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[1] Tod, "of Dangarpūr."

[2] Text, Ḍūngarsī. Erskine, Rao Bikersī with the variant Nagarsī. P. de C., Rao Niguersī.

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ed to others." Shaikh Zain the Ṣadr who was possessed of distinguished qualities, found the date of this great victory in the words *Fatḥ-i-Bādshāh-i-Islām*[1] and Mīr Gēsū sent the same chronogram from Kābul. His Majesty writes in his Memoirs that there was a similar coincidence in the chronograms of the former victory of Dīpālpūr when two persons found the date *Wasaṭ-i-shahr-i-Rabī'u-l-awwal.*[2]

When so great a victory had been gained, the pursuit of Rānā Sāngā and the attack on his country were postponed and preference was given to the conquest of Mēwāt. Muḥammad 'Alī Jang Jang,
111 Shaikh Ghūran and 'Abdu-l-Mulūk Qūrcī were sent with a large force against Ilyās Khān who had raised the head of sedition in Kōil[3] in the Dūāb and had imprisoned Kacak 'Alī the governor of that place. When the victorious arm[illegible] was unable to resist them [illegible] army approached, he [illegible] Agra, that rebel and retired. After the victorious army had reached Ag[illegible] was produced before the royal Court and met with capital[4] punishment.

As the conquest of Mēwāt had been determined upon by the world-adorning soul (of Bābar), he proceeded to that province. On Wednesday, 6 Rajab (7th April, 1527), he arrived at Alwar which is the capital of Mēwāt. The treasures of Alwar were bestowed on his Highness Jahānbānī. And when this territory had been annexed, he returned to the capital in order to undertake the reduction of the eastern territories.

Departure of his Highness Jahānbānī for Kābul and Badakhshān, and the march of the royal army to Agra.

As it was necessary to arrange for the administration of Kābul and Badakhshān, and as the time was exigent, and as Badakhshān had been committed to Humāyūn since 917[5] (1511) when Mīrzā Khān

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[1] The letters make 933.

[2] The letters make 930. See supra. Bābar (Ers., 368) says that it was the same persons, Shaikh Zain and Mīr Gēsū, who found out the Dīpālpūr chronogram.

[3] Jarrett II. 188. Text, Kōl. It is in 'Alīgarh.

[4] He was flayed alive. Ers., Bābar, 368 and P. de Courteille II. 310.

[5] As pointed out by Ers. (B. & H., I. 341) and Blochmann (311*n.*) and Mr. Ney Elias (T. R. 373*n.*), this date which is also given by Ḥaidar Mīrzā, must be wrong and is perhaps a mistake for 927 (1521). In 917, Humāyūn was only three or four years old, and in the T. R. (353) we have an account of Mīrzā Khān as reigning in Badakhshān in 924.

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had died, and as many servants were employed there, his Highness Jahānbānī, ornament of world-subduing, jewel of the sword of fortune, forehead of glory, frontispiece of splendour and glory, preamble of an incomparable model, pupil of the eyes of sovereignty and the *Khilāfat*, the father of victory (*abū-n-naṣr*), Naṣīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn was, on 9th Rajab of this auspicious (*humāyūn-fāl*) year (11th April, 1527), at 3 *kos* from Alwar despatched to that country. At the same time, the Emperor swiftly applied himself to the reduction of Biban Afghān who during the Rānā's disturbance had besieged Lakhnaw and taken possession of it. Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān, Malik Qāsim Bābā Qashqa, Abū'l-Muḥammad Nīzabāz, Ḥusain Khān, and —from among the Amīrs of India,—'Alī Khān Farmulī, Mulkdād Jahārānī, Tātār Khān and Khān Jahān were sent along with Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā against him. That luckless one, on hearing of the approach of the glorious army, left all his goods behind him, and fled with naught but the coin of life in his palm. His Majesty at the end of this year, visited Fatḥpūr (Sīkrī) and Bārī[1] and then proceeded to Agra. In 934 he visited Koil and went from thence to Sambal[2] to hunt, and after viewing these delightful Highlands, returned to 112
the capital. On 28th Ṣafar (23rd Nov.) Fakhrjahān Bēgam[3] and

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According to P. de C.'s fragment of Bābar's Mems. (II. 452) Mīrzā Khān did not die till 934. This must be wrong, for Bābar speaks of Badakhshān as belonging to himself at the time (932) of his conquest of India, and it is plain that Mīrzā Khān was not alive after 927. (Bābar, Ers. 286 and note.) Most probably he died in 926, as Firishta says and as is in accordance with Ḥaidar Mīrzā's statement (Elias & Ross 387) that Humāyūn's reign in Badakhshān began in 926. The events of this year, with the exception of those of the first month, are not recorded in Bābar's Memoirs which are blank for the six years from Ṣafar 926 to 932. Gulbadan does not give any precise date for the death but says that ambassadors from Badakhshān brought the news about the time of the Bajaur campaign. Apparently they brought Sulaimān, Mīrzā Khān's young son, with them. Gulbadan says that thereupon, Bābar sent Humāyūn to Badakhshān and she adds the interesting circumstance that Bābar and Māham (Humāyūn's mother) followed him there and stayed a few days.

[1] In Dhōlpūr, Rājpūtānā and 44 miles south-west of Agra.

[2] Or Sambhal. See Jarrett II, 281, where A. F. states that the rhinoceros is found in Sambhal.

[3] Bābar's paternal aunts; they seem to have made a short stay only with him and then to have returned

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Khadīja Sulṭān Bēgam arrived from Kābul, and his Majesty embarked on a boat and went to meet them and behaved with liberality towards them.

As news was frequently brought that Medinī Rāī, the ruler of Candērī[1] was collecting troops and that the Rānā also was preparing war and putting together the materials of his own destruction, the Emperor marched in a fortunate hour against Candērī and also sent 6,000 or 7,000 gallant men from Kālpī under Cīn Tīmūr Sulṭān to Candērī. On the morning of Wednesday, 7th Jumāda'l-awwal (29th Jan., 1528), a splendid victory was gained at Candērī. *Fatḥ-i-dāru-l-ḥarb* (Conquest of the hostile country, *i.e.*, of the country of the infidels = 934) is the chronogram of this Divine aid. After this Candērī was made over to Aḥmad Shāh, grandson of Sulṭān Naṣīru-d-dīn [illegible] then the Emperor returned on Sunday, 11th Jumāda'l-awwal (2nd Feb.).

It has been stated by trustworthy annalists that the Rānā (Sāngā) had meditated revolt and been collecting an army before the Emperor marched against Candērī, and that when the former came to Īrij,[2] Āfāq,[3] a servant of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī, had put it into a condition of defence. That black-fated one came and besieged the place, but one night he beheld in a dream an ancestor of his under a dreadful appearance. He awoke in terror and horror and began to tremble in all his limbs. After this he immediately set about his return and on the way, the forces of death attacked him and he died. The victorious army crossed the river of Burhānpūr and it came to the ears of the Emperor that Ma'rūf, Biban and Bāyazīd had gathered their forces and that the imperial servants had abandoned Kanauj and come to Rāberī and that the enemy had taken the fort of Shamsābād from Abū'l-muḥammad Nīzabāz. Accordingly the reins of resolution were turned to that quarter and a number of heroes were sent on in advance. Merely on seeing the soldiers, the son of Ma'rūf became dumbfounded and fled from Kanauj; and Biban, Bāyazīd and Ma'rūf having heard of the royal army, crossed the Ganges and re-

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to Kābul. (Bābar, Ers. 382 and 387.) Gulbadan says there were seven of them, all daughters of Abū Sa'īd and she gives some of their names.

[1] Jarrett II, 196. It is in Gwālyār.

[2] Jarrett II, 187.

[3] Bābar, Ers. 387, Mullā Āfāq.

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mained on the east side, opposite Kanauj, with a view to dispute the passage. The royal army continued to advance and on Friday, 3rd Muḥarram, 935 (18th Sept., 1528), Mīrzā 'Askarī who had been sent for from Kābul before the Candērī disturbance, to advise (with the Emperor) on the affairs of Multān, arrived and entered upon auspicious service. On Friday next, the *'Āshūrā*, (10th Muḥarram) his Majesty halted at Gwālyār and next morning surveyed the palaces of Bikramājīt and Mān Singh and then proceeded towards the capital. 113
He arrived there on Thursday, 25th Muḥarram.

On Monday, 10th Rabī'u-l-awwal, couriers arrived from his Highness Jahānbānī in Badakhshān and brought several pieces of good news. It was written that a son had been born to His Highness Jahānbānī by the chaste daughter of Yādgār Ṭaghāī and that he had received the name of Al-amān.[1] As this name was equivocal and had an improper meaning among the generality, it was not approved of. It was not acceptable also because it had not received the assent of his (Bābar's) holy heart. The pleasing of the father, especially such a father and such a king, is fruitful of blessings, visible and invisible, and the displeasing of him is the cause of a hundred evils, external and internal. What marvel then if men of experience regard the rapid disappearance of this first fruits of sovereignty as a mark of this displeasure.

When his Majesty had been settled in the capital, he convened the Turkī and Indian nobles and had a splendid feast and held a consultation about the settlement of the eastern districts and the extinguishing of the flame of rebellion. After much discussion it was agreed, that before his Majesty took the field, Mīrzā 'Askarī should be sent to the east with a large force and that when the trans-Gangetic Amīrs had joined him with their forces, some great expedition might be undertaken. In accordance with this determination, Mīrzā

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[1] *Al-amān*, in Arabic, means peace or protection; also the protected one, the trusty. But Bābar did not like the name because people in general pronounce it *alaman* or *ilaman*, and these words in Turkī have bad meanings, *viz.*, *alaman* is a plunderer or runner, and *ilaman*, "I do not feel." (P. de C. II, 363*n*. See also Dicts. *s. v.*) Bābar's objections to the name are given in his letter to Humāyūn (Ers., 391). Besides the ambiguity mentioned above, he objected because it was unusual to place the article *al* thus before a name.

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'Askarī departed on Monday, 7th Rabī'u-l-ākhar, while the Emperor himself went for a visit and for hunting towards Dhōlpūr.

On 3rd Jumāda'l-awwal news came that Maḥmūd,[1] the son of Iskandar, had taken Bihār and was raising the head of rebellion. His Majesty returned from hunting to Agra and it was settled that he should proceed in person to the eastern districts.

At this time, couriers came from Badakhshān with the intelligence that his Highness Jahānbānī had collected the troops of those provinces and accompanied by Sulṭān Wais,[2] had set out with 40 or 50 thousand men on an expedition against Samarkand. It was also reported that there was talk of a peace. In an auspicious moment a message was sent that, if the time for negociations had not passed, he should make peace until the affairs of India had been cleared off. The letter also summoned Hindāl Mīrzā and mentioned that Kābul was to be a royal domain. He (Bābar) also wrote "God willing, "when the affairs of Hindūstān which are near settlement, shall be "finished, we shall leave these faithful servants and ourselves visit "our hereditary kingdoms. It is proper[3] that all the servants of "these countries should make preparations for the expedition and "await the arrival of the imperial army." (Bābar's)

114 On Thursday, the 17th of the said month, he crossed the Jumna and went towards the eastern districts.

In these days the ambassadors of Nuṣrat Shāh,[4] the ruler of Bengal, brought valuable presents and did homage.

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[1] Brother of the Ibrāhīm slain at Pānīpat.

[2] Ers., B. & H., I. 509. He was an Amīr of Khatlān (T.R. 21*n.*) and is often called Sulṭān Awais or Uwais. He was Sulaimān's father-in-law. (Blochmann, 311.) Bābar refers to him in a letter to Humāyūn (392). Apparently he was at one time king of Swāt. (Bābar, Ers., 249).

[3] In this and other passages of this chapter, describing the events of 935, A.F.'s abstract agrees with P. de C.'s trs. (Vol. II.) rather than with Ers. The meaning is not clear in the text, but seems to be that the army to be awaited is Bābar's. The corresponding passage occurs in a letter to Humāyūn (P. de C. II, 456) and refers to Bābar's desire that all his subjects should assist Humāyūn in his projected expedition against the Uzbēgs. P. de C. has, "En attendant, il est nécessaire que tous nos sujets se joignent à Humaiun dans cette éxpedition et le servent avec fidélité."

[4] Son of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh. Bābar has a short notice of him (Ers., 311). He was also called Naṣīb and apparently reigned 1518–1532.

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On Monday, 19th Jumāda'l-ākhar, Mīrzā 'Askarī arrived on the banks of the Ganges and tendered his duty. He was ordered to march with his army down the opposite bank of the river. Near Karra[1] news came of the defeat of Maḥmūd Khān, the son of Sulṭān Sikandar. Having advanced near the borders of Ghāzīpūr, he stopped at Bhōjpūr[2] and Bihīya.[2] In that place Bihār was bestowed on Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān.[3] On Monday, 5th Ramaẓān,[4] being set at ease with regard to Bengal and Bihār, he proceeded to Sirwār[5] to put down Biban and Bāyazīd. The enemy engaged with the victorious army and was defeated. After visiting Kharīd[6] and Sikandarpūr and being satisfied with the state of things there, he rode post[7] towards Agra which he reached in a short space of time.

His Highness Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī had spent one year pleasurably in Badakhshān. Suddenly a desire for the society of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī,—who was a world of internal and external perfections,—took possession of him and being unable to restrain himself, he made over Badakhshān to Sulṭān Wais, the father-in-law of Mīrzā Sulaimān, and proceeded towards the *Qibla* of fortune and *Ka'ba* of hopes. Thus in one day he arrived at Kābul. Mīrzā Kāmrān had come there from Qandahār. They met in the 'Īdgāh[8] and

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[1] 42 miles north-west of Allāhābād and in Allāhābād district. Jarrett II, 167.

[2] Towns in Shāhābād.

[3] The Mems. say (418), that the government of Jaunpūr was conferred on Muḥammad Zamān but he also held Bihār (409 and 410).

[4] Should be 15th (24th May). (Ers., 419).

[5] So in Text, but in Mems. (Ers., 419) instead of Sirwār, we have the river Sarjū or Gogra mentioned and are told that Bābar marched from his station on its banks to put down the rebels. But A.F. is nearly in accord with P. de C. II, 456, where Bābar says that on Thursday, 7th Ramaẓān, he marched towards Sirwār to repulse Biban and Bāyazīd. Sirwār is also mentioned in Mem. (Ers. 420) and appears in the list of Bābar's provinces. (Ers., B. & H., I. 541). See Blochmann, 381*n.* where it is stated that Sirwār got its name from the river Sarwa.

[6] In Jaunpūr. Jarrett II, 163 and 164.

[7] Probably because his family had just arrived from Kābul. He met Māham, his favourite wife and Humāyūn's mother at midnight on Sunday, 27th June, 1529.

[8] P. de C. (II, 457) has "lors des céremonies du Bairām." Probably Kāmrān came there for this festival. There are two Bairāms (Vullers *s. v.*), one on 1st Shawwāl and one on

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Kāmrān being surprised to see him, asked him the cause of his journey. Humāyūn replied it was a desire to see his sovereign, and that though he was always seeing him with his mind's eye, yet this was not equal to a personal interview. He ordered Mīrzā Hindāl to proceed from Kābul for the protection of Badakhshān and putting the foot of purpose in the stirrup of courage, and urging along the charger of joy on the highway of determination, he in a short time reached Agra and was rewarded by tendering his service.

A wonderful thing was that his Majesty Gītī-sitānī was sitting at table and talking with his (Jahānbānī's) mother about him when suddenly[1] the shining star emerged from the ascension-point of Badakhshān. Their hearts were rejoiced and their eyes brightened.
115 Each day of princes is a feast but that day, by the advent of his Highness Jahānbānī, was made a feast such as cannot be described.

Mīrzā Ḥaidar writes[2] in his Tārīkh-i-rashīdī that his Highness Jahānbānī came to Hindūstān in 935 (1528–29) at the summons of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī and that he left Faqr 'Alī in Badakhshān.

At this time the darling (lit. eye-pupil) of the Sulṭānate, Mīrzā

10th Zī-l-ḥijja. Probably the latter is meant. On the other hand Bābar (Ers., 428) seems to imply that Humāyūn was at Agra on 8th July, 1529. If so the Bairām referred to must have been that of 1st Shawwāl (June 8th) and Humāyūn must have reached Agra at about the same time as his mother. This too would harmonize with A.F.'s story that he appeared all of a sudden when his father and mother were talking of him. It agrees better too with Ḥaidar's statement that Sa'īd Khān left Kāshghar for Badakhshān in the beginning of Muḥarram 936 (Sept. 1529). If Humāyūn only left Badakhshān in the middle of August, there was hardly time for the Badakhshīs to send to Sa'īd Khān for help and for him to get his army together by the beginning of September. According to P. de C. (II, 457*n.*) and Ers., (Bābar, 426) Humāyūn did not leave Badakhshān till 936 (1530).

[1] We are not told the date of his arrival but as he was at Kābul during the Bairām and reached Agra in a few days (Bābar, P. de C. II, 457) he probably arrived at end of August, 1529. His mother had come about two months before, for Bābar met her on Sunday night, 27th June. She had been six months on the journey.

[2] T.R., E. & R., 387. Ers. (B. & H., I. 508) has given good reason for doubting the statement. Very probably Humāyūn gave out that his father had sent for him and Ḥaidar, who was in Badakhshān shortly afterwards, may have recorded what he heard then.

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Anwar[1] had just died and his Majesty was deeply grieved on that account. The coming of his Highness Jahānbānī was therefore a great comfort to his heart. His Highness Jahānbānī remained for a while in attendance on him and the Emperor many times declared that Humāyūn was an incomparable companion. In fact the name of *Insān-i-kāmil* (Perfection of Humanity) might well be applied to that majestic one. When he left Badakhshān for India, Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān, who was the Khān of Kāshghar and was related[2] to his Majesty and who, moreover, had been in his service and had received favours and instruction from him,—being stimulated to crude imaginations by messages from Sulṭān Vais and other Amīrs of Badakhshān, left Rashīd Khān (his son) in Yārkand and marched against Badakhshān. Before he arrived there Mīrzā Hindāl had reached Badakhshān and established himself in Qil'a Ẓafar.[3] Sa'īd Khān besieged the

[1] Gulbadan calls him Alūr or Alwar Mīrzā and he appears in her list as the youngest child of her own mother, Dildār Bēgam. He must have been quite a child when he died in 1529, for his elder sister Gulbadan was only eight when Bābar died in December 1530. She describes Alūr's illness and death. He was born at Kābul. Bābar says (Ers. 250) that several children were born to him in 925 (1519) but none of them lived. See in P. de C. (II. 45) a paragraph on this subject which is not in Ers. Its language causes confusion about the birth of Hindāl for it would appear from Bābar (Ers. 250 and P. de C. II. 45) that he was born in 925. But if so, how could Bābar make over the infant to his mother (P. de C., II. 46) who had died in 911. The explanation is that there is a mistake in P. de C.'s trs., and that the child was made over to Māham, Bābar's wife, and not to his mother and thus became at once a son to Bābar and a brother to Humāyūn.

[2] Bābar's cousin, being the son of Sulṭān Aḥmad, the brother of Bābar's mother. He was indebted to Bābar for hospitality at Kābul and for the government of Farghāna (Mems., Ers. 217). It was Bābar who suggested to Sa'īd Khān that he should call his son 'Abdu-r-rashīd. (T. R., E. & R., 140). The account of Sa'īd's raid into Badakhshān is given in the T. R., 387. It began at the commencement of 936 (about 5th September 1529; l. c. 388).

[3] The old capital of Badakhshān. It was on the Kōkca and was built by one Mubārak Shāh about the beginning of the 16th century. He called it Qil'a-ẓafar on account of a victory which he gained there over the Uzbēgs and because he belonged to the Muẓaffar tribe (qu. the Ahl-i-muẓaffar of Tīmūr's day?) The ruins of the fort still exist but the modern capital is Faiẓābād. (T. R. 220 and *n.*) The old name of Qil'a-ẓafar was Shāf-tiwār, (Bābar, Ers. 167).

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fort for three months and then returned, *re infectâ* to Kāshghar. His Majesty Gītī-sitānī heard that the Kāshgharīs had taken possession of Badakhshān and he directed Khwāja Khalīfa to go and put the affairs of that country in order. But the Khwāja in his folly delayed to obey. Then his Majesty asked Jahānbānī who by his fortune had come to reside with his Majesty,—what he thought about going there himself. He represented in reply, that he had suffered affliction by being debarred from the blessing of his Majesty's presence, and had vowed that he would never again voluntarily exile himself but that there was no help for it, if he were ordered to go.

Accordingly Mīrzā Sulaimān was despatched to Badakhshān and a letter written to Sulṭān Sa'īd saying, "Considering[1] my numerous "claims on your consideration, this affair seems strange; I have "recalled Hindāl Mīrzā and have sent Sulaimān. If you have any "regard for hereditary rights, you will be kind to Sulaiman and "leave him in possession of Badakhshān, for he is as a son to us "both. This would be well. Otherwise I, having given up my
116 "responsibility, will place the inheritance in the hands of the heir. "The rest you know."[2]

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[1] Bābar says (Ers. 217) "Sulṭān "Sa'īd Khān, the Khān of Kāsh-"ghar" (he was not so then which shows that Bābar did not write his Memoirs year by year) "came to me "with five or six naked followers on "foot. I received them like my own "brothers and gave him the *Tumān* "of Mandrāur."

[2] I have substituted Mr. Ross' trs. (T.R., 389) for A.F.'s abstract. The meaning of the last sentence in the letter, is more clearly brought out by Ers.' paraphrase (B. & H. I. 512) "If not," (*i.e.*, if Sulṭān Sa'īd did not yield), "the Emperor, having "resigned to him (Sulaimān) his own "claims, would know how to sup-"port him against the pretensions of "others." It seems evident that Ers. is right (508) in rejecting Ḥaidar Mīrzā's statement that Humāyūn left Badakhshān in obedience to his father's commands. Perhaps he is confounding 935 with 932, when Bābar summoned Humāyūn to help him in the conquest of India. It is clear that Humāyūn's abrupt departure in 935, deranged Bābar's project of reconquering his ancestral kingdom and also that it led to disasters in Badakhshān. But Bābar was probably too near his end and too fond of Humāyūn to quarrel with him for leaving his post and coming to Agra. As Ers. remarks, the visit was probably arranged between Humāyūn and his mother. See P. de C. II. 457, for the passage which A.F. must have had before him.

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thirsty and that its hidden treasures might be beheld by those whose hands were empty of learning.

His Majesty was also eminently skilled in music and composed charming verses in Persian. Among them the following quatrain is a product of his bounteous muse.

Verse.[1]

Though I be not related to dervishes,
Yet am I their follower in heart and soul.
Say not a king is far from a dervish;
I am a king but yet the slave of dervishes.

The following two *Maṭla'* are also sparkles from his enlightened mind.

Maṭla' I.

Parting from thee were perdition,
Else could I depart from this world.

Maṭla' II.

Whilst my heart is bound with her cypress locks,
I am free from the griefs of the world.

His Majesty was also famous for treatises on prosody, and among them is a book called *Mufaṣṣal* which is a commentary on the science.

His Majesty left four sons and three daughters :—(1) His Majesty Jahānbānī Naṣīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh, (2) Kāmrān Mīrzā, (3) 'Askarī Mīrzā, (4) Hindāl Mīrzā.

The daughters were :—Gulrang Bēgam; Gulcihra Bēgam; Gulbadan Bēgam, all three by one mother.[2]

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[1] Have in part copied Ers.' trs. Bada'ūnī (31).

[2] Dildār Bēgam who was also the mother. A. F.'s list of children is very imperfixed. According to Gulbadan, her had eighteen children, all of were born at Kābul except daughters, born at Khōst. Apparently she does not reckon the Fakhru-n-nisā, who was born at Samarqand and lived only some 40 days. Her list is as follow:

I. Māham Bēgam's children:—Humāyūn, Bārbūl, Mihr Jahān, Īshān Daulat, Fārūq.

II. Gulrukh's children: Kāmrān, 'Askarī, Sulṭān Aḥmad, Gul'azār.

III. Dildār's children: Gulrang, Gulcihra, Hindāl, Gulbadan, Ālūr.

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Among the illustrious men, courtiers and companions who attained to felicity in the field of honour of his Majesty Firdūs-makānī, there were :—

(1). Mīr Abū-l-baqā[1] who was of lofty rank in learning and wisdom.

(2). Shaikh Zain Ṣadr, grandson of Shaikh Zainu-d-dīn Khwā[2] He had acquired practical sciences (*'ulūm-i-muta'ārifa*[3]) and had distinguished abilities. He was skilled in prose and the art of letter-writing. He was distinguished by his long association with his Majesty. He[4] was also noted in the time of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī.

(3). Shaikh Abū-l-wajd Fārighī,[5] paternal uncle of Shaikh Zai[illegible] was a pleasant compa[illegible] and of good disposition. He [illegible]te poetry.

(4). Sulṭān Muḥammad Kūsa (beardless.) A pleasant man and a critic of poetry. He was a companion of Mīr 'Alī Shīr[6] and lived in the glorious society of his Majesty.

(5). Maulānā Shihāb Mu'ammāī[7] (the Enigmatist) whose poetical name was Ḥaqīrī.[8] He had an abundant share of learning, eloquence and poetry.

(6). Maulānā Yūsufī the physician. He was sent for from Khu-

IV. Ma'ṣūma's child, Ma'ṣūma.

These do not bring up the number to eighteen for Mihr Jān and Gulrang were the daughters born at Khōst; perhaps 18 is a mistake for 16. Gulbadan says the taking of Kābul was clearly a good omen, for Bābar, then 23 and without a son, had many children born thereafter and she gives it as a reason for his liking Kābul that it was their birthplace. His attachment to it is also proved by his choosing it as his place of burial.

[1] T. R. E. & R. 478 and A. N. I. 128. The learning (*'ilm*) meant is probably religious learning. He was a brother of Khwāja Dōst.

[2] Blochmann, 592*n*.

[3] Perhaps, the science of exposition and arrangement. Dict. of T. T., 1066.

[4] He was the first to translate or rather to paraphrase Bābar's Memoirs into Persian. Badāōnī, I. 341, 471, and Elliot, IV. 288.

[5] *Waḥīd*, in corresponding passage of P. de C. (II. 463). He made chronograms (Bābar, Ers. 389).

[6] Bābar, Ers. 184 and Elliot, IV. App. 527.

[7] He came from Herāt with Khwānd Amīr in 1528. Bābar, Ers. 382.

[8] P. de C., Faqīrī.

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rāsān. He was distinguished for good qualities, for dexterity as an operator[1] and for assiduity.

(7). Surkh Widā'ī. An old and inartificial poet. He wrote in Persian and Turkī.

(8). Mullā Baqāī. He had a correct taste (*salīqa-i-darast*) in poetry. He composed *maṣnawī* in the metre of the *makhzan*,[2] in the name of his Majesty.

(9). Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn 'Alī Khalīfa.[3] On account of his long service, trustworthiness, soundness of understanding and steadfastness of counsel, he held high rank under his Majesty. He possessed various qualities and excellences and in particular was a successful physician.

(10). Mīr Darwīsh Muhammad Sārbān,[4] [illegible] pupil of 120
[illegible] Khwāja Ahrār much relied upon at Court.

(11) [illegible] Mīr,[5] the historian. He was learned and an agreeable companion. His writings are well known, *e.g.*, the *Ḥabību-s-siyar*, *Khulāṣatu-l-akhbār*,[6] *Dastūru-l-wuzarā*,[7] *etc.*

(12). Khwāja Kilān Bēg, one of the great officers and who was allowed the honour of a seat.[8] Distinguished for gravity of manners and discretion. His brother Kīcak Khwāja[9] was keeper of the seals and was especially trusted and was allowed a seat.[8]

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[1] "Trés habile dans l'art de tâter "le pouls et de faire le diagnostic "des maladies." (P. de C. l. c. 463.) He is Yūsuf bin Muḥammad Harātī and the author of several medical works. Rieu, Pers. Cat. II. 475*b*. and Browne, Cat. Pers. MSS. Camb. 278.

[2] The *Makhzanu-l-asrār* of Niẓāmu-d-dīn.

[3] Commonly known as Mīr Khalīfa.

[4] Bābar, Ers. 273. Honourably distinguished for temperance.

[5] Joined Bābar only two years before the death of the latter. See account of meeting, Elliot, IV. 143, 155.

[6] Text, *akhyār*.

[7] Contains the biographies of famous ministers. Elliot, IV. 148.

[8] *Ahl-i-nishast*. This epithet is generally applied to hermits, but I think it means here that Khwāja Kilān and his brother were allowed to sit in Bābar's presence. Khwāja Kilān was a poet and composed an elegy upon Bābar's death. Badāonī, I. 341.

[9] A Kūcak Bēg, an elder brother of Khwāja Kilān, is mentioned in the Mems. (Ers., 171) but he was killed in 911. Apparently there were seven brothers and all were killed in Bābar's service except Khwāja

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(13). Sulṭān Muḥammad Dūldāī, one of the great officers and of excellent morals.

I refrain from mentioning others as the design of this glorious work is to describe the lofty lineage of his Majesty, the king of kings, and I proceed to the holy traits of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī. And in completing the accounts of those ancestors (*buzurgān*) I prepare myself for the description of the great one of realm and religion and lord of the visible and invisible.

Kilān (248*n.*) There is a Kūcak Khwāja mentioned as in Bābar, Ers., 420. Possibly [illegible]yānī means Khwāja Mullā, [illegible] elder brother of Khwāja [illegible] Shaikl. [illegible] was a pleasant companion a[illegible] [illegible]e poetry. He was a *Ṣadr* [illegible]

(Chief Judge), and Bābar's father made him keeper of the seals. He was killed by an arrow in 902. (Bābar, Ers. 43.)

(4). S[illegible] [illegible]dless, [illegible] nd [illegible] Mī[illegible] 'Alī Shīr[6] [illegible]u

less one fled from the imperial army. In 939, when Bīban and Bāyazīd the Afghāns rose in rebellion, his Majesty proceeded to the eastward. Bāyazīd was killed in battle against the warlike heroes and this rubbish was cleared away, and Jaunpūr and the neighbouring territories, having been given to Sulṭān Junaid Barlās, his Majesty returned to the capital.

As the echo of his Majesty's victories and conquests was high-sounding in various kingdoms, Sulṭān Bahādur, the ruler of Gujrāt, sent, in 940, experienced ambassadors bearing valuable presents to him and set in motion the processes of friendship. His Majesty received his overtures with imperial kindness and set his heart at rest by sending him diplomas of amity. In the same year, a city was founded on the banks of the Jumna, near Delhi, which received the name of Dīnpanāh.[1] One of the learned of the Age found the chronogram *Shahr-i-pādshāh-i-dīnpanāh* (City of the King, Defender of the Faith=940). After that, Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā and Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā with his son, Ulugh Mīrzā, took the path of hostility and rebellion. His Majesty turned the reins of resolution against them and encamped on the Ganges near Bhūjpūr. Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā was sent across the river with a large force against the rebels, and by Divine help, he gained a victory. Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā and Walī Khūb Mīrzā were made prisoners. Muḥammad Zamān was sent to Bīāna and the other two were blinded and thereby cast down from the pillar of respect. Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā did not recognize the kindness with which [illegible] had been treated, but got out of prison by presenting a forg[illegible] He then fled to Gujrāt to Sulṭān Bahādur.

[illegible] delightful countries of India which had not been [illegible] of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī on [illegible] sure and shortness of time were subdued by [illegible] dominion and strength of fortune.

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42) he won over his custodian Yādgār Taghāī who was governor of Bīāna Fort and, I presume, Humāyūn's father-in-law. (*Vide supra*).

Part I
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Ditto
Ditto

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(13). Sulṭān Muhammad D

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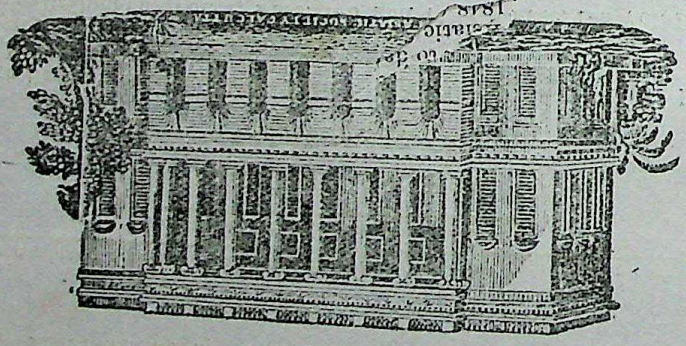

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CHAPTER XX.

His Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī Naṣīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh-i-Ghāzī.

Theatre of great gifts; source of lofty inspirations; exalter of the throne of the Khilāfat of greatness; planter of the standard of sublime rule; kingdom-bestowing conqueror of countries; auspicious sitter upon the throne; founder of the canons of justice and equity; arranger of the demonstrations of greatness and sovereignty; spring of the fountains of glory and beneficence; water-gate for the rivers of learning; brimming rain-cloud of choiceness and purity; billowy sea of liberality and loyalty; choosing the right, recognizing the truth; sole foundation[1] of many laws; both a king of dervish-race[2] and a dervish with a king's title; parterre-adorning arranger of realm and religion; garland-twiner of spiritual and temporal blossoms; throne of the sphere of eternal mysteries; *alidad*[3] of the

[1] Perhaps codifier or reducer into unity.

[2] Alluding to the circumstance that Humāyūn, as well as his wife, was said to be descended from the famous saint Aḥmad-i-jām.

[3] عضادة *'uẕāda*. The *alidad* or *alhidada* of English dictionaries is a corruption of this word with the prefix of the Arabic article. It meant the index or fiduciary of an astrolabe. In Murray's English Dictionary, we are told that the *alidad* is the revolving radius of a graduated circle and that in the astrolabe, it revolved at the back and was called by Chaucer, the Rule. The statement, however, that it revolved at the back, seems not quite correct. In the astrolabes that I have seen, the index—it has two limbs—is on the face of the instrument. Perhaps the explanation is that the astrolabe had two limbs or indices attached to it, one called the Rule and attached to the back of the instrument and another in front and called the Label. (See Prof. Skeat's Chaucer, III and the plates there given.) According to Moxon's Dict. it is the Label which is the *alidad*. Whitney (Century Dict.) quotes in part an interesting passage from the Ency. Brit. (X. 181, col. 2). The whole of it is as follows: "The astrolabe (used by Vasco de Gama) was a metal circle graduated round the edge with a limb called the *alhidada*, fixed to a pin in the centre and working round the graduated circle. The instrument had two sights fitted upon it, one at each end and was

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astrolabe of theory and practice; in austerities of asceticism and spiritual transports, a Grecian Plato[1] *(Aflāṭūn-i-Yūnānī)*; in executive energy and the paths of enterprise, a second Alexander *(Iskandar-i-ṣānī)*; pearl of the seven oceans and glory of the four elements; ascension-point of Suns and dawn of Jupiter; phœnix (*Humā*) towering to the heights of heaven,—Naṣīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh-i-Ghāzī,—May God sanctify his soul![2]

Great God! 'twas as if the veil of humanity and the elemental screen had been cast over a holy spirit and a sacred light. The open plain of language narrows in the quest of his praises, and the parade-ground of indication remains league upon league distant from the city of his virtues. God be praised that the time is nigh when I may withdraw my hand from lofty genealogy and plunge it in the
121 skirt of my real intent. I now essay an abridged account of the astonishing actions of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī for this is at once a preliminary nigh to my far-seen goal and a commentary forming part of the history of my saint and sovereign (*Pīr ū Pādshāh*). By unveiling the reflected godhead[3] of the divine lord, I shall satisfy the thirsty-lipped[4] with the sweet waters of knowledge and bring my own parched heart near the shore of the sea of the com-

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suspended by a ring so as to hang vertically on one hand, while the *alhidada* was worked up and down until the Sun could be seen through both sights. It then gave the Zenith distance." (See Littré, *s.v.* Alidada, Lane, *s.v.* and Dict. of T. Ts., I. 291 and II. 952.) According to the last named book, the *alidad* was at the back of the instrument as stated in Murray's Dict. A.F. applies the term to Humāyūn on account of his attainments, real or alleged, in mathematics.

[1] Orientals seem to have regarded Plato as a great ascetic. See account of him in Gladwin's Persian Munshī (37) where we are told that he spent much time in the mountains and deserts.

[2] *Anāra-llāhu burhānahu*, lit. "May God illuminate his proof". or "God taught him his proof." Lane, 2865*a*.

[3] A. F. means apparently that Humāyūn is the reflected or derivative glory of his son but the exact force of his blasphemous language is hard to discover. Certainly he carried his adulation higher than any other Muḥammadan writer. Had A.F. been a good Musalman, he would have been a better man, for then he never would have confounded the Creator and the creature as he so often does.

[4] Several MSS. have *dilān*, hearts, and this is probably the correct reading as being in antithesis to *tishna-jigar*, lit. thirsty-liver in the next clause.

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prehension of the holy virtues of the exquisitely perfect one. Avaunt! Avaunt! How may the praise of the perfections of this unique pearl come from one like me? It behoves his panegyrist to be like himself but alas, alas! where is anyone like that unique pearl of the ocean of knowledge? I confer a lustre on my own words and I compass an achievement for myself inasmuch as I make my heart familiar with sacred knowledge and give unto my tongue the glory of spirituality.

O searcher[1] after the knowledge of events, arouse thyself, and receive the announcement that the auspicious birth of his Majesty [illegible] on the night of Tuesday, 4th Zī-[illegible] (6th March, 1508) in the citadel of Kābul and from the holy womb of her chaste Majesty Māham Bēgam.[2] [illegible] of

That pure one was of a noble family of Khurāsān and related to Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā. And I have heard from some reliable persons that just as the honoured mother of his Majesty, the king of kings, was descended from his Holiness Shaikh (Aḥmad) Jām, so also was Māham Bēgam connected with him. His Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī married her when he was residing in Herāt to condole with the sons of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā. Maulānā Masnadī found the date of his Majesty's birth to be *Sulṭān Humāyūn Khān*; and *Shāh-i-fīrūz-qadr* (Victorious Prince) and *Pādshāh-i-ṣaf-shikan* (Rank-breaking king) and also the saying "*Khush bād*" (May he be happy) give the date of this fortunate epoch, as discovered by the learned of the Age.[3] Khwāja Kilān Sāmānī[4] has said:—

Verse.

It is the year of his fortunate birth,
May God increase his glory.
I've taken *one alif* from his date,
That I may blind *two* evil eyes.

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[1] Here A.F. addresses his readers.

[2] Māham is evidently not her full name. Erskine asks if Māham be not a term of endearment used by Bābar and signifying "My Moon."

[3] The first, second and fourth chronograms yield 913, the true date, but the third, 853 only. If we read *pādshāh-i-ṣaf-shikan-īn* (*īn* = he) the chronogram will be correct.

[4] Apparently meaning that he was of the race of the Sāmānīdæ, ancient princes of Transoxiana. His chronogram is enigmatic. The

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The accession of his Majesty took place in Agra on 9th Jumāda'l-awwal, 937 (29th December, 1530), and *Khairu-l-mulūk* (Best of kings)[1] is the chronogram. A few days later, he made an excursion upon the river and placing the barks of pleasure in the stream of joy, gave away on that day, a boat full[2] of gold, and by the largesse
122 laid a golden foundation of dominion. Bravo! the first grace bestowed on him upon whom is conferred the sovereignty of the world, is munificence and liberality.

Verse.

Not every man is exalted.
He becomes became king of all [illegible]
Because he was hospitable in the chase.

And one of the learned found the date of this wave of giving in the words *kishtī-i-zar* (boat or tray of gold = 937).

From the commencement of his career till his accession when he had arrived at the age of 24,[3] the notes of success and fortune were conspicuous on his destiny's forehead and the lights of glory and empire streamed forth from the tablets of his greatness and glory. How should not his lustrous temples radiate greatness and magnanimity when he was carrying the light of the king of kings and was the custodian of the granary of Divine knowledge? It was the same light which was shewn forth in the victories of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī and that gloriously appeared in the dawnings

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words of the second line, *Zādaka-llāhu ta'ālā qadran* yield 914 which is one too much. So the composer says, he takes away an *alif* which represents the figure one and also, from its shape, resembles a bodkin or the fine pencil (*mīl*) used for blinding. Or it may perhaps be better to take *burda am* to mean "I have added," *e.g.*, that he has added the *alif* at the end of *qadran* but in that case, the preposition *az* constitutes a difficulty. I should state that the word *Allāh* in the chronogram is reckoned as 66, being considered to contain three *ls*, only two of which however are counted.

1 Badāonī (I. 344) gives the couplet ending in the chronogram. See Dr. Ranking's trs. 451.

2 *Kishti* means both a boat and a tray but here A.F. seems to mean the former. But see Elliot V. 18 and Badāonī, Ranking, 451.

3 Gregorian Calendar, 22 years 10 m. only.

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of the world-conquering rays of his Majesty Ṣāḥib Qarānī. And it was this same light which from the time of the ocean pearl-shell Alanqūā, displayed itself from the royal shells and pearls under the veils of women in travail. It was the same light by whose splendour Ughaz Khān was made glorious, and it was the same light which was preparing and increasing from Adam till Noah. The secrets of the revelation of this light, and the strange notes of its manifestation are beyond the circle of restraint and limitation, nor is everyone capable of recognizing this secret substance or of understanding its subtleties. To sum up; His Majesty Jahānbānī was illuminating the world with the power of this Divine light, which through so many cycles and epochs had been concealed under various garbs, and the time of its apparition was now at hand. Accordingly the glory of spiritual and temporal greatness was radiating from the arch of his Majesty's shining forehead. Perfect modesty and exceeding courage were conjoined in his holy nature, and all his lofty energy was devoted to fulfilling the desires of his great father; and the excellence of intrepidity being united with consummate majesty and dignity, out of his magnanimity and high-thoughtedness, he paid no regard to self and held himself of no account. Consequently he was glorious for right-mindedness and lofty courage in every enterprise that he engaged in and every service that he undertook. In the whole of his auspicious life, he adorned the world by joining knowledge with power, and power with compassion and clemency. In many sciences and especially in mathematics, he had no rival or colleague. His noble nature was marked by the combination of the energy of Alexander and the learning of Aristotle. He displayed great justice 123
in carrying out the provisions of the will for the distribution of territories and exhibited thorough equity or rather exceeding kindness and beneficence therein. But superiority in spiritual perfections (which is real sovereignty), that was his own by God's grace; none of his brothers shared in the dainties of that table of inheritance.

Everyone connected with the Court received offices and pensions. Mīrzā Kāmrān obtained Kābul and Qandahār as his fief: Mīrzā 'Askarī, Sambal; Mīrzā Hindāl, Sarkār Alwar. Badakhshān was made over and confirmed to Mīrzā Sulaimān; and the nobles and great officers and the whole of the victorious army were brought into obedience by proper measures. Everyone who breathed disaffection,

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e.g., Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, son of Badī'u-z-zamān Mīrzā, son of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā (who had been in the service of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī and been distinguished by being made his son-in-law,[1] but who had from short-sightedness and deficiency of judgment opened the sleeve of contumacy), bound the cincture of service on the waist of obedience. His Majesty, after five or six months, turned his attention to the conquest of Kālinjar[2] and besieged that fort for about a month. When the people within became distressed, the governor submitted and sent twelve *mans*[3] of gold with other presents. His Majesty had regard to his supplications and entreaties and forgave him. From thence he proceeded towards Cunār and besieged it.

Let it not be concealed that this sky-based fortress was in the possession of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and was held for him by Jamāl Khān Khāṣṣa Khail Sārangkhānī.[4] After the catastrophe of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, Jamāl Khān's life came to an end from the evil design[5] of a worthless son, and Shēr Khān sought the widow (who was called Lāḍ Mulk, and was adorned with beauty and charm) for his wife and by this contrivance got possession of the fortress. When Shēr Khān heard of the approach of the conquering army, he left his son, Jalāl Khān[6] with a number of trusty persons, in the fort, and came out himself. He sent clever ambassadors and wove crafty speeches. His Majesty, recognizing the circumstances of the time, accepted his proposals and Shēr Khān sent his son, 'Abdu-r-rashīd[7] to serve his Majesty Jahānbānī so that he might himself remain guarded from the blows of the imperial armies and might arrange the materials of pride and
124 presumption. This son was for a long time in the service, but when his Majesty came to Mālwa, to subdue Sulṭān Bahādur, that worth-

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1 He married Bābar's daughter Ma'ṣūma whose mother (also called Ma'ṣūma) died in childbed. Ers. B. & H. I. 525 and 526 *n*.

2 In Bundelkhand.

3 Akbar's *man* was apparently 34¾ lbs. (Wilson's Glossary) but Price (Retrospect, IV. 713) estimates it at 28 lbs.

4 Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhī, Tāj Khān. Elliot, IV. 343. See also Bābar's Mem., 406. Bābar visited Cunār.

5 See the story in Elliot, l. c. and Ers. B. & H. II. 132.

6 Also called Islām Khān and his father's successor on the throne of India.

7 Also called Quṭb Khān. Ers. l. c. II. 12 *n*.

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less one fled from the imperial army. In 939, when Biban and Bāyazīd the Afghāns rose in rebellion, his Majesty proceeded to the eastward. Bāyazīd was killed in battle against the warlike heroes and this rubbish was cleared away, and Jaunpūr and the neighbouring territories, having been given to Sulṭān Junaid Barlās, his Majesty returned to the capital.

As the echo of his Majesty's victories and conquests was high-sounding in various kingdoms, Sulṭān Bahādur, the ruler of Gujrāt, sent, in 940, experienced ambassadors bearing valuable presents to him and set in motion the processes of friendship. His Majesty received his overtures with imperial kindness and set his heart at rest by sending him diplomas of amity. In the same year, a city was founded on the banks of the Jumna, near Delhi, which received the name of Dīnpanāh.[1] One of the learned of the Age found the chronogram *Shahr-i-pādshāh-i-dīnpanāh* (City of the King, Defender of the Faith=940). After that, Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā and Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā with his son, Ulugh Mīrzā, took the path of hostility and rebellion. His Majesty turned the reins of resolution against them and encamped on the Ganges near Bhūjpūr. Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā was sent across the river with a large force against the rebels, and by Divine help, he gained a victory. Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā and Walī Khūb Mīrzā were made prisoners. Muḥammad Zamān was sent to Bīāna and the other two were blinded and thereby cast down from the pillar of respect. Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā did not recognize the kindness with which he had been treated, but got out of prison by presenting a forged order.[2] He then fled to Gujrāt to Sulṭān Bahādur.

Many of the delightful countries of India which had not been conquered in the time of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī on account of wanty did not delay here, but marched on towards Māiby When the army had encamped at Sārangpūr[2] the news of its arri reached Sulṭān Bahādur who was then besieging Cītōr. He awoke from the sleep of carelessness and sought the advice of his followers.

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1 Fort in Bhōpāl, I. G. and Jarrett II, 199. It was taken by Shēr Shāh in 1545.

2 On the Kālī Sind, Dewās State of the Central Indian Agency, 80 miles from Indore, I. G., Jarrett II, 203, and Tiefenthaler I, 351, who describes it as ruined.

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CHAPTER XXI.[1]

Account of Mīrzā Kāmrān's coming to the Panjāb.

When Mīrzā Kāmrān heard of the demise of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī, he, out of an inordinate spirit, made over Qandahār to Mīrzā 'Askarī and proceeded to India in hope that some
125 advantage might accrue to himself. But whene'er felicity's diadem hath exalted the head of a fortunate one and the Divine protection is watching over him, what save evil (*tabāhī*) can happen to the evil-disposed (*tabāh*)? It is stated that at that time Mīr Yūnus[2] 'Alī was, in accordance with the orders of Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī, Governor of Lāhōr. Having laid his plans, Mīrzā Kāmrān one night pretended to be enraged with Qarāca Bēg[3] and used violent language towards him. Next night Qarāca Bēg fled with his soldiers from the Mīrzā's camp to Lāhōr. Mīr Yūnus 'Alī regarded his coming as of much importance and received him with great kindness and frequently invited him to his own quarters. They were on friendly terms but Qarāca was watching his opportunity, till at length on one night when there was a convivial party, and Yūnus 'Alī's best soldiers were away at their quarters,[4] he seized him and, putting him in prison, placed his own men in charge of the Fort gates. He then hurried off a message to Mīrzā Kāmrān. The Mīrzā (who was in expectation of this), came post to Lāhor and took possession of the city. He released Mīr of the Yūnus 'Alī, apologized to him and said that if he would remain, he
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his M

Sulṭān Dawla

[1] ... also Bābar's
... Gunār.

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might continue to be Governor of Lāhōr. Mīr Yūnus 'Alī did not consent to serve him and taking leave, went off to his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī. Mīrzā Kāmrān appointed his own creatures to the *parganās* of the Sirkār [1] of the Panjāb and took possession up to the Satlaj (which is known as the Water of Lūdhiyāna). Then he craftily sent skilful ambassadors with protestations of loyalty and sincerity and begged that he might be confirmed in the province. His Majesty Jahānbānī, partly because the sea of his liberality had been set in motion, and partly from a desire to observe the precepts of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī, made over the province to him and issued a decree appointing him to the charge of Kābul, Qandahār and the Panjāb. The Mīrzā returned thanks for this unexpected favour and sent presents to the Court. He followed this up by opening the gates of correspondence and by sending eulogiums of his Majesty Jahānbānī. Among them was the following ode :—

Ode.

dur, under [illegible]
of men under Tā[illegible]thy beauty increase each moment ;
May [illegible] be splendid and fortunate ;
May every mist which rises on thy way,
Be the dimming o the light of my own eyes.
Should dust arise on Laila's path,
May its place [3] b Majnūn's eyes.
Whoe'er moves [illegible]t round thee like the limb of a compass, 126
May he be ejected from this sphere.
Be victorious [4] while this world endures,
May Humāyūn be the Cyrus (Khusrū) of epochs.

And in truth his prayer was heard, for by reason of his di[illegible] loyalty, he was ejected from the sphere of respect or rather from [illegible] sphere of existence, as will be stated in its own place. In [illegible]

[1] More generally, *Ṣūba* Lāhōr.

[2] Price (IV. 717) seems to have read the words *gird kān*, *i.e.*, should dust, as *gar dukan*, if moss (or touchwood) ; for he translates, "Does the moss and the thistle overgrow the path of Laila."

[3] No. 4944 seems [illegible] app. Glos- [illegible] injurious.

[4] *Kāmrān.* There is a play [illegible]on of envy : [illegible]haw author's name and the words may also be rendered, "O Kāmrān."

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his Majesty out of his magnanimity, looked to his outward loyalty and made him the recipient of princely favours and from exceeding kindness, rewarded him for the ode by bestowing upon him Ḥiṣār Fīrūza (Hissar). The Mīrzā always kept up appearances and continued in obedience and became the receptacle of many favours. In 939,[1] (1532–33), Mīrzā Kāmrān made over the government of Qandahār to Khwāja Kilān Bēg. The cause of this was that when Mīrzā 'Askarī was coming to Kābul he encountered the Hazāras on the way and was defeated by them. Mīrzā Kāmrān was displeased by this and took away Qandahār from him.

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1 The Text and several MSS. have 933 which must be wrong. No. 4944 B. M. has 939 which is no doubt correct and which Price must have found in his MS. (*Vide* IV. 718).

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CHAPTER XXII.

March of the army of His Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī for the subjugation of Bengal, abandonment of the design, and return to the Capital.

When the mind of his Majesty Jahānbānī was at leisure from the affairs of his dominions, he, in 941 (1534), turned the rein of intent towards the eastern quarter and the conquest of Bengal. The standards of felicity had reached the town of Kānār,[1] within the limits of Kālpī, when it came to the royal hearing that Sulṭān Bahādur, under the pretext of besieging Citōr, had gathered a large body of men under Tātār Khān, son of Sulṭān 'Alā'u-d-dīn, and that he was entertaining wild projects. His Majesty after an enlightened consultation, dispatched, in Jumāda'l-awwal 941 (November-December, 1534,) a force to quell the enemy, and himself beat high the drum of return.

It is not unknown to the circumspect that Sulṭān Bahādur was ever engaged in high-flying imaginings, and was always holding in his palate the bruised thorn[2] of evil wishes. But as, before he became the ruler of Gujrāt and was but a private individual, he had seen with the eye of warning a specimen of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī's way of fighting in the campaign against Sulṭān Ibrāhī[illegible] could not bring himself for any consideration to resolve on encountering the victorious soldiers of that illustrious family. And this view he repeatedly expressed to his confidants. When Tātār Khān

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[1] Kinār of Erskine, II. 16. See Jarrett, II. 184 and Bābar's Memoirs, Ers. 374, 375 and 379. It is mentioned there as a ford on the Jumna, two or three miles below the junction of the Cambal. It is described in Atkinson's Gazetteer, N.-W. P., I. 217 as an old pargana in Jalaun. The town, on the west bank of the Jumna, is now in ruins. Elliot, Supp. Glossary, 315.

[2] Cf. Spenser's description of envy:

"And still did chaw
Between his cankered teeth a venomous toad
That all the poison ran about his jaw."

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came and waited upon him, he was continually filling his mind with vain propositions and was representing that it was easy for him
127 to advance beyond the sacred ground of respect. For a time Sulṭān Bahādur was not caught, but at length he one day laid bare the truth, and said to Tātār Khān: "I have been a witness[1] of the superiority of those splendid soldiers; the Gujrāt army is no match for them, so I shall by craft and contrivance win over his (Humāyūn's) army to myself." Accordingly he opened the doors of his treasuries and lavished gold and thereby gained over as many as 10,000 men, who had the skill[2] to appear as soldiers without being in reality such. During this time Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā escaped from confinement by the connivance of his custodians,[3] the servants of Yādgār Bēg Ṭaghāī,[4] and came to Gujrāt. The lord of that country, on account of the crude plans that he was concocting, regarded the arrival of the Mīrzā as a gain and treated him with great consideration. His Majesty Jahānbānī wrote to Sulṭān Bahādur that treaties and engagements required that all who had turned obligations (*ḥuqūq*) of service into disobligations (*'uqūq*) and had fled to his (Bahādur's) dominions, should be sent back or at least be driven out from his presence, so that their unanimity (his own and Bahādur's) might be evidenced to the world. Sulṭān Bahādur, either from inexperience or the intoxication of the world, wrote in reply "Should a high-born man take refuge with us and be treated with consideration, there could not be in this any breach of good feeling or of sincerity, nor any detriment to treaties. For instance, in the days of Sikandar Lōdī, there was perfect friendship betwixt him and Sulṭān Muẓaffar [illegible] father), yet his brother Sulṭān 'Alā'u-d-dīn and many Sulṭāns' sons came upon occasions from Agra and Dehli to Gujrāt and

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[1] Bābar's Mems, Ers. 343. Bahādur had quarrelled with his father and taken refuge with Ibrāhīm, and was with him at about the time of the battle of Pānīpat, though apparently he left before the battle. Bābar calls him a bloodthirsty and ungovernable young man.

[2] This, I presume, is the meaning of the phrase *ki ḥukm-i-numūd-i-bī-būd dāsht*, *i.e.*, had they been real soldiers they would not have deserted.

[3] Erskine, II. 42, speaks of his escaping along with his keeper Yādgār Ṭaghāī. According to the *Sikandar-nāma*, Bayley's Gujrāt, 374, Muḥammad Zamān was under the charge of Bayāzīd Khān Afghān.

[4] Humāyūn's father-in-law? Bābar's Memoirs, 388.

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were received with kindness. Never did this cause a breach of friendship!" His Majesty Jahānbānī sent a suitable missive in reply, to this purport, "The note of steadfastness in the path of observance of treaties is simply this, that any act which can shake the pillars of loyalty be utterly eschewed so that the cheek of concord be not scratched by the nail of enmity." He also enclosed these two couplets in the rescript.

Verse I.

O Thou who vauntest a loving heart
Hurrah a million times, if heart and tongue accord.

Verse II.[1]

Plant the tree of friendship that the heart's desire may bear fruit,
Uproot the sapling of enmity that yields countless ills.

"Beware, a hundred thousand times beware; listen to my advice with the ear of understanding and send that abandoned one (*makhzūl*) to the foot of the throne, or withdraw the hand of favour from [illegible] and let him not abide in thy dominions. Else how can reliance be put on thy friendship? Strange it is that you liken this matter to those of 'Alā'u-d-dīn and others like him. What analogy is there between the 128
[illegible] uses? That affair was one thing, and this is another. Mayhap you have learnt from books of history that in spite of the refractoriness of Ildarīm Bayāzīd, his Majesty Ṣāḥib Qarānī (Tīmūr) was constitutionally indisposed to invade Rūm, inasmuch as Bayāzīd was engaged in a war with the Franks. But as Qarā Yūsuf Turk[illegible] Aḥmad Jalāīr had fled to him, his Majesty by s[illegible] [illegible]m. When Bay[illegible] to accede to this, his Majesty [illegible] what his might was."[2]

[1] According to Firishta (see his account of Bābar's reign) this couplet was sent by Shāh Ismā'īl to Shaibānī to warn him against attacking Persia.

[2] Two of the letters which passed between Humāyūn and Bahādur are given at greater length in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, B.M. Add. 26,277, 1330. See also Bayley's Gujrāt; [illegible] of those p[illegible] are also given, as Sir E. C. Bayley has pointed out in the collection of letters B.M. Add. 7688; Rieu I. 390*b*. Tīmūr's letter to Bayāzīd is given in the *Ẓafarnāma*, II. 256, and the reasons why he made war on him are stated at 389 l. c., Bib. Ind. ed. But, as Bayley has pointed out, Tīmūr only

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Sulṭān Bahādur out of a weak head and foolishness did not write a sensible reply. Meanwhile Tātār Khān kept saying vain things[1] to Sulṭān Bahādur, calculated to deceive narrow intellects, and kept urging that he himself might be sent towards the imperial dominions, representing that the royal army had grown pampered and comfort-loving, and was no longer such as the Sulṭān had seen. In consequence of the misrepresentations of strife-mongers, Sulṭan Bahādur made [illegible]parations for despatching Tātār Khān and sent to the fort of [illegible]hanbhūr twenty *krors* of the old coinage of Gujrāt[2]—equal to [illegible]rors of the current Dehlī coinage—to be used under Tātār [illegible] instructions for the hiring of new soldiers. He also sent [illegible]-d-dīn, father of [illegible] with [illegible] [illegible]tār Khān, [illegible] a large force towards Kalinjar, to stir up a disturbance in that quarter. Likewise he deputed Burhānu-l-mulk Banyānī[3] and a body of Gujrātīs to proceed to Nāgōr and make an attempt on the Panjāb, dividing his forces with the idea that the imperial army would thereby be thrown into confusion. Though able and experienced men told him that his forces

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speaks of Qarā Yūsuf Turkmān. Aḥmad Khān Jalāīr was the Sulṭān of Baghdād and was driven out by Tīmūr. He was a friend of Qarā Yūsuf, but afterwards behaved treacherously to him and was defeated and put to death by Qarā Yūsuf in 1410. Apparently Sulṭān Aḥmad [illegible]nus [illegible] refuge with the king of Egypt, Sulṭāns' sons with Bayāzīd. There is a [illegible] occasion [illegible] belot,

coinage is meant. Erskine [illegible] MS. translation of the *Akbarnāma* (in the British Museum,) seems to regard the money as silver, but in his History, II. 44, speaks of it as gold, and says A.F. estimates the Gujrāt gold coins as double that of his own time. But surely A. F. would never admit that the Gujrāt gold coins were as fine as or finer than Akbar's! See *Āīn* Blochmann, 18 and 31. In Firish[illegible] accou[illegible]

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[1] Bābar's Mems, Ers. 343. Bahādur had quarrelled with his father and taken refuge with Ibrāhīm, and was with him at about the time of the battle of Pānīpat, though apparently he left before the battle. Bābar calls him a bloodthirsty and ungovernable young man.

[2] This, I presume, is the meaning of the phrase *ki ḥukm-i-numūd-i-bī-būd dāshl*, *i.e.*, had they been real soldiers they would not have deserted.

[3] Erskine, II. 42, speaks of his escaping along with his keeper Yādgār Ṭaghāī. According to the *Sikandar-nāma*, Bayley's Gujrāt, 374, Muḥammad Zamān was under the charge of Bayāzīd Khān Afghān.

[4] Humāyūn's father-in-law? Bābar's Memoirs, 388.

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should march in one direction, they were not successful, and though both by hints and plain speech they delineated on the board of manifestation the inauspiciousness of treaty breaking, it was of no avail. He gave way to the vain thought that as the Lūdiyān party claimed the sovereignty of Hindūstān, the supporting of them (*talāsh-i-īshān*) did not interfere with his promises, and that the consequences of a violation of engagements would not recoil upon himself. He sent Tātār Khān on a bootless quest towards Dihlī and, keeping both aloof from and in touch with him, addressed himself to the siege of Cītōr[1] so that he might both capture the fortress and be an intermediary for helping the Lūdiyāns when occasion offered. Be it known that Sulṭān 'Alā'u-d-dīn bore the name of 'Ālam Khān. He was brother of Sikandar Lōdī and paternal uncle of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. After Sulṭān Sikandar's death he contended with Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, and in the territory of Sihrind set up a claim to the sovereignty and giving himself the title of Sulṭān 'Alā'u-d-dīn, marched towards Agra with a force of double-faced Afghāns. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm came 129
out to fight, and the two factions met near Hōdal.[2] Sulṭān 'Alā'u-d-dīn not finding himself strong enough to engage in a pitched battle made a night attack, but was unsuccessful and had to return with loss. Fraudulently and with evil intent he went to Kābul,[3] and in the war with Ibrāhīm he was with the victorious army. After the [illegible] Firdaus-makānī became [illegible] Badakhshān.[4] With

[illegible] m. When Bay[illegible]
to accede to this, his Majes[illegible] showed what his might was."[2]

[1] According to Firishta (see his account of Bābar's reign) this couplet was sent by Shāh Ismā'īl to Shaibānī to warn him against attacking Persia.

[2] Two of the letters which passed between Humāyūn and Bahādur are given at greater length in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, B.M. Add. 26,277, 1330. See also Bayley's Gujrāt; tl[illegible] are also given, as Sir E. C. Bayley has pointed out in the collection of letters B.M. Add. 7688; Rieu I. 390*b*. Tīmūr's letter to Bayāzīd is given in the *Ẓafarnāma*, II. 256, and the reasons why he made war on him are stated at 389 l. c., Bib. Ind. ed. But, as Bayley has pointed out, Tīmūr only

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the help of Afghān traders he escaped from Qil'a Ẓafar and came to Afghānistān, and from thence to Balūcistān, and finally reached Gujrāt.

In short, when the armies set out Tātār Khān laid hold of the treasure and set about recruiting soldiers. Nearly 40,000 cavalry, Afghāns and others, gathered round him, and he came to Bīāna and took it. When this news was brought to his Majesty Jahānbānī, who had marched to subdue the eastern countries, he turned the reins of attention, and with the greatest rapidity arrived at Agra, the capital. He despatched Mīrzā 'Askarī, Mīrzā Hindāl, Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā,[1] Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān, Mīr Faqīr 'Alī,[2] Zāhid Bēg and Dōst Bēg with 18,000 horse to put down this disturbance. His Majesty remarked that the putting down of this large army, which was approaching Dihlī with evil designs, would be in reality the extirpating of the other armies; it was therefore best to address one's efforts to the subduing of it. When the victorious army drew near the opposing force, fear fell on the latter and there were daily desertions, so that it gradually decreased and in brief space dwindled down to 3,000 horse. As Tātār Khān had obtained his army by

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Mihtar. The story is told in the Tārīkh-i-sind. Bābar does not mention it, but with an evident refy to Sumbul's subsequen[illegible] Qarā ment he speaks with [illegible] behaved treacherously to him and was defeated and put to death by Qarā Yūsuf [illegible] in 1410. Apparently Sulṭān Aḥmad any[illegible] refuge with the king of Egypt, Lōdī, the[illegible] with Bayāzīd. There is a post[illegible] [illegible] was perfect [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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great importunity and had spent vast sums of money on it, he neither could make up his mind (*rāī*) to retire, nor could he make head (*rūī*) in war. At last he washed his hands of life, and came to an engagement at Mandrāil.[1] After having for a while struggled hand and foot, he became handless and footless and was made the target of fatal arrows, and the harvest of blood-shedding heroes. On the dispersal of this army what the inspired mind had foreseen came to pass, for the two other forces broke up of themselves on the report of the victory and felicity of the conquering army.

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[1] Apparently this is the Manḍlāēr of the *Āīn*, Jarrett II, 190, and the Mandalayan or Madrael of Tiefenthaler I, 174. It is in Sarkār Manḍlāēr, and is, according to Tiefenthaler, two miles west of the Cambal. He describes it as 12 miles S.S.E. of Karaulī in which Rājpūtānā State it seems to be situated. It lies south of Agra and apparently not far from Bīāna. According to Niẓāmu-d-dīn and Firishta, Tātār Khan's force was reduced to 2,000 men, and he perished with 300 of his officers after a very gallant fight. The author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* gives an account of his struggle.

[illegible] but see [illegible] Kan[illegible]
of Sumbu[illegible]ticle al[illegible] matters known in the [illegible]
Qandahār was taken. [illegible] under[illegible]
As pointed out by Erskine [illegible] II, 58, and 44*n.*, there were two 'Ālam Khāns, (Bayley 276*n.*, says there were three), and there is considerable confusion between them. The one who called himself 'Alā'u-d-dīn, and was the brother of Sikandar, had a command at the battle of Khānwā in 1527 (Bābar 363), and his son or sons were there also, l. c. 364. He was put to death in Gujrāt in 950 (1543). Bird, 260, 261. See Dorn's Hist. of the Afghāns and Bābar's Memoirs, 295, for accounts of his defeat by [illegible] at Diu in 1555. See [illegible] Calcutta Review, 1882, No. 147, p. [illegible] where it is said that one of those present was a brother of the Emperor of Dihlī and apparently seventy years old. He is also probably the 'Ālam Khān of the same article, pp. 960 and 99. The other 'Ālam Khān appears to have been a nephew of Ibrāhīm, and consequently a grand-nephew of the 'Ālam Khān who was 'Alā'u-d-dīn.

[1] Humāyūn's cousin.

[2] Later on, the name is spelt Faqr. Possibly it should be Fakhr, and it is so spelt in Badāōnī I, 352.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

Account of the expedition of His Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī for the subjugation of Gujrāt, of the defeat of Sulṭān Bahādur, and the conquest of that country.

130 Though the world-conquering heart (of Humāyūn) was void of the thought of the conquest of Gujrāt so long as its ruler trod the path of harmony and sincerity, yet when the Creator wills to adorn a country with the splendour (*far*) of a lawgiver's advent, He inevitably prepareth the means therefor. The actions of the ruler of Gujrāt are a proof of this, for he, out of native arrogance, the assaults of flatterers, abundance of intoxication and intoxicated men, poverty of prudence and of the prudent, broke without object, treaties and visible ties, and became author of many improper acts. —it grew imperative for the lofty spirit (of Humāyūn) to march his army towards Gujrāt. Accordingly in the beginning of Jumāda-l-awwal, 941, (8th November, 1534), the foot of determination was placed, in a happy hour, in the stirrup of felicity, and the reins of prowess were directed to the subjugation of Gujrāt. When the army approached the fortress of Rāīsīn,[1] the garrison submitted entreaties together with rich presents, representing that the fort was his Majesty's, and themselves his Majesty's slaves, and that as soon as the affair of Sulṭān Bahā[illegible]r was settled, of what use would the fort be? In fact, as the [illegible] was the conquest of Gujrāt, the arm[illegible] belot, [illegible] D'Her[illegible] Blochmann, 18 and 31. In Firish[illegible] account [illegible] of Bāhādur Shāh, (History of Gujrāt,) the amount is spoken of as thirty *krors* of *muẓaffarīs*, though Briggs seems to have had three and not thirty in his MS. Niẓāmu-d-dīn, from whom Firishta probably borrowed his figures, has thirty in his account of Gujrāt.

[illegible] head, Avis Aḥmad Ben [illegible] Virs. According to the [illegible] *Sikandarī* Bahādur did not know how to read and write, and so depended on a Munshī who had deserted from Humāyūn and took the opportunity of revenging himself by writing disrespectfully to his old master.

[1] Bāh[illegible]

[1] *Tangsharābī*, *lit.* easily becoming drunk.

[2] *Zar*, gold; but apparently silver

[3] *Multānī* Text, but it is clear from the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* that Banyānī, given in the Bib. Ind. as a variant, is the true reading.

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Most were of opinion that as the matter of Cītōr could be settled at any time and the garrison was not giving any annoyance at present, the proper course was to put off the reduction of the fort and to march against the royal army. But Ṣadr Khān, who was prominent for knowledge and eloquence, and who ranked high in the congress (*jirga*) of soldiers and was renowned for wisdom and counsel, said that the proper thing was to finish the matter of the fortress, already nearly accomplished, and that as they had come out against infidels, the King of Islām would not come against them. Should he do so, they would then be excused if they abandoned a holy war (*ghazā*) and attacked him. This view commended itself to Sulṭān Bahādur, so he went on with the siege, and on 3rd Ramaẓān, 941, (8th March, 1535), subdued the fort of Cītōr. Thereupon he marched against the illustrious army which was then encamped at Ujjain.[1] When the news of Sulṭān Bahādur's audacity reached the royal hearing, his Majesty also accelerated his movements, and the two armies encamped in the territory of Mandasōr,[2] belonging to Mālwā, on the opposite banks of a lake which for greatness and breadth was a sea. An engagement took place between the van 131
of his Majesty Jahānbānī's army commanded by Bacaka Bahādur, and Sulṭān Bahādur's van under Sayyid 'Alī Khān and Mīrzā Muqīm, who had the title of Khurāsān Khān, in which the latter was worsted. Sulṭān Bahādur too was worsted (*shikasta*) in his heart. Tāj Khān and Ṣadr Khān said to him "Our army is flushed with the victory of Cītōr and has not yet greatly felt the force of the royal army; it will address itself to battle with a stout heart. We

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[1] Text without *tashdīd*, but see [illegible] of Sum[illegible] 457. [illegible] of matters known in [illegible] Qandahār was taken. [illegible] under[illegible]

As pointed out by Erskine [illegible] 11, 58, and 44*n.*, there were two 'Ālam Khāns, (Bayley 276*n.*, says there were three), and there is considerable confusion between them. The one who called himself 'Alā'u-d-dīn, and was the brother of Sikandar, had a command at the battle of Khānwā in 1527 (Bābar 363), and his son or sons were there also, l. c. 364. He was put to death in Gujrāt in 950 (1543). Bird, 260, 261. See Dorn's Hist. of the Afghāns and Bābar's Memoirs, 295, for accounts of his defeat by Kānkari[illegible] near Aḥmadābād, [illegible] man w[illegible] or perhaps A.F. saw at Diu in 1535. See Rehatsek, Calcutta Review, 1882, No. 147, p. 73, where it is said that one of those present was a brother of the Emperor of Dihlī and apparently seventy years old. He is also probably the 'Ālam Khān of the same article, pp. 960 and 99. The other 'Ālam Khān appears to have been a nephew of Ibrāhīm, and consequently a grand-nephew of the 'Ālam Khān who was 'Alā'u-d-dīn.

[1] Humāyūn's cousin.

[2] Later on, the name is spelt Faqr. Possibly it should be Fakhr, and it is so spelt in Badāōnī I, 352.

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should without delay go forth to fight." Rūmī Khān[1] who commanded the artillery, and all the others, said to the Sulṭān "We have a grand park of artillery; when we have such a force of firearms, what sense is there in swordplay? The proper course is to make a bulwark of gun carriages (*arāba* lit. carts) and then having put a moat round this, let us first use those arms of long range so that the enemy may be diminished day by day, and be dispersed. Fighting with arrows and swords has its own proper place."

In the end this plan was adopted. There were constant encounters and the Gujrātīs were always defeated.[2]

The following was one of the fortunate occurrences. One day a number of heroes and choice spirits were banqueting and became heated with wine. Everyone was exhilarated and talked of his exploits. One of them, who was further gone than the others, fell to saying, "How long shall we boast of the past! To-day the enemy is before us. Let us up and at them and so give a specimen of our valour." Ere the reflecting portion of the army could know their design, those wine-flown revellers, about 200 in number, accoutred themselves and set out for the hostile camp. When they approached, a Gujrātī noble, with about 4,000 men who were on guard outside the camp, advanced, and then ensued such an engagement as beggars description. The Gujrātīs gave way and retired to the camp discomfited, whilst the battle-lovers returned in triumph. The report of this daring robbed Sulṭān Bahādur's army of repose and after it they seldom came outside their fortification of gun-carriages. The

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[1] This is Rūmī Khān Khudāwand Khān and not the Rūmī Khān Ṣafar who built the fort of [illegible] Erskine, [illegible] H. 82*n*. [illegible]

[1] This must be the second siege of Cītōr by Bahādur. On the first occasion the Rānā bought off the attack. It is to Bahādur's wars with the Hindūs and Portuguese that Humāyūn refers when speaking of Tīmūr's abstention from invasion whilst Bayāzīd was making war on Constantinople.

[2] In Sarkār Sahār, Ṣūbah of Agra, Jarrett II, 96 and 195. In the Persian text of the *Āīn* I, 357 and 455, it is spelt Hōṛal هورل, and Tiefenthaler I, 169 and 207, spells it Horel and says it has many brick houses, and lies on

him governor of Cītōr. Bahādur seems to have been misled by his experience in the war between Bābar [illegible] account [illegible] of Bahādur. He imitated Bābar's [illegible] tory of Mathurā to Dihlī. It is about 80 miles south of Dihlī. Hunter, I. G., has Hodāl and describes it as in the Gurgāōn district, Panjāb.

[3] This is a mistake. 'Alā'u-d-dīn went to Kābul before his defeat and after it he met Bābar in India near Pelhūr. Bābar's Mem., 297.

[4] Qil'a Ẓafar seems to have been used by Bābar as a state-prison. He sent Shāh Bēg, the son of Zu-n-nūn, there before the final capture of Qandahār, but Shāh Bēg managed to escape by the help of a slave, Sumbul

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victorious soldiers went everywhere, hindering the transport of corn, so that there arose great scarcity in the Gujrātī camp.

On the 'Īd of Ramaẓān, (4th April, 1535), Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā advanced with 500 or 600 men, and the other side also came forward to fight. After making two or three discharges of arrows the Gujrātīs dispersed, and by this stratagem brought the victorious army within 132
the range of the guns. All at once they opened fire, and on that day some of the king's men were destroyed. After 17 days, when the auspicious hour had arrived, his Majesty Jahānbānī resolved that an attack should be made on the camp of Sulṭān Bahādur. Meanwhile the fear and distress of the Gujrātīs increased daily, and the conditions of misfortune became more marked. At length by the Divine favour, on the night of Sunday,[1] 21st Shawwāl, (25th April), Sulṭān Bahādur grew distracted, and ordered that his cannon and great mortars[2] should be crammed full of powder and set fire to so that they should burst. When evening came, Sulṭān Bahādur got out by a slit in the enclosure (*sarā-parda*), accompanied by Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh[3] and a few others of his intimates and set off for Māndū, taking first the road to Agra in order to throw out pursuers.[4] Ṣadr Khān and 'Imādu-l-mulk Khāṣakhail took, with 20,000 horse, the direct road to Māndū.[5] Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā went off towards Lāhōr with a body of men in order to stir up a commotion there. That day there was a strange uproar and confusion [illegible] army, [illegible] which was [illegible] by Akb[illegible] Hindu and princes of Mālwā. He [illegible] confusion in the Gujrā[illegible] the real state of matters known in the royal camp. Hi[illegible] reserve [illegible] the royal camp. Hi[illegible] Jahānbānī remain[illegible] evening till morn[illegible]

See Dr. Car[illegible] Tiefenthaler I, 378; 90,000 m[illegible]

[1] [illegible] 208, spelt Manōsōr. It is about 80 miles north-west of Ujjain and on the north bank of the Seū, a tributary of the Cambal. There is a plan of the British encampment near Mandasūr in Blacker's Mahratta War, London 1821, but no lake or tank is shown there. Possibly the lake has dried up since A.F.'s time as had happened with the [illegible] means Lake Debār which is not very far off and lies between Cītōr and Ujjain. See the Rājpūtānā Gazetteer III, 12. It is true this lake is said to have been only made in the end of the 17th century, but it may have existed before this. Neither Firishta, Niẓāmu-d-dīn nor the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* refers to any lake.

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of the victorious army came to the camp of Sulṭān Bahādur and set about plundering it. A quantity of spoil, including many elephants, and horses fell into their hands. Khudāwand Khān [1] who had been both preceptor (*ustād*) and finance-minister (*wazīr*) of Sulṭān Muẓaffar was made prisoner and was treated by his Majesty with great favour and made one of his servants. Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā, Qāsim Sulṭān, and Mīr Hindū Bēg were despatched with a large force to pursue the routed army.

Verily, whoever consorts with men of darkened understanding, become darkened. Especially shall an evil day come upon the man who violates treaties and engagements, and comes forward as a juggler, and plays the game of deception against such a world-lord who is the cynosure of sincerity and rectitude. In fine, after Ṣadr Khān and 'Imādu-l-mulk had departed, his Majesty's army went straight to the fort of Māndū. His Majesty followed in the wake of his troops, and halted at Na'lca, [2] and drew his camp round the
133 fort. Rūmī Khān[3] deserted the hostile army and entered his Majesty's service and received a robe of honour. On the 14th day [4] Sulṭān Bahādur after passing by circuitous routes entered the fort of Māndū by the Cūlī Mahesar [5] Gate. A talk of an agreement took place, according to which Gujrāt and the recently acquired Cītōr should remain with the Sulṭān, while Māndū and its territory should belong to [illegible] Jahānbānī. Maulānā Muḥammad Parghālī [6] on his [illegible] came outside their fortifications [illegible]

[illegible] though there were certainly two distinct Rūmī Khāns, Niẓāmu-d-dīn gives the name of Khudāwand Khān to the builder of the fort. Elliot V, 347.

[2] The *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* ascribes this advice to treachery but probably only because Rūmī Khān afterwards deserted Bahādur, being disgusted, it is said, because the Sulṭān did not fulfil his promise of making [illegible] and Ibrāhīm. [illegible] plan of entrenching himself, but Humāyūn (perhaps because he had read his father's Memoirs) was more cautious than Ibrāhīm, and instead of dashing himself to pieces against the entrenched camp, destroyed Bahādur's army by cutting off the supplies. Had Ibrāhīm acted with like prudence, the Mugh'als might never have reigned in India.

[illegible] it has many brick houses, and lies on [illegible] escape by the help of a slave, Sumbul

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Majesty's side and Ṣadr Khān on behalf of Sulṭān Bahādur sat down together in the Nīlī Sabīl [1] to make arrangements. At the end of the night the sentinels of the fort left off pacing to and fro, and about 200 soldiers of the victorious army entered at the back, some by placing ladders and some by ropes. Then throwing themselves down from the wall, they opened the fort gate there and brought in their horses and mounted them. Other soldiers entered by the gate. The news was brought to the officer in charge of the works, [2] Mallū Khān of Māndū, who had the title of Qādir Shāh. He got on horse-back and galloped to the Sulṭān who was still asleep. He (Bahādur) was awakened by Qādir Shāh's cries and, between sleeping and waking, took to flight, and rushed out with three or four others. On the way Bhūpat Rāī,[3] son of Silhadī, who was one of his companions, came up from behind and joined him with about twenty horsemen. When they got to the gate opening on the esplanade, about 200 horsemen of the victorious army came forward to intercept them. The Sulṭān was the first to attack them and he was seconded by some others. At last he and Mallū Khān and one other follower cut their way through and reached the fort of Sungad.[4] Bahādur lowered down horses from there by ropes, and then letting himself down he after a thousand troubles took the road to Gujrāt. Qāsim Ḥusain Khān was standing near the Fort. An Uzbak named Būrī who had deserted from the Sulṭān's service and become the servant of Qāsim

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[1] Blue road. Perhaps this is the Nīlkanth celebrated by Jahāngīr and which was visited by Akbar. See Dr. Campbell's article already cited. I do not however find the name Nīlkanth in the Tūzak. See p. 181 of Sayyid Aḥmad's ed.

[2] *mūrcal*, battery or earthwork. Niẓāmu-d-dīn in his history of Gujrāt calls it the battery of 700 steps.

[3] According to the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī*, lithog. ed. 279 and Bayley, 388, Bhūpat betrayed Māndū to the enemy in revenge for his father who had been killed in 938 (1532), when ·-hting against Bahādur. Silhadī or Ṣulḥu-d-dīn, his father, was a Hindū and prince of Mālwā. He fought against Bābar at the battle of Khānwā. Bahādur attacked him and deprived him of Rāīsīn, &c., because he kept Musalmān women in his harem. He was induced to turn Muḥammadan and his name was altered to Ṣulḥu-d-dīn. But he recanted and died a Rājpūt's dea a circumstance which may rem us of Cranmer's end. See Ba 364.

[4] It is the inner part or citad Māndū. See Dr. Campbell's art In text it is written Sūnkar.

Za. Sām of the Lāhōr, 1, 367b. of this Ross & es the

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Ḥusain Khān, recognised the Sulṭān and informed the Khān. But the latter, owing to his length of service,[1] treated what he heard as unheard and so Bahādur carried off half-a-life into safety, and was joined by 1,500 men by the time he had reached Cāmpānīr. When he got there, he sent as much of his treasures and valuables as he could to the port of Diu.[2]

Now that the narrative has come so far, we cannot avoid giving some account of the beginning of this auspicious victory. As the victorious heroes were so rapid in getting into the fort of Māndū and in performing prodigies of valour there, no authentic news of their success emerged in the early morning. When two hours of day had
134 elapsed his Majesty Jahānbānī heard of the entry, &c., and mounting his horse proceeded towards the fort and entered by the Dihlī gate.[3]

Ṣadr Khān and his men were meanwhile fighting at the entrance to his house, and though he was wounded he continued firm. At last, the nobles seized his rein and conducted him to Sungad. Many people went with him and took refuge there, and among them was Sulṭān ʻĀlam. The victorious soldiers plundered the houses of the enemy for three days, and then an order was issued for restraining the spoilers. Reliable persons were sent to Ṣadr Khān and Sulṭān ʻĀlam, who inspired them with confidence. After long parleys of little moment, they gave the besieged quarter and brought them out, but as Sulṭān ʻĀlam had several times committed sedition and rebellion, he was hamstrung[4] and let go. To Ṣadr Khān royal favours were shown. Three days after this victory, his Majesty came down from the fort and proceeded by forced marches to Gujrāt, accompanied

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[1] *Viz., kuhna-ʻamalagī.* This is a sneer at old servants whom A. F., being himself a new man, did not like. See a similar use of *kuhna-ʻamala* at 157 l. 9, and also see 139, l. 3.

[2] Text, Dīp dīn but spelt Dīū in *Mirʻāt-i-Sikandarī.*

[3] The northern gate.

[4] *Pai karda.* See *Mirʻāt-i-Sikandarī*, 258, for account of this man, and Bayley, 366*n*. Apparently he was Khān Ibrāhīm's nephew and consequently grand-nephew of the ʻĀlam Khān who called himself Sulṭān ʻĀla'u-d-dīn. He was the son of Jalāl Khān, and at one time was governor of Kālpī. Perhaps Humāyūn was incensed against him because he had proved ungrateful for Humāyūn's kindness in introducing him to Bābar. Bābar's Mem. 349, 375. According to Bayley, 388, he was put to death at Māndū.

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by 30,000 chosen horsemen, while the camp was ordered to follow stage by stage.

When the victorious troops came near Cāmpānīr they halted, and drew up by the side of the Piplī Gate near the tank of 'Imādu-l-mulk which is three *kōs* in circumference. When Sulṯān Bahādur heard of this, he strengthened the fort and went out by another gate, on the side of the Shukr tank, and fled to Cambay. By his instructions the town (Cāmpānīr) was set on fire, but when his Majesty Jahānbānī arrived, he directed the flames to be extinguished. Leaving Mīr Hindū Bēg and the rest in Cāmpānīr he took about a thousand horse and set off rapidly in pursuit of Sulṯān Bahādur. As soon as the Sulṯān came to Cambay he hastened to Diu, after setting fire to a hundred warships (*Gharāb*), which he had prepared against the Portuguese, lest the soldiers of the sublime army should embark on them and pursue him. On the same day that he left for Diu, his Majesty Jahānbānī reached Cambay and encamped by the seaside. From thence he despatched a force in pursuit of Sulṯān Bahādur. When the Sulṯān reached Diu, the victorious soldiers returned from its neighbourhood with abundance of booty. By the favours of heaven were 135
Māndū and Gujrāt conquered in 942 (1535). Whoever is stayed upon God and whose standard is a good intention, will assuredly have his desire placed within his bosom.[1]

In the beginning of Sh'abān of this year, (25th January, 1536), Mīrzā Kāmrān marched from Lāhōr to Kābul, and after a great battle won a victory over Sām Mīrzā,[2] the brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī. The short account of this is as follows. Sām Mīrzā came to Qandahār with a large body of Qizilbāshīs (*Persians*). Khwāja Kilān Bēg had strengthened Qandahār and defended it for eight months. Meanwhile Mīrzā Kāmrān marched from Lāhōr with a full equipment. A great battle took place between him and Sām Mīrzā. Aghzīwār Khān, one of the great officers of the Qizilbāshīs and Sām Mīrzā's tutor, was taken prisoner and put to death, and many of the Qizilbāshīs perished.[3] Mīrzā Kāmrān returned victorious to Lāhōr,

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1 Cf. the line in preface of Anwār-i-Suhailī' "No seeker leaves that door without obtaining his desire."

2 Then about 20 years of age. He afterwards wrote biographies of Persian poets. Rieu's Cat. I, 367*b*.

3 There is an account of this victory in the *Tār. Rash.* Ross & Elias, 468. Ḥaidar attributes the victory to Khwāja Kilān.

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and the disturbance caused by Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān was put down. The explanation of this is briefly this. It has been already mentioned that after the defeat of Sulṭān Bahādur, M. Muḥammad Zamān marched against Lāhōr with the idea of stirring up strife there. When he came to the borders of Sind, Shāh Ḥusain, the son of Shāh Bēg Arghūn and the ruler of Sind, did not give him a place in his own territory, but pointed out Lāhōr to him as M. Kāmrān had gone towards Qandahār, and suggested that as such a rich country was unprotected he should his horse prow there. The ill-fated Mīrzā came to Lāhōr, thinking he had got an gate.[3] n field, and besieged it. Meanwhile M. Kāmrān arrived near Lāhōr

Ṣadr Khand beat the drum of superiority. M. Muḥammad Zamān was dis- to his house, concerted, and saw no resource except to return to Gujrāt. Driven last, the no out and abandoned, he went there. In this year Mīrzā Ḥaidar people Gūrgān came from Kāshghar[1] *viâ* Badakhshān and joined M. Kāmrān in Lāhōr. Next spring Shāh Ṭahmāsp came in person to the district of Qandahār, and Khwāja Kilān Bēg put all the wardrobes, pantries and other offices in order and sent the keys of the store-houses and of the fort to the Shāh, saying that he had no means of holding the fort and was unable to give battle, and that it was inconsistent with loyalty and his duties as a servant to his master that he should come and do homage to the Shāh. Hence he thought it proper to set his houses in order and to make them over to his guest and for himself to withdraw. He then went by way of Tatta and Ucc[2] to Lāhōr. M. Kāmrān for a month would not allow him to pay his respects, saying "Why could you not have waited till I arrived?" After various transactions M. Kāmrān made his preparations and marched against Qandahār for the second time, leaving M. Ḥaidar in charge of Lāhōr. Before this Shāh Ṭahmāsp had put Bidāgh Khān Qajār,[3] one of the great officers, in charge of Qandahār

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[1] *Tar. Rash.*, 467. He came from Tibet and Badakhshān.

[2] In Bahāwalpūr, Panjāb, 10 miles S. S. W. Multān. Spelt Āch in text but corrected in *errata*.

[3] Qacār in text, but with variant Qajār. It is the present royal family of Persia. It is curious that Ṭahmāsp should have, apparently, employed the same Bidāgh Khān again and sent him with his infant son to accompany Humāyūn. Ḥaidar Mīrzā, (*Tar. Rash.*, 405), remarks on the curious readiness with which Bidāgh Khān surrendered to Kāmrān, and he does not seem to have been more efficient when attacked by Humāyūn.

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and had departed. M. Kāmrān arrived and laid siege to Qandahār, and Bidāgh Khān capitulated and retreated. The Mīrzā got possession of Qandahār, and after putting it into a condition of defence returned to Lāhōr.

Whither have my words strayed? It is certainly better that I withdraw my hand from these affairs and attach myself to the threy of my design.

When his Majesty Jahānbānī was encamped at Cambay with a small force Malik Aḥmad Lāḍ and Rukn Dāūd who were officers of Sulṭān Bahādur, and leading men in Kōlīwāra, arranged with the Kōlīs and Gawārs[1] of that country that as there were few men with his Majesty Jahānbānī there was a suitable opportunity for making a night attack. They accordingly made preparations. By good fortune an old woman who had heard of this came to the royal enclosure and told one of the attendants that she had urgent business and wished to have a personal interview. As she was very importunate and appeared to be honest she was admitted to the presence, and communicated the plot of the night attack. His Majesty said "Whence comes this well-wishing of yours." She replied "My son has been confined by one of your servants and I want him released as a reward for this well-wishing. If I have spoken falsely, punish both me and my son." In accordance with orders, her son was produced, and a guard placed over them both. As a measure of precaution the troops were got into readiness and drawn off. Near dawn 5 or 6,000 Bhīls and Gawārs fell upon the royal enclosures, his Majesty Jahānbānī and the troops having retired to a rising ground. The Gawāns came and proceeded to plunder, and many rare books, which were real companions and were always kept in his Majesty's personal possession, were lost. Among these was the Tīmūr-nāma,[2] trans-

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[1] Text *Kawārān*, but corrected in *errata*.

[2] Ers. II. 62*n*. supposes that this was the *Ẓafarnāma* of Sharafu-d-dīn. This may be so but *Tīmūr-nāma* is properly the title of a poem by Hātifī, *i.e.*, 'Abdu-l-lāh, the sister's son of Jāmī. See Rieu II, 652 and Bābar's Memoirs, 196. Ers. takes A.F. to mean that the very copy that was lost was recovered, but A.F. does not clearly say so, and the words "having been recovered" quoted by Ers. do not occur in the text. Probably all that A.F. means is that there is now a *Tīmūr-nāma* in the imperial library. It is rather grotesque that A.F. should

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cribed by Mullā Sulṭān 'Alī and illustrated by Ustād Bihzād, and which is now in the Shāhinshāh's library. To sum up in a short space of time the breeze of salvation's morn breathed from fortune's ascension, and the brave warriors turned upon that mob and discomfited and scattered those hapless wretches by discharges[1] of arrows. That 'd woman's face was brightened, and she gained her desire. The jesty of the royal wrath, and the onslaught of o'ermastering rage boiled over and an order was issued for plundering and burning Cambay.[2] After that the pursuit of Sulṭān Bahādur was abandoned, and the army returned to Cāmpānīr. The fortress[3] was besieged for four months. Ikhtiyār Khān, who was sprung from a family of Qāẓis in Narīād[4] which is a town in that country, and who was, for his justice and ability one of the Sulṭān's, confidants brought great exertions to bear on the defence of the fort.[5] In addition to all these

call books Humāyūn's companions just at the time when he left them behind to be plundered. In Blochmann, 108, mention is made of an illustrated *Ẓafarnāma*, but this was one executed in Akbar's reign, and from the remark on the preceding page that Akbar had pictures worthy of Bihzād, it would appear that he had not any by Bihzād himself. Bihzād was a famous painter of Sulṭān Ḥusain Herātī's Court. See Bābar, 197, who criticises his style of pourtraying youthful beauty. Blochmann, 1072, says that Bihzād lived at the Court of Shāh Ismaīl Ṣūfī, and he may have done so subsequently. Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī was, according to Bābar, 197, the best writer of the nastālīq character. See also Blochmann, 101. It seems probable that Humāyūn inherited this book from his father, for he had not yet been to Persia himself. The Timūrnāma of Hātifī, it may be remarked, is a poem in imitation of one of Niẓāmī's and more likely to be illustrated that the somewhat ponderous and prosaic *Ẓafarnāma*.

[1] *Shība*, unnecessarily corrected in Errata to *shapa*, *i.e.*, whizzing. See Richardson l.c. 559*a* and Vullers 490*a*.

[2] See Elliot V, 193 and Erskine II. 62*n*. Ṣadr Khān was killed in the attack by the Gawārs.

[3] See description of fort by Col. Miles, Bom. L. S. Transactions I. 150 (reprint of 1877). He spells the name Champaneer.

[4] Nirbād in text, but corrected in Errata. It was a district in Aḥmadābād Sarkar, Jarrett II, 253, and is now a station on the Aḥmadābād railway. Also a place on the sea-shore in the Surat Sirkār, Jarrett, l. c., 257.

Erskine understands A.F. as meaning that this arrangement about drawing up provisions was made by Ikhtiyār Khān. But I doubt if this is correct. A.F. seems to mean that in addition to all

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y Humāyūn.

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protections and precautions it happened that from time to time sundry mountaineering (*kūh-naward*) woodcutters entered by ravines, which from the density of trees and jungle were difficult for foot passengers to traverse, and of course impracticable for traffic, and for the sake of gain brought corn and ghee to the foot of the fort in order to sell them at a high price, while men in the fort let down money by ropes and drew up the goods.

As the siege was long drawn out his Majesty Jahānbānī would sometimes visit the different sides of the fort and search for a possible entrance for his army. On one occasion he went forward from the side of Hālul, which is a garden, and fell in with the people who were coming out of the jungle after selling their corn and butter. An order was given to find out what their business was. They said they were woodcutters, but as they had no axes or hatchets with them, their story was not accepted. They were told that they would not escape punishment unless they told the truth. Being helpless they confessed the truth. Upon this they were bidden to go forward and to point out the place. When his Majesty saw it he recognised that it was 60 or 70 yards [1] high and very smooth,[2] so that it would be very difficult to climb. By his Majesty's orders 70 or 80 iron nails were brought, and driven into the precipice right and left at distances of one yard. The young heroes were bid climb these degrees of daring (*mi'rāj-i-mardānagī*). Thirty-nine had ascended when his Majesty himself wished to climb. Bairām Khān begged him to delay till the men ahead had got higher up. Saying this he himself stepped up, his Majesty Jahānbānī followed him and was the 41st. Standing [3]

Ikhtiyār's plans there was this favourable circumstance that the garrison were supplied by the Kōlīs. Both Firishta and the Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī, Bayley, 391, represent that there was plenty of food in the fort, and the former evidently takes the view that the fort was captured owing to the greed of the Kōlīs in selling provisions to the garrison and which led to Humāyun's exploit, A.F. is favourable to Ikhtiyār Khān, perhaps on account of his literary abilities, but Bahādur is said to have had a very low opinion of him, Bayley, 391.

[1] *Gaz.* The exact length does not seem known, but probably was about 33 inches, Jarrett II, 58, and Wilson's Glossary.

[2] *Hamwārī.* The Brit. Mus. MSS. have the opposite of this, *viz.*, *nāhamwārī*, but *hamwārī* is probably right.

[3] *i.e.*, about 300 in all, not 341, see what follows.

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there he had about 300 men drawn up by this iron ladder. An order was given that the victorious army, which was stationed at
138 the batteries, should attack the fort. The garrison were thrown off their guard, and addressed themselves to repel the men from without and were looking down from the battlements when suddenly the 300 braves came from behind, and overwhelmed the garrison with showers of arrows. And when they realised the fact that his Majesty Jahānbānī in person had ascended the stairs of victory, the bewildered foe crept into hiding-places. The drum of victory beat high, and Ikhtiyār Khān went off to a higher point called Mūlīya[1] and there took refuge. Next day they gave him quarter and sent for him. Together with his practical knowledge (*dānish*) and his management of state affairs he was fully possessed of sciences, especially mathematics and astronomy. He was also skilled as a poet and composer of enigmas. He was honoured by being allowed to sit in the assembly of the learned, and was distinguished by princely favours, and was admitted among the intimates of the threshold of sovereignty. One of the eloquent found the date of this victory "*Awwal hafta-i-Māh-i-Ṣafar*,"[2] *i.e.*, first week of Ṣafar (943) = 19th–26th July, 1536.

As the country of Gujrāt was in the possession of the servants of the empire up to the Mahindrī,[3] and as no one was appointed to administer the territory on the other side (the West), the peasantry wrote to Sulṭān Bahādur and announced that the collections were ready and that a collector of these was necessary; if one were appointed, they would discharge their obligations. All the officers to whom the Sulṭān spoke on the subject remained silent. 'Imādu-l-Mulk however had the courage to come forward, and he agreed to accept the office on condition that there should be no questioning afterwards

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[1] In Jarrett II, 256, the upper fort is called Pāwah, but according to Miles Bom. L. S. T. I. 152 (reprint) the proper spelling is Pavanagaḍa, wind-fort.

[2] The text has mah, but unless we read māh the abjad seems to be incorrect, being 942 instead of 943. Erskine VI, 64. Badāonī, Brit. Ind. I, 347, has another chronogram "*Nuh Shahr-i-Ṣafar būd*" according to which the fort was taken on 9 Ṣafar, 942, or 9th August, 1535. But Ṣafar is only the second month of the Muḥammadan year, and the operations at Cambay, and the length of the siege seem to require 943.

[3] Also called the Mahī I. G. T. V.

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as to any land or authority that he should give to any one in order to execute the work of the collection. He proceeded with 200 horse towards Aḥmadābād. On the way he gave written grants,[1] of land to those whom he knew. When he arrived at Aḥmadābād he had collected 10,000 cavalry. He gave everyone who possessed two horses a *lak* of *gujrātīs*. In a short time he had gathered 30,000 cavalry. Mujāhid Khān, Governor of Jūnagaḍh joined him with 10,000 horse.

At this time his Majesty Jahānbānī on account of the conquest of the fort of Cāmpānīr and of the falling of abundant treasure into his hands was holding magnificent banquets and was constantly arranging royal entertainments on the banks of the Dū Rūya tank. One of the paramount conditions of authority is that special servants and those in near attendance should have certain fixed rules to abide by, and that in every section of them there should be some discreet and prudent person appointed who may continually look after their rising and sitting, their going and coming, and take precautions against evil companionship, which is the father and mother of wrong ideas. Especially is this required at a time when details are veiled from a Lord of the Age by the multiplicity of business. It is fitting 139
that in such circumstances he should appoint right-speaking, right-acting intelligencers who may always bring him correct information of the real state and of the gist of the doings of this body of men. Otherwise many of the narrow-minded become from length of service less susceptible of the prestige of royalty, and the wine of familiarity carries them out of their senses, and leads them into the stumbling of eternal ruin. And great seditions emerge from this intoxication. Accordingly they became apparent on this occasion. The story of this is that on the night of the rejoicing and banquetings on account of the marvellous victories, some feeble souls who were fated to be admitted to the verge of the sublime assemblage, *viz.*, book-bearers, armour-bearers, ink-horn-bearers and the like, happened to have gone to the gardens of Hālūl,[2] the scent of whose flowers might cure the melancholy, and whose heart-expanding breeze might give motion to congealed[3] blood, and to have started a

[1] *Mawājib* fiefs. For this use of the word see text 154 l. 15.

[2] Four m. from the modern city. Miles.

[3] Produce a ferment in sleeping blood or perhaps, blood of a murdered and unregarded man. See Vullers I. 759.

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winefeast. In this state of exultation which had put to flight sense and reason, they took up the Ẓafarnāma and read of the beginnings of the victorious career of his Majesty Ṣāḥib Qirānī (Tīmūr)—how that prince had with him, in the vernal prime of his glory, forty chosen companions, and how one day he took from each a couple of arrows and after tying them all together, gave them to each companion to break. Though each put the bundle across his knee and exerted all his strength, it was of no use. But when he opened the bundle, and gave each two arrows every one broke them. His Majesty had then observed "we are forty persons, if we are united like this bundle of arrows victory will attend us wherever we go." In accordance with this right thought and lofty idea they girt up their loins of courage and went forth to conquer.[1]

Those ignorant fools when they heard this story did not reflect that each one of the forty was a heaven-aided host. They thought merely of the external circumstances and so fell into ruinous imaginings. When they reckoned themselves up they found they were four hundred, and in their madness and folly they conceived that unanimity among 400 persons must be exceeding wrong, and formed the notion of conquering the Deccan. Under this hallucination they proceeded to tread the broad and downward path to destruction. Next day though search was made for those near yet so far (*nazdīkān-i-dūr*), no trace of them could be found. At last an intimation of their wild idea was obtained, and a thousand men were sent to seize them. They soon brought to Court those fortune-buffeted and doomed men, bound neck and hand. It was Tuesday,[2] a day when his Majesty wore the red vesture of Mars and sate on the throne of wrath and vengeance. The crowd of criminals were brought forward,
140 section by section, and each of them received sentences fitting

[1] I have not found this story in Sharafu-d-dīn though at I. 75, Bibl. Ind. ed. there is an allusion to Tīmūr's having forty followers. The same story is told of Cangiz Khān who when on his deathbed used the illustration of weapons tied together and separate, to teach the necessity of union to his sons. See Petit de la Croix's life, quoted by Erdmann 639, and 442.

[2] Humāyūn assigned particular days of the week to certain duties. Thus Monday being Mars-day, was one of that assigned to the administration of Criminal Justice. See extract from Khwānd Amīr in Elliot V. 121 and A. F.'s text I. 358 and 361

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their destiny, and the requirements of complete justice. Some they bound and made trodden under the feet of mountain-like elephants. Many who had carried their heads beyond the line of respect received distinction by the removal of the burden of their heads from their bodies. A number who, not distinguishing between their feet and their hands, had clapped their hands at seditious thoughts were made handless and footless. A set of them who from arrogance (*khud-bīnī* lit. self-contemplation) had not kept their ears for the royal commands found ears and nose gone from their places, others who had laid the fingertip of intent on the edge of misfeasance saw no more the figure of a finger in their hand.[1]

After executing these judgments and orders the time of evening prayer arrived. The Imām, who was not void of obtuseness, at the first genuflection recited the Sūra '*A-lam tara kaifa*' "Hast thou not seen how." After the conclusion of the service the order of vengeance[2] was issued that the Imām be thrown under the foot of an elephant because he had designedly and allusively recited the chapter of the elephant, and had degraded justice to tyranny, and had uttered an evil presage.[3] Maulānā Muḥammad Parghālī[4] represented that the Imām did not know the meaning of the Qurān. But as the fire of wrath was darting tongues of flame he got no reply except abusive

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[1] Erskine justly remarks that these details are very disgusting, and exhibit the wretched punning propensity of our James I., but on an occasion when it is not ridiculous but revolting. The sentences pronounced depend on idiomatic Persian phrases, hardly translatable. A. F.'s poor wit may be parallelled by a too-famous passage in Paradise Lost, B. VI, but at least it may be said that Milton puts his jests into the mouths of devils.

[2] *Ḥukm-i-gardūn-intiqām, lit.*, the order of the sphere of vengeance. Vullers *s. v.* quotes the Bahār-i-'Ajam as giving *gardūn* the meaning of executioners.

[3] Apparently the *fāl-i-bad* was that Humāyūn would be destroyed like the impious king of Yaman. Is it possible that Humāyūn thought the Imām was playing on the word *kaifa*, which in Persian means intoxication, and was suggesting that he was drunk? As Erskine remarks, the Sūra does not seem to contain much matter of offence. Probably however the reference to the elephant was enough.

[4] It is pleasant to find this man, of whom Ḥaidar Mīrzā speaks so ill, Tar. Rash. 398, acting properly and courageously. He was afterwards drowned at Causa.

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epithets. After a time when the light of the Imām's simplicity shone on the marge of his holy heart and the conflagration of the flames of wrath was stayed, he expressed much regret and spent the whole night in sorrow and weeping.[1]

After the completion of this affair Tardī Bēg Khān was left in Cāmpānīr, and the royal standards proceeded towards Aḥmadābād, and encamped on the bank of the Mahindrī.[2] 'Imādu-l-Mulk had the courage to advance, and to make a march for each one that the royal army made. Between Narīād and Maḥmūdābād[3] he encountered Mīrzā 'Askarī who was in the van and several stages ahead (of the main body). A great battle ensued, and the Mīrzā was worsted until Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā, Qāsim Ḥusain Khān and Hindū Bēg arrived with a large body of men and unfurling the flag of fortune proclaimed to the enemy the approach of the imperial ensigns with a "Lo, the sublime army has arrived." The utterance of this word, and its sound reaching the ears of the enemy were simultaneous with Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā's victory and the defeat of the foe. As Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā was ahead of all, the brunt of the battle fell upon him. On the side of the enemy 'Ālam Khān Lōdī[4] and some others offered opposition till 'Imādu-l-mulk retired half dead. Darwēsh Muḥammad Qarāshīr, father of Shujā'at Khān,[5] obtained martyrdom in this engagement. Meanwhile the flashing of the royal standards appeared and victory upon victory disclosed itself. After the arrival of the
141 sublime army 3 to 4,000 of the enemy were slain. His Majesty

[1] A.F. does not clearly say that the order to trample the Imam to death was carried out, but Erskine says it was, and A. F.'s silence implies this. Had Humāyūn repented in time, we should have had a flourish of trumpets about the imperial clemency.

[2] Or Mahī. Cāmpānīr is upwards of 60 miles E. S. E. Aḥmadābād, but is visible from the minaret of the Jāma' Masjid, Miles.

[3] Jarrett II. 241, now a station on the Bomb. Baroda and Central I. Ry. It lies south-east of Aḥmadābād and is, as A.F. states, nearly half-way between Narīād (spelt Nadiad in time-tables) being 11 miles from Narīād and 10 from Aḥmadābād.

[4] It does not appear who this 'Ālam Khān is. He can hardly be the man who was mutilated at Cāmpānīr and yet possibly he is. If he was the No. III of Bayley then his real name was Ṣafdar Khān and he was perhaps not a Lōdī at all. See p. 329.

[5] Also called Muqīm-i-'Arab, Blochmann, 371.

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asked Khudāwand Khān[1] if there was likelihood of another battle, and he replied that if that leprous slave, meaning 'Imādu-l-mulk, had been personally in the fight, it was over, and if he had not been there was likelihood of another bloody bout. Men were appointed to inquire into this matter, and from two wounded men, who were lying half dead among the dead, it was ascertained that 'Imādu-l-mulk had commanded in person. Next day the grand army marched on and then halted, M. 'Askarī going on as before in front. When the army had encamped on this side of the Kankārīyā[2] tank M. 'Askarī represented that if the whole camp entered the city, the inhabitants would be harassed. An order was given that provost-marshals (*yasāwalān*) be stationed at every gate of the city and that they should admit no one except M. 'Askarī and his men.

The army encamped on the delightful spot of Sarkāj, and on the third day his Majesty, attended by many of his courtiers, came to the city. After that he gave his attention to the affairs of Gujrāt and settled them in a proper manner. Hindū Bēg was stationed there with a large force in order that he might go wherever he was required. Pattan was given to Mīrzā Yādgar Nāṣir; Broach, Nansārī and the port of Surat to Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān;[3] Cambay, and Baroda to Dōst Bēg Īshak Āqā; and Maḥmūdābad to Mīr Būcaka.

When the affairs of Gujrāt had been settled his Majesty proceeded towards the port of Dīu. When the army was leaving Dandūqa, which is 30 *kōs* (W. S. W.) from Aḥmadābād, representations came from Agra, the capital, to the effect that as his Majesty was far from the seat of Government rebellious men had raised the head of disaffection, and extended the arm of strife. Couriers too

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1 This is probably the Wazīr and not Rūmī Khān. The expression used by him about 'Imādu-l-mulk may refer to his being a Circasisan (according to Firishta) and to his grandfather's having been a slave. Bayley 233, 235. Firishta says he was the son of a Cangiz Khān.

2 See Tiefenthaler I. 378, who states that in his time the tank was nearly dried up. It was cleared out by Mr. Borrodaile in 1872. Bom. Gaz. IV. 17 and Hope's Aḥmadābād. It lies north of Aḥmadābād. In text the name is wrongly spelt Kangareyā. It means the limestone or pebble tank. It is also called the Ḥauẓ-i-Qūṭ and was made in 1451. It covers 72 acres.

3 A grandson of Sulṭān Ḥusain of Herāt. Bābar's Mem. 353.

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arrived from Mālwā and reported that Sikandar Khān[1] and Mallū Khān had sallied forth and fallen upon Mihtar Zambūr the Jagīrdār of Hindīā[2] and that he had taken his property with him and came to Ujjain, and that all the soldiers who were stationed here and there in that province had collected there, that the authors of strife had assembled in great numbers and were besieging the city, and that
142 Darwēsh 'Alī Kitābdār (librarian) had received a gunshot wound and had died, and that the rest of the besieged had asked for quarter and had submitted. His Majesty thereupon determined to return and to make Māndū his capital for a time, so that Mālwā might be cleared of rebels, and also that the newly conquered Gujrāt might be brought into order, and also that the flames of disaffection which had blazed forth in the settled portion of the empire might be extinguished. Accordingly having made over Gujrāt to M. 'Askarī and a number of officers he turned his rein and halted at Cambay. From thence he went to Baroda and Broach and from thence to Surat, and from thence to Āsīr[3] and Burhānpūr. He stopped seven days in Burhānpūr and then marched on and passing under the fort of Āsīr established himself at Māndū. As soon as the disaffected heard the sound of the return of the royal standards, they were troubled and crept into corners. His Majesty found the climate of Mālwā agreeable to his constitution and made many of his servants jāgīrdārs thereof. And the gates of success and satisfaction of desires were thrown open to the world.

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[1] Apparently the Governor of Sīwās who was afterwards killed with Bahādur at Diu, Bayley 349, &c.

[2] In Hōshangābād, Central Prov. I. G., S. V. Handīa and Jarrett II. 207 where it is spelt Hinḍīah.

[3] Āsīrgarh in Nimār, Central Provinces.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

Mīrzā 'Askarī leaves Gujrāt with rebellious designs.

Of a surety, a grandee who does not recognise the force of kindness and prestige, and takes the road of ingratitude, smites his own foot with a hatchet,[1] and of his own act falls into the hell of ruin. The story of the doings of Mīrzā 'Askarī and the officers of Gujrāt is a proof of this, for owing to the smallness of their capacities a little success made them give way to rebellious thoughts. From immoderate living there arose the beginnings of mutual strife and their actions were darkened by the mist of dissimulation. Accordingly after about three months the enemy stirred up commotion. Khān Jahān of Shīrāz and Rūmī Khān, who had the name of Ṣafar and who is the builder of the fort of Surat, united and took possession of Nausārī which was held by 'Abdullāh Khān, a relative of Qāsim Ḥusain Khān Ūzbēg. 'Abdullāh Khān left that quarter and came to Broach. About this time they also took the port of Surat. Khān Jahān marched by land to Broach, while Rūmī Khān came there by sea with warships carrying guns and muskets. Qāsim Ḥusain Khān lost his head (lit. lost hands and feet), and hurried to Cāmpānīr, and then from there went on to Aḥmadābād to Mīrzā 'Askarī and Hindū Bēg in search of help. Sayyid Isḥāq who had received 143
from Sulṭān Bahādur the title of Shitāb Khān (the swift Khān) took possession of Cambay, and Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā went off from Pattan to Aḥmadābād at the summons of 'Askarī Mīrza. Daryā Khān and Muḥāfiẓ Khān set out from Rāīsīn and were going towards the Sulṭān at Diu, when finding Pattan empty (*i.e.*, undefended), they took possession of it. From want of union and want of counsel things came to such a pass that one Ghaẓanfar[2] (the lion), a

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1 A proverbial expression. See Roebuck's Oriental Proverbs, Part I. No. 103.

2 Blochmann, 348 and Elliot, V 197. He was brother of Mahdī Qāsim Khān and foster-brother of 'Askarī.

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servant of Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā deserted with 300 horse and joined Sulṭān Bahādur. He invited the Sulṭān to come (to Aḥmadābād) and letters of loyalists followed in succession, so that Sulṭān Bahādur marched towards Aḥmadābād, and soon halted near Sarkēj. 'Askarī Mīrzā, Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā, Hindū Bēg, and Qāsim Ḥusain Khān proceeded with nearly 20,000 horse and confronted the Sulṭān in the rear of Asāwal. They faced him for three days and nights, and then, as they were neither loyal to his Majesty Jahānbānī nor clear-headed they, out of a darkened understanding and evil thoughts, went off without fighting to Cāmpānīr. Much mischief ensued.

'Tis evident how far they carried the eating of the salt and the breaking the salt-cellar on the table-top[1] and how in the domain of thanksgiving they trod the arena of crime and the field of little service. Good God, I understand their lack of fidelity, which is a priceless jewel and of rare occurrence in this wicked world, but why should they drop from their hands the coin of common sense which is negotiable every where? In fine, Sulṭān Bahādur who had been in a thousand anxieties, grew bold and pursued them. Sayyid Mubārak of Bukhārā was at the head of the vanguard and came near the imperial army. Yādgar Nāṣir Mīrzā who commanded in the rear turned and fought bravely with the result that many of the Sulṭān's vanguard were killed, while the Mīrzā was wounded in the arm. The enemy halted at Maḥmūdābād, and the Mīrzā joined the main army. As M. 'Askarī had lost heart he incontinently crossed the Mahindrī which was in front of him, and many of the soldiers lost their lives in its floods. The Sulṭān arrived at the edge of the river and the Mīrzā went on to Cāmpānīr. Tardī Bēg Khān made arrangements for their entertainment, and then went back to his post.

Next day the Mīrzās sent a treacherous message to Tardī Bēg Khān to the effect that they were in distress, and their army in evil case, and begged that he would send them by way of assistance a portion of the fort treasures in order that they might give it to their soldiers. When they had refreshed themselves, they would use
144 diligence to attack the enemy. They were reporting to Māndū, where the imperial camp was, but it would take a courier six days to

[1] A proverbial expression. Cf. Roebuck, l. c. p. 377, No. 2023 and p. 392, No. 2129 and Vullers, s. v. *namak* 1351*a*.

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get there. [illegible] Khān did not consent to this, and the Mīrzās plotted to seize him so that they might get hold of the whole of the treasure, and establish the sovereignty in the name of M. 'Askarī. If they defeated Sulṭān Bahādur so much the better, but if not, as his Majesty Jahānbānī liked the Mālwā climate, and the territory of Agra, the capital, was undefended, they would go there. Tardī Bēg Khān came down from the fort and was going to wait upon the Mīrzās when he got wind of this plot. He hastened back to the fort and sent word to the Mīrzās that it was not fitting for them to remain there. They sent back a message that they were leaving, but asked him to come that they might discuss sundry matters with him and bid him farewell. He knew their design and returned a suitable answer, and next morning opened fire on them. The Mīrzās went off with evil intentions and proceeded by Ghāt Karjī[1] towards Agra. So long as the victorious (?) army was in the neighbourhood of Cāmpānīr the Sulṭān did not cross the Mahindrī which is 15 *kōs* from Cāmpānīr. But when news came that the Mīrzās had retreated and gone off towards Agra with evil designs, the Sulṭān crossed the river and came to attack Cāmpānīr. Tardī Bēg Khān, in spite of the strength of the fort, and the store of preparations there abandoned the fort and took the road of safety. He reached Māndū and had the honour of paying his respects. He made known to his Majesty the Mīrzās' evil intentions and his Majesty on being apprized thereof hastened by way of Cītōr so that the Mīrzās might not get to Agra before him. By good fortune he came up with them on the way, near Cītōr. The helpless Mīrzās submitted to his Majesty and he out of innate kindness and clemency did not regard their offences and made universal forgiveness, the intercessor for their faults. He made liberality to supplement forgiveness and distinguished them by princely gifts.

One of the evils of the time which were the cause[2] of his Majesty's returning from this country to Agra was that Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā and his son Ulugh Mīrzā, who had deviated from the

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[1] I have not found this place.

[2] Khāfī Khān, Bib. Ind. I, 80, and Ferishta give the real reason of the disastrous change in Humāyūn's affairs, *viz.*, that he had been living at Māndū or Shādīābād (abode of joy) as it was called, and had been enslaved by opium.

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highway of obedience and become rebellious, as has been already mentioned, emerged at this time, owing to their constitutional worthlessness, from the corner of contempt and raised the head of molestation. Thus did those who had been appointed to blind him receive a
145 lesson.[1] They now attacked pargana Bilgrām[2] and then proceeded to Qanauj. The sons of Khusrau Kōkaltāsh,[3] who were there asked quarter and yielded up Qanauj to them. M. Hindāl who was in Agra, went forth to quell this disturbance, and the two armies met after he had crossed the Ganges at Bilgrām. A battle ensued, and as the vogue of rebels and strife mongers is like a grass-fire the flames were extinguished in a moment by the blowing of Fortune's gale. The north[4] wind of victory blew and the victorious army pursued and came to Oudh.[5] There Ulugh Bēg M. and his sons had gathered an army and again offered battle. Meanwhile the news came of the arrival of the victorious army from Gujrāt to Agra. The wretched enemy again fought and were again defeated. Mīrzā Hindāl returned victorious and kissed the sublime threshold. When the grand army of his Majesty Jahānbānī arrived at Agra Bhūpāl Rāī, governor of Bījāgaḍa (in Nimār), finding the fort of Māndū undefended boldly entered it, and Qādir Shāh returned to Māndū, and also Mīrān Muḥammad Fārūqī came there from Burhānpūr. Sulṭān Bahādur after staying about two weeks in Cāmpānīr returned to Diu. When his Majesty Jahānbānī and the invincible fortune of his family had turned away from Bahādur with glories of power and majesty, an event[6] which he thought to be to his advantage became the cause of his ruin. For after being routed by the victorious army, and after

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[1] At p. 124 of text A.F. says that M. Sulṭān was blinded, but here he seems to imply that the operation was not effectual. See Erskine II, 14. M. Sulṭān is a different person from M. Zamān though both were grandsons of Sulṭān Ḥasan of Herāt. M. Sulṭān was a daughter's son, Blochmann, 462.

[2] In Hardoi, a district of Oudh, Jarrett 173, 178 and 145 and I. G. 11, 455.

[3] Bābar's Mem. 363 and 364.

[4] It appears from Jauhar, Stewart 8, that A.F. is here referring to the fact that a North-Wester blowing in the face of the rebels was the cause of their discomfiture. See also Erskine II, 90.

[5] Qr. the town of Ayōdhyā.

[6] Apparently the meaning is that Humāyūn's departure which Bahādur might think an advantage eventually turned out to be his destruction by leading to his death at the hands of the Portuguese.

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beholding the impact of the majestic troops he sent persons with presents to the Feringhī Viceroy [1] who was the Warden of the Ports, and invited him to come to him. At the time when M. 'Askarī went off from Gujrāt and the Sulṭān had come to Diu, the Viceroy arrived there by sea with ships and soldiers. When he learned the state of affairs he grew apprehensive, lest now that the Sulṭān was independent of his help he would act perfidiously after an interview. He therefore feigned illness and sent messengers to the Sulṭān to say that he had come in compliance with his request and would wait upon him as soon as he was better. The Sulṭān left the highway of caution and on 3 Ramaẓān 943 (13th February, 1537), at the close of the day, went by boat to inquire after the Viceroy's health. As soon as he arrived he saw that the illness was feigned, and reporting that he had come he immediately proceeded to return. The Feringhīs thought that "when such a prey has come into our grasp it will be well if we get some harbours out of him." The Viceroy intercepted him and requested him to stay till some presents should be brought before him. The Sulṭān said "send them afterwards," and saying this he hastily went towards his own vessel. The Feringhī Qāẓī [2] stopped him and bade him wait and the Sulṭān impatiently drew his sword and clove him to the waist. He then jumped from their vessel on to his own. The Portuguese boats which were round about closed in upon her and a 146
fight began. The Sulṭān and Rūmī Khān [3] flung themselves into the sea. A Feringhī acquaintance of Rūmī Khān drew him out, but the Sulṭān was drowned,[4] and his attendants also perished. The chrono-

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[1] وزری representing the Portuguese Viserei. His name was Nuno da Cunha.

[2] Apparently Manuel de Sousa, Governor of Diu. Qāẓī seems used here for Magistrate or Governor.

[3] This Rūmī Khān was himself an European, which may account for his being saved by a Portuguese. Barros says he was the son of an Albanian father and an Italian mother and was born at Brindisi, and first came to the east on the fleet of the corsair Sulaimān in 1516 (Conti says his birthplace was Otranto). He built the fort of Surat, apparently in 947 and not in 930, as stated by Anquetil du Perron. See Blochmann, 354. The Portuguese called him Khwāja Ṣafar and Ṣafar Āghā. He was killed at the siege of Diu in 1546.

[4] The accounts of Bahādur's death are very conflicting, and it is difficult to decide how he came by his death. My friend Mr. Whiteway has refer-

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gram is *Faringiyān-i-Bahādur-kush*[1] (943=1531). And some used to say that he (Bahādur) came to the surface and reached the shore in safety. And subsequently there were reports in Gujrāt and the Deccan of his having been seen by people. For instance, on one occasion a person appeared in the Deccan whom the Niẓāmu-l-Mulk acknowledged, and played *Caugān* (polo) with. A crowd gathered round him, and the Niẓām perceiving this resolved to put him to death. On that same night he disappeared from his tent, and people concluded that the Niẓām had destroyed him. One day Mīr Abū Turāb[2] who is one of the Gujrāt grandees, related that Mullā Quṭbu-d-dīn of Shīrāz, who was Sulṭān Bahādur's preceptor, was at that time in the Deccan and that he took an oath that the man was certainly Sulṭān Bahādur, and that he had spoken to him of certain matters only known to themselves, and had received intelligent replies. It cannot be said that in the wide kingdom of God's power such things are impossible.

In fine, when Sulṭān Bahādur had thus disappeared in the sea, and his officers were sitting in the dust (*i.e.*, were in mourning),

red me to a long and interesting account by Correa. Naturally this man puts the blame on Bahādur. It would be more satisfactory if we could get the official report on the occurrence which must surely be somewhere in the Portuguese archives. No doubt the responsibility of explaining Bahādur's death rests on the Portuguese for he was their guest or at least visitor, and was killed among their ships. There is a long account of the affair in the Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, p. 28 *et seq.* See also Bayley's Gujrāt. There is this to be said for the Muḥammadan chroniclers that they do not represent Bahādur as guiltless in the matter. They represent him as trying to outwit the Portuguese and anxious to get the viceroy into his power. They are therefore more honest than the Portuguese who try to make out that Bahādur went on board to kill the viceroy and that the Portuguese were altogether blameless. Probably the truth is that Bahādur went on board in order to induce the viceroy to return with him, that the viceroy on the other hand wanted to detain him, and that then a scuffle arose in which Bahādur was slain. It is curious that the Mirāt-i-Sikandari does not mention Ṣafar Āghā in his list of Bahādur's companions, and that he says they all likewise perished.

[1] "Feringis, slayers of Bahādur" (or "of heroes"). A more poetical chronogram was devised by Ikhtiyār Khān, *viz.*, *Sulṭānu-l-bar—Shahīdu-l-baḥr*: "Monarch ashore, Martyr asea." This also makes 943.

[2] Blochmann, 506.

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Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā put on blue clothes as mourning for the Sulṭān, and by hypocritical means got a portion of the treasures of Gujrāt into his possession, while another portion fell into the hands of the Feringhīs, and some was plundered. He also called himself the son[1] of Sulṭān Bahādur's mother, and sometimes demanded from the Feringhīs satisfaction for the murder, and sometimes secretly sent them large sums of money in order that they might use their influence in having him acknowledged as sovereign (lit. recite the *Khuṭba* in his name). So that for some days they read the *Khuṭba* in his name in the Ṣafā[2] Mosque. And he for some time went about as an adventurer till at last 'Imādu-l-mulk brought an army against him and defeated him. From thence he being helpless and ashamed cast a glance of hope towards kissing the threshold of his Majesty Jahānbānī, as will be hereafter related in its proper place. But leaving such matters, to speak of which is to indulge in amplifications and rhetoric, I proceed to my proper subject.

When his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī arrived at the capital the audacious spirits of that neighbourhood who had raised the head of refractoriness, and extended the neck of dispute came into subjection and obedience, and made tribute the material of their 147
own peace and safety. The dominions became adorned with repose and steadfastness.

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1 See Mirāt-i-Sikandarī 293.

2 I do not know where this is. The Mirāt-i-Sikandarī lith. ed., p. 293, says that M. Zamān was near Ūnah which is 3 kos from Diu, and that he there set himself up as Sulṭān. Ūnah is referred to in Jarrett II, 244 and 247 and 258. See also I. G. art. Una. The Mirāt says 'Imādu-l-mulk defeated M. Zamān-at-Zamār in Surat (*Kāthiāwār*) near Ūnah. Probably the mosque in question is in Diu for Mr. Whiteway tells me that the Portuguese authorities say that the *Khuṭba* was read for a time in M. Zamān's name in Diu.

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CHAPTER XXV.

March of His Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī to subdue Bengal; his conquest of that country and return to the Capital, and what happened in the meanwhile.

When the world-adorning mind had finished the affairs of those regions, (*i.e.*, Agra and the territories referred to at end of last chapter) his princely genius addressed itself to the arrangements for an expedition to Gujrāt, so that he might again turn the reins of his intent towards that province and might, contrary to former dispositions, make over its management to men whose behaviour should show steadiness in administration, and whose proceedings should not be characterised by mutability and confusion. He purposed that when his mind was at ease with regard to the settlement of the province, he would return to the capital. Meanwhile news came of the emergence of Shēr Khān and of his commotions in the eastern provinces. Hence the design of subduing Bengal, which had entered his Majesty's heart before the affairs of Gujrāt and had been put off on account of the latter now revived, and orders were issued to make preparations for an expedition to Bengal. It was decided that Shēr Khān should be put down and the territories of Bengal subdued.

Account of Shēr Khān.[1]

This Shēr Khān belonged to the Afghān tribe of Sūr. His old name was Farīd, and he was the son of Ḥasan, the son of Ibrāhīm Shērakhail. Ibrāhīm was a horse-dealer, nor had he any distinction among the crowd of tradesmen. His native country was the village

[1] A. F's. account is inferior to Niẓāmu-d-dīn's (copied by Firishta) and to Khāfī Khān's. See also Dorn's History of the Afghāns, p. 80 *et seq.* and Garçin de Tassy's translation of the Chronicle of Shēr Shāh.

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of Shamla[1] in the territory of Nārnūl.[2] His son Ḥasan developed some nobleness[3] and from trading took to soldiering. For a long time he was in the service of Rāimal, the grandfather of Rāisāl Darbārī,[4] who is at present honoured by being in the service of his Majesty the Shāhinshāh. From there he went to Caund[5] in the territory of Sahasrām and became a servant of Naṣīr Khān Lūḥānī who was an officer of Sikandar Lōdī. By service and ability he surpassed his fellows, and when Naṣīr Khān died, he entered the service of his brother Daulat Khān. After that he was enrolled among the followers of Baban who was one of the grandees of Sulṭān Sikandar Lōdī, and achieved a certain amount of distinction. Many things 148
were accomplished by his management. His son Farīd pained his own father by his arrogance and evil disposition, and separated from him. For a time he was in the service of Tāj Khān Lōdī and for a while he was in Oudh in the service of Qāsim Ḥusain Uzbak. For a long time he was servant of Sulṭān Junaid Barlās.[6] One day Sulṭān Junaid Barlās had taken occasion to introduce him and two other Afghāns who were in his service to his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdaus-makānī. As soon as the farseeing glance of his Majesty fell upon him he remarked "Sulṭān Barlās, the eyes of this Afghān, (pointing to Farīd) indicate turbulence and strife-mongering, he ought to be confined." He received the other two favourably. Farīd got apprehensive on seeing his Majesty Gītī-sitānī's look, and fled before Sulṭān (Junaid) could make him over to his men. Meanwhile his father died and his property fell into his hands. In the territory of Sahasrām, and in the jungles of Caund, which is a pargana of Rohtās, he began to give trouble by practising theft,[7]

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[1] Or Simla, according to some. A pencil note to Chalmers' MS. translation has Shamly 55 miles N. of Dihli.

[2] In the district of Agra. Jarrett, II, 193.

[3] *Ba qadr rashdī paidā karda.*

[4] Blochmann, 419.

[5] The text has Jūna. Caund or Cānd is correct. See Beames J.A.S.B. for 1895, p. 81. It was in Sarkār Rohtās.

[6] He was governor of Kara Mānikpūr (in Allāhābād) under Bābar and was younger brother of Bābar's Vizier Niẓāmu-d-dīn. Dorn l.c. 92. He died in 943, (1536-37). See Firishta.

[7] These charges may be exaggerated, but they are corroborated by Shēr Shāh's alleged confession to Mallū Khān, Elliot IV, 393*n*.

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robbery and murder. In a short space of time he by craft and unrighteousness surpassed the rebels of the age. Accordingly Sulṭān Bahādur of Gujrāt sent him a subsidy by the hands of merchants and summoned him to his side. Farīd made the money into capital for sedition, and sent excuses for not going. He occupied himself in usurpations, attacks and in plundering towns and villages. In a short time many rascals and vagabonds gathered round him. Meanwhile the governor[1] of Bihār who was one of the Lūḥānī nobles, departed this life, and there was no one left to take up the thread of his duties. Shēr Khān and his vagabonds made a raid and got hold of much property. Then he returned to his own place, and suddenly attacked Ulugh Mīrzā, who was near Sirwa (Sirū). By craft he got the better of him. From there he turned and attacked Benares, and when he had acquired troops and property he went to Patna and took possession of that country. He fought a battle at Sūrajgarh[2] which is the boundary of the territories of the ruler of Bengal, and won a victory. That country also came into his hands. For a year he carried on war against Nuṣrat Shāh,[3] the ruler of Bengal, and for a long while he besieged Gaur.[4]

One remarkable circumstance was that Shēr Khān came to hear of an eminent astrologer in the service of the Rājā of Orissa. As he had vain and rebellious thoughts he sent for this astrologer to get information about his success. The Rājā would not let him go, but the astrologer wrote to Shēr Khān that he would not prevail over Bengal till the lapse of a year, and that he would prevail on a particular day, on which the Ganges would be fordable for an hour.
149 By fate, what was written came to pass.[5]

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[1] This is Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Daryā Lūḥānī. Stewart's Bengal 131. Khāfī Khān calls him Bahādur Khān Lūḥānī, Bib. Ind. ed. I, 89. In Dorn's History and in Stewart he is called Pīrkhān.

[2] In Monghyr and at the east end of that district. But apparently this is a slip of the author for Tēlīāgarhī in the Sonthal Parganas. See Jarrett II, 116 and note.

[3] Text, *naṣīb* but this is wrong. See Jarrett II, 147*n*. and *Riyāzu-s-salāṭīn*, Bib. Ind. text 139.

[4] The text has Gōrakhpūr, but a note says that many MSS. have Gaur. The context and history show that Gaur is right. See Stewart's Bengal, 120. Gaur capitulated in 1537 to Shēr Shāh's son.

[5] See Erskine's note on this predicion II, 135*n*. Apparently the pre-

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Verse.

I heard from a sage that wisdom is plentiful,
But that it is scattered about among mankind.

During the time that the royal standards were engaged in conquering Mālwā and Gujrāt, Shēr Khān seized his opportunity and made great progress. The above is a sketch of the beginning of his career. The remainder of his story, the last of his actions, and his wretched end will be narrated in a parenthesis of the account of his Majesty Jahānbānī, so that the authors of strife and contention may take warning therefrom.[1]

In fine, as the idea of an expedition to the eastern provinces had become fixed in the mind of his Majesty Jahānbānī, Mīr Faqr 'Alī, who had been one of the great officers of his Majesty Fīrdaus-makānī Gītī-sitānī was appointed to the charge of Dihlī while Agra was entrusted to Mīr Muḥammad Bakhshī, who was one of the trusted servants of the State. Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā, his Majesty's cousin, was sent to Kālpī which was his *jāīgīr* in order to manage that quarter. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Mīrzā[2] who was married to his Majesty's sister Gulrang Bēgam and was the progenitor of Salīma Sulṭān Bēgam, was appointed to the charge of Qanauj. His Majesty having in this manner arranged the officers of his kingdom went off to the eastward by boat, along with his chaste and veiled

diction must refer to something that occurred at the siege of Gaur, which was situated on an old channel of the Ganges, for we do not hear that the real Ganges became fordable on the days of Causā and Qanauj.

[1] A.F's moralising is rather misplaced. Was Shēr Khān's death when engaged in a holy war and in the hour of victory, as pitiable as the slip on a stair which ended Humāyūn's days?

[2] The *Ma'āṣir-i-raḥīmī* (MS. A. S. B. 194*a*) says that Nūru-d-dīn was the son of Mīrzā 'Alā'u-d-daula who was related to Khwāja Ḥasan 'Aṭṭār who again was son of Khwājā 'Alā'u-d-dīn who was the first Khalīfa of the Naqshbandī order. The Gulrang Bēgam whom Nūru-d-dīn married was Humāyūn's half-sister, being a daughter of Dildār Bēgam and full-sister of Hindāl and Gulbadan Bēgam. Her daughter Salīma was first married to Bairām and afterwards to Akbar. Bairām received Salīma in marriage as a reward for his helping Humāyūn to conquer India, and also perhaps because they were related. Salīma's great-grandmother, Pāshā Bēgam being a daughter of Bairām's ancestor 'Alī Shukr who belonged to the Turkomāns of the Black Sheep.

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consorts. Mīrzā 'Askarī and Mīrzā Hindāl accompanied him, while among the officers were Ibrāhīm Bēg Cābūq,[1] Jahāngīr Qulī Bēg, Khusrau Bēg Kōkaltāsh, Tardī Bēg Khān, Qūc Bēg,[2] Tardī Bēg of Etāwā, Bairām Khān, Qāsim Ḥusain Khān Uzbak, Būcakā Bēg, Zāhid Bēg, Dōst Bēg, Bēg Mīrak, Ḥājī Muḥammad (son of) Bābā Qushqa,[3] Yā'qūb Bēg, Nihāl Bēg, Rōshan Bēg, Mughul Bēg and a large number of other distinguished men. The army proceeded by land and by water whilst his Majesty, sometimes sitting in a boat and sometimes riding on horse-back, deliberated on the affairs of state and proceeded towards the fort of Cunār where was Shēr Khān. When the army drew nigh to Cunār, M. Muḥammad Zamān came from Gujrāt with the dust of confusion on his forehead and the drops of shame on his cheek, and had the happiness to be permitted to kiss the lofty threshold. The brief account of this occurrence is as fol-
150 lows. His Majesty's dear sister Ma'ṣūma Sulṭān Bēgam,[4] the Mīrzā's wife, had in Agra petitioned about the Mīrzā's guilt and had received an order of reconciliation. His Majesty from his innate goodness, drew the line of forgiveness over his offences and directed that he should be sent for. When the Mīrzā arrived near the grand army, a number of high officers were sent to meet him, and when he was a day's journey off, M. 'Askarī and M. Hindāl went out in accordance with the lofty commands and embraced him. M. 'Askarī saluting him by raising his hand up to his breast, while M. Hindāl saluted[5] by putting his hand on his head. They brought the Mīrzā with respect to the camp and that day the Mīrzā, in accordance with the king's command, was conveyed to his own tent. Next day he was brought to the lofty pavilion and having done homage, was treated with royal favours. Twice was he exalted in one assemblage by a special *khil'at*, a belt, a sword and a horse. Bravo! At the

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[1] Blochmann 332, who writes Jābūq. Probably *cābuk* 'celer,' is the correct reading. Perhaps he is the Ibrāhīm Bēgcik of the *Tar. Rash.* Elias and Ross, 470, and described there as father of Jahāngīr Qulī.

[2] Blochmann 455, Bābar 95 and 363.

[3] Qushqa is a Turkish word meaning the star on a horse's forehead. Bāba Qushqa was a servant of Bābar, 364.

[4] Half-sister of Humāyūn, being the daughter of Ma'ṣūma, the daughter of Sulṭan Aḥmad and who married her cousin Bābar. Bābar 208.

[5] See Blochmann 158 for A.F.'s account of the *taslīm*. 'Askarī being the elder brother did not salute so humbly as Hindāl.

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gate of God's elect, sins are requited (*lit.* bought) by benefits, and wickednesses are reckoned as virtues. There is such plenty in the store-house of divine grace that His peculiar mercies are co-ordinate with offenders; in proportion as they increase their crimes and sins do they obtain increase of grace and forgiveness. This attribute is the more appropriate to princes in that they are the shadows of God, so that by passing over offences no harm is done to the breadth of their mercy and the amplitude of their power; and the wretch who is ashamed of his evil deeds, obtains an order of release from the pit of torture. In short his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat Āshyānī, in spite of rebellion so great that (even) to pardon it were improper, became an expounder of the Divine ethics and returned good for evil. God be praised! His Majesty, the Shāhinshāh of the Age, (Akbar) hath these noble qualities and weighty ethics; they are part of his nature and of the essence of his holy soul, and in the meting out of punishment he practises a consideration and hesitation such as no other king has been adorned with from the cycle of Adam until now. In this book a few instances will be given out of many. May God Almighty increase daily this family and may He, in reward of this generous nature bestow plenteous blessings on his Majesty's life and dominion!

In short when Shēr Khān was apprized of the uprearing of the victorious standards, he left his son Quṭb Khān and many others in Cunār, and after strengthening the fort, departed to Bengal. He conquered that country in war and obtained much booty. When the world-conquering army of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshi- 151
yānī encamped near Cunār, he applied himself to the taking of the fortress. Rūmī Khān who was the paragon of the age for overcoming grand forts and sky-high castles, and who had left Sulṭān Bahādur after the victory of Mandasōr, and been enrolled as one of his Majesty's servants, and exalted by the office of *Mīr Ātash* (Director of Ordnance) constructed a covered way (*sābāṭ*) upon boats and arranged such a roof (*saṭha*) with strong partitions (?) on the top of a platform of planks that the ingenious and skilful bit the finger of astonishment in admiration of the workmanship.[1] And

[1] See Niẓāmu-d-dīn's account, Elliot V, 200. It is more detailed and more intelligible than A.F.'s. Apparently Rūmī Khān built a wooden tower so lofty that when placed on boats and conveyed across the river

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he carried such mines under the walls that when they were fired, Time and the Terrene (*zamīn ū zamān*) were shaken. Quṭb Khān fled, and the remainder of the garrison asked for quarter and came out. The fort fell into the possession of the king's servants. As for those admitted to quarter, they were about 2,000 in number, though his Majesty Jahānbānī had ratified Rūmī Khān's promise and had pardoned (?) them, yet Mu'ayyid Bēg Dūldai,[1] who was one of the confidential officers, added to the order that their hands should be cut off, and represented that this was the king's command; such was the usurpation[2] of authority that he displayed! His Majesty Jahānbānī censured him for this. Rūmī Khān received royal favours, and his influence and renown were increased. In return for his services the fort was made over to him, but in a few days he became by destiny an object of envy to the world and passed away, poisoned.

When his mind was free of this affair, the expedition to Bengal presented itself before him. Naṣīb Shāh,[3] the ruler of Bengal, came

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to the foot of the hill, it enabled the assailants to get to the wall under cover. See also Jauhar, Stewart 10, and Tiefenthaler's plate I, 450, No. XXIX which shows a wall coming down to the water's edge.

[1] Dorn's History of the Afghans, p. 112, calls him the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and the Chronicle of Shēr Shāh says the same thing but adds the epithet Dūldai. Garcin de Tassy, p. 84. Dūldai is a division of the Barlās tribe. Blochmann 388*n*. Niẓāmu-d-dīn says that only the artillerymen had their hands cut off, and that this was done by Humāyūn's orders. It is impossible that 2,000 men could have their hands cut off without Humāyūn's becoming acquainted with the fact while the brutality was going on. Jauhar, (Stewart 10), who is perhaps the most to be trusted, as he was with Humāyūn at the time, says that Rūmī Khān caused the hands of the artillerymen to be cut off, and that Humāyūn was very angry with him on this account. The same authority says that Rūmī Khān's floating battery, &c., did little execution. Bayāzīd 21*b*. tells us that Mu'ayyid died in Kābul shortly after the first taking of it, to the universal joy of the army, who regarded him as a Satan and as the cause of the loss of India, &c.

[2] I am not sure of the meaning but think that *taḥakkum* is used in the sense of fancied or slf-assumed authority. B. M. MS. has a *ki* at the end of the words which perhaps is an improvement, the meaning then being that M. Bēg so far usurped authority that Humāyūn had to rebuke him.

[3] Naṣīb is apparently intended for Nuṣrat, but both names appear to be wrong. Nuṣrat died in 943

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wounded to the world-protecting Court, and implored help against Shēr Khān. This was an additional reason for conquering Bengal, and another call to him to proceed there. His Majesty comforted him by his princely sympathy, and distinguished him by royal favours. As the expedition had now been determined upon, Jaunpūr and its territory was made over to Mīr Hindū Bēg who was one of the great officers, while Cunār was given to Mīrak Bēg. Preparations having been made, the army proceeded by land and water. When Patna became the camping ground, the loyal servants of the Court represented that the rainy season had arrived, and that if his Majesty delayed the Bengal expedition until this season had passed over, this would be consonant with the rules of conquest, since the passage of cavalry into Bengal at this season was very difficult, and would be productive of destruction to the soldiers. The ruler of Bengal looked to his own interests and represented that Shēr Khān had not yet confirmed himself in Bengal, and that to march speedily against him would be a means of extirpating him 152
with ease. His Majesty out of consideration for this oppressed one, and from the plausibility of his statements, gave orders for the advance. In Bhāgalpūr he divided the army, sending M. Hindāl across the river with 5000 or 6000 men to march along its banks on that side. When the army had encamped at Monghyr, news came that Jalāl Khān, the son of Shēr Khān, who after his father's death took the name of Salīm Khān,[1] with Khawāṣṣ Khān, Barmazīd,[2] Sarmast Khān,[3] Haibat Khān Niyāzī,[4] and Bahār Khān[5] with about 15,000 men had come to Garhī which is, as it were, the gate of Bengal, and that having strengthened it they were meditating strife and sedition.

A.H., or earlier, and the King of Bengal who fled, wounded, to Humāyūn, was Maḥmūd or Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh, another of the 18 sons of the famous Ḥusain Shāh. No Naṣīb appears in the list of kings of Bengal, but probably there was such a name for there is a quarter of the town of Murshidābād called Naṣībpūr.

[1] Elsewhere A. F. calls him Islām Khān.

[2] Barmazīd Goor, Dorn, 128.

[3] An Afghān tribe, Jarrett II. 403.

[4] This according to Dorn, 93, was a title given by Shēr Khān to Ḥabīb Khān Kakar.

[5] Or Pahār.

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The account of this affair is as follows: When Shēr Khān heard of the approach of the imperial army he could not bring himself to fight but went off by way of Jhārkhand,[1] so that when the grand army came into Bengal, he might go to Bihār and stir up commotion in that province, and also that he might place the spoils of Bengal in safety. He left Jalāl Khān and a large body of men near Gaṛhī and arranged that when the conquering army approached and he himself had got to Shērpūr,[2] they should make haste to join him, and should avoid fighting. His Majesty deputed from Bhāgalpūr Ibrāhīm Bēg Cābūq, Jahāngīr Qulī Bēg, Bairām Bēg, Nahāl Bēg, Rōshan Bēg, Gurg 'Alī Bēg, Bacaka Bahādur, and a large force consisting of about 5000 or 6000 men. When the imperial army arrived in the neighbourhood of Gaṛhī, Jalāl Khān departed from his father's instructions, got together his army and attacked the camp. The men of it had not put themselves in order for fighting so as to combat properly. They were not properly drawn up, and the enemy was numerous. Nor were the former ready for battle. Bairām Khān turned several times and attacked the enemy, and dispersed them. He made gallant efforts but from want of management he was not properly supported, and things did not go satisfactorily. 'Alī Khān Mahāwanī,[3] Ḥaidar Bakhshī and several other officers attained the glory of martyrdom. When this news came to the hearing of his Majesty, he rapidly proceeded to the spot. On the way the sea-adorning boat which was his special barge, was sunk at Colgong. When the royal army came near the black-fated Afghāns, the wretches fled. Mīrzā Hindāl, who had been appointed to Tirhut
153 and Purnīyā was, at his own request, permitted to depart to his new

[1] Jhārkhand is sometimes identified with Chūtia Nāgpūr. It also represents the jungle *mahals* of Midnapūr. It seems to me not improbable that the name here is a mistake for Bharkūnda in Bīrbhūm. See Beames's Notes on Akbar's *Sarkārs* J., R.A. S., January, 1896, p. 97 and Jarrett II, 139. Bharkūnda was in *sarkār* Sharīfābād. Dorn p. 107, speaks of Shēr Khān's retreating to the mountains of Bercund, and Garcin de Tassy's Chronicle of Shēr Shāh (76) is to the same effect. If the Shērpūr mentioned later be Shērpūr Aṭāī, Bharkūnda is more likely to be right than Jhārkhand.

[2] There are several Shērpūrs, but Shērpūr Aṭāī is probably the one meant. Blochmann 341, Jarrett II, 140, and text Āīn I, 407.

[3] Possibly the name is Mahāwatī.

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fief, so that he should come from thence with a proper equipment to Bengal. His Majesty Jahānbānī proceeded from there, march by march, to Bengal, and by the Divine aid conquered it in 945.[1] Shēr Khān and the other Afghāns having taken the choicest treasures of Bengal[2] went off by Jhārkhand towards Rohtās, and got possession of it by means of stratagem.

Shēr Khān's taking of Fort Rohtās.

The short account of this is as follows: When Shēr Khān arrived in the neighbourhood of Rohtās, which is a very strong fort, he sent messengers to Rājā Cintāman,[3] a *brahman*, the owner of the fort, reminding him of past favours, and after making a foundation of friendship, he represented to him that he was in a difficulty, and begged him to treat him with humanity and to receive his family and dependants into the fort, and thus make him (Shēr Khān) pledged to be his benefactor. By a hundred flatteries and deceptions the simple-minded Rājā was persuaded by the tricks of that juggler. He, a stranger to friendship's realm, prepared six hundred litters, and placed in each two armed youths, while maidservants were placed on every side of the litters. By this stratagem[4] he introduced his soldiers and took the fort. Having placed his family and soldiers there, he extended the arm of sedition and blocked the road to Bengal.

History of Humāyūn (resumed).

His Majesty Jahānbānī found the climate of Bengal agreeable and sat down to enjoy himself. The army finding a plentiful country gathered the materials of insouciance. At this time too M. Hindāl was led by evil companions and authors of strife to entertain wicked designs, and went off in the height of the rains and without permission, towards Agra. Though admonitory mandates were

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[1] 30th May, 1538, to 18th May, 1539. Apparently Gaur was taken during the rains and probably in June, 1538.

[2] Bangāla. Probably here and elsewhere Gaur, and not the province, is meant.

[3] Niẓāmu-d-dīn and Khāfī Khān call him Har Kishan. Dorn, 93, speaks of the Rājā of Rohtās' having a *brahman* named Churāman who had much influence with him and who was won over by Shēr Khān.

[4] According to Dorn, 110, the story of the litters is false.

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sent to him they were without effect. After some days he arrived at the capital and arranged his seditious plans. In the inner-chamber of his brain, which was void of the divine halo, he concocted the desire of sovereignty. Shēr Khān, seeing the propitiousness of the time, extended his strife and sedition. He came and besieged Benares; he soon took it and put to death Mīr Faẓlī the governor. From there he went to Jaunpūr which was held by Bābā Bēg Jalāir, the father of Shāham Khān, he having been appointed after the death of Hindū Bēg. Bābā Bēg brought Jaunpūr under discipline and sedulously strengthened it. Yūsuf Bēg, son of Ibrāhīm Bēg Cābūq, was marching from Oudh to Bengal. He joined Bābā Bēg, but was always scouring the country with an advanced
154 guard and was ever in quest of an engagement. Jalāl Khān got news of this, and made a rapid march with 2,000 or 3,000 men. Yūsuf Bēg saw the dust of the army and was eager to fight. Though his comrades pointed out to him the largeness of the enemy and the smallness of his own force, it was of no avail, and he bravely drank the last draught in the neighbourhood of Jaunpūr. Next day the enemy invested Jaunpūr. Bābā Khān Jalāir gave proof of courage and skill in defending it, and sent off reports to the Mīrzās and officers. He also made repeated representations to the Court (at Gaur). Mīr Faqr 'Alī came from Dihlī to Agra, and proffered sound advice to M. Hindāl. After much discussion he brought away the Mīrzā from Agra to the other side of the river. He also appointed Muḥammad Bakhshī to give what help the time allowed of, in despatching Mīrzā Hindāl quickly to Jaunpūr. Mīr Faqr 'Alī then went off from there to Kālpī to get Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā equipped for the army, and to arrange for a meeting of the Mīrzās in the territory of Karra,[1] and for a march onwards from there. At this time Khusrau Bēg Kōkaltāsh, Ḥājī Muḥammad (son of) Bābā Qushqa, Zāhid Bēg, Mīrzā Naẓar and many others, out of crookedness and strife-mongering absconded from Bengal and came to M. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad who had been left in Kanauj. The Mīrzā reported their arrival to M. Hindāl, and requested that they should be personally

[1] Agra in text, but Lucknow ed. and Price have Karra (4 miles W.N.W. Allāhābād) and this is clearly right. Tiefenthaler I, 235 has a plan of Karra.

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received. M. Hindāl sent friendly letters to them by Muḥammad Ghāzī Tūghbāī,[1] who was one of the Mīrzā's confidants. He also wrote explanations of their arrival to Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā and Mīr Faqr 'Alī. The officers who were with M. Nūru-d-din Muḥammad, did not wait for an answer but came on to Kūl ('Alīgarh) which was in Zāhid Bēg's fief. Hindāl's messenger heard of this on his way and hastened to join them. These short-sighted disloyalists opened their raving mouths and plainly said, "Henceforth we do not serve the king; if you, as you have already purposed, will have the *khuṭba* read in your own name, we will enter into your service and render you faithful allegiance; otherwise we shall go to Mīrzā Kāmrān where happiness and a welcome are waiting for us (*lit.* are in our bosom)." Muḥammad Ghāzī Tūghbāī returned and secretly delivered the officers' message and said, that one of two things was inevitable. Either Hindāl must have the *khuṭba* read in his own name and send for and caress the officers, or they must be laid hold of by stratagem and be confined. M. Hindāl, whose head was always itching after folly, looked upon this opinion as a valuable find, and with promises of kind treatment sent for those irreflecting traitors and spoke soothingly to them, and confirmed them in their evil imaginings.

When the alienation of Benares and Jaunpūr was reported to his Majesty Jahānbānī and the deceitful designs of M. Hindāl became known to him, he despatched Shaikh Buhlūl who was one of the great Shaikhs of India and the recipient of royal favours, 155
from Bengal that he might proceed quickly to the capital, and by sage advice restrain the Mīrzā from evil thoughts and induce him to act with one accord in extirpating the Afghāns. The Shaikh arrived post-haste, just when the officers were propounding their wicked schemes and were near drawing M. Hindāl away from the straight path. M. Hindāl went out to welcome him and brought him with honour and respect to his own house. The Shaikh's weighty words strengthened M. Hindāl in the intention of serving with which he had gone forth. Next day Muḥammad Bakhshī was brought in order that all the preparations for the army—gold, camels, horses, accoutrements—might be made. Muḥammad Bakhshī represented that there was no money for the soldiers, but that there

[1] Or Tūqbāī. It is the name of an Afghān tribe. Jarrett II, 403.

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was abundance of materials and stores, and that he would carry out everything as was desired. Four or five days had not passed since this conversation when M. Nūru-d-dīn came in haste from Qanauj. And apparently all that the officers had plotted together was strengthened by his coming. Muḥammad Ghāzī Tūghbāī was sent a second time to the officers and they reiterated what they had said before, and made this condition, that, as an indication that their proposals had been accepted, Shaikh Buhlūl, who was the king's envoy and was confounding their schemes, should be publicly put to death, so that everyone might be assured that M. Hindāl had separated himself from the king, and that they (the officers) might serve him with minds at ease. The Shaikh was engaged in arranging for the march of the army, and was looking after the ordering of the accoutrements, when the messenger[1] returned. In accord with M. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad the unbecoming proposal was ratified, and M. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad seized the Shaikh, by M. Hindāl's orders, in his house and taking him across the river, ordered him to be beheaded[2] in a sandy spot near the Royal Garden. The abandoned officers came and did homage to the Mīrzā, and in an inauspicious hour and in a time of confusion the *khuṭba* was read in M. Hindāl's name. The troops then marched[3] on. Though the chaste Dildār Āghāca Bēgam, M. Hindāl's venerable mother, and the other Bēgams counselled him, it was absolutely of no avail. The tongue of his actions uttered this verse.

"Advice of man is wind in mine ear,
But 'tis a wind that fans my fire."

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[1] *i.e.*, Tūghbāī. He had gone to 'Alīgarh where the officers still were, being afraid to come on until Hindāl had proved his adhesion to their schemes.

[2] Badāonī describes this occurrence and gives the chronogram "Assuredly he died a martyr," *faqad māta shahīdan*=945 (1538). Shaikh Buhlūl or Pūl was one of the great saints of India and elder brother of Muḥammad Ghaus of Gwālyār. Badāonī I. 4. M. Ḥaidar speaks disparagingly of him as merely a sorcerer, (p. 398,) but apparently never saw him, and was prejudiced against him because Humāyūn's attachment to Buhlūl had made him neglect Khwāja Nūra, Ḥaidar's patron saint.

[3] Presumably towards Dihlī.

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When M. Hindāl had the *khuṭba* read in his name and came before his mother, that cupola of chastity had a blue[1] cloth over her breast. The Mīrzā said, "What kind of dress is that you have donned at such a time of rejoicing?" That cupola of chastity replied, out of her foresight, "Why do you regard me? I am wearing mourning for you; you are young (he was only 19) and have, from the 156
instigation of irreflecting sedition-mongers, lost the true way; you have girded your loins for your own destruction." Muḥammad Bakhshī[2] came and said, "You have killed the Shaikh; why do you delay about me?" The Mīrzā treated him kindly and took him with him. When Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā and Mīr Faqr 'Alī heard of this bad business they made a rapid march from Kālpī *viá* Gwālyār, and coming to Dihlī took measures to strengthen the city and to provide for the fort. The Mīrzā had reached Ḥamīdpūr, near Fīrōzābād[3] when the news came that Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā and Mīr Faqr 'Alī had arrived at Dihlī. The Mīrzā and the officers consulted together and proceeded to invest Dihlī. Many of the petty *jāgīrdārs* round about came and did homage to the Mīrzā, and he made march after march and besieged Dihlī. Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā and Mīr Faqr 'Alī exerted themselves in holding the fort, and sent an account of affairs to M. Kāmrān and begged him to come and quell the sedition. He set out from Lāhor and when he came near Sōnpat,[4] M. Hindāl hurried off to the province of Agra without having accomplished his purpose. When M. Kāmrān approached Dihlī Mīr Faqr 'Alī came and had an interview with him, while Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā continued to hold the fort as before. Mīr Faqr 'Alī induced M. Kāmrān to proceed to Agra, and M. Hindāl not having the resolution to remain there went off to Alwar. M. Kāmrān, after he came to Agra, desired that cupola of chastity, Dildār Āghāca Bēgam to soothe M. Hindāl and to

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[1] *kabūd* the sign of mourning.

[2] Also called Sulṭān Muḥammad, (A.N., I. 259,) and perhaps the Bakhshī called Sulṭān Muḥammad of Badakhshān. Blochmann 528. He was a servant of Bābar. (348 and 364.)

[3] 24 miles east of Agra. A pencil note to Chalmer's MS. suggests either Umīdpūr 8 miles W. by N. Fīrōzābād, or Muḥammadīpūr, 8 miles S. E. Fīrōzābād. Y. Nāṣir Mīrzā and Faqr 'Alī went by the West of Dihlī and Hindāl by the East, but he must have been very remiss to let them get from Kālpī to Dihlī before him.

[4] I. G. 28 miles N. N. W. Dihlī. Jarrett II, 287, where it is spelt Sōnīpat.

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recall him to obedience. That matron (*kadbānū*), the pavilion of chastity, brought M. Hindāl from Alwar and introduced him to M. Kāmrān with his shroud (*fūṭa*) round his neck. The Mīrzā (Kāmrān) behaved with propriety, and next day he forgave the seditious officers and held a levee for them. The Mīrzās and officers joined together and crossed the Jumna in order to put down the rebellion of Shēr Khān. But as auspiciousness did not guide those highborn ones they did not obtain the blessing of such a glorious service.

In fact when by celestial aid the country of Bengal had come into possession of the imperial servants, and its capital had become the headquarters of the army, and the great officers had obtained large territories in fief, they gathered the materials of enjoyment and pleasure and opened the gates of negligence in the front of their lives. The pillars of sovereignty paid less attention to administration, and strife-mongers, of which wretches this wide world is never free, raised the head of discord and sedition. The time was at hand when slumbering strife should lift up her downcast eyelashes. Fissures found their way into the foundation of circumspection.
157 Information such as could be depended upon did not come to head-quarters, or if one thing out of many became known to any of the confidants, he had not the courage to communicate it, for the arrangement then was that no particle of unpleasantness should be bruited in the august assemblage. When by degrees the truth about the rebellion in Hindūstān was conveyed by real well-wishers, who, in disregard of their own advantage, represented the true facts, his Majesty Jahānbānī called together the pillars of the state and determined on the return of the Grand Army. Though from excessive rain the country was under water, and the rivers were tempestuous, and it was not the season for campaigning, yet on account of the emergency it was considered that a return was necessary for the preservation of the empire. The charge of Bengal was ordered to be entrusted to Zāhid Bēg,[1] but that worthless one took up the presumptuous ways of an old servant, and having given

[1] He was married to a sister of Humāyūn's favourite wife Bēgha Bēgam otherwise Ḥājī Bēgam and presumed thereupon. Jauhar, 13. Some years afterwards he was governor of Ghaznīn and was put to death by Kāmrān.

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way to evil desires, absconded and joined Mīrzā Hindāl. His Majesty made over Bengal to Jahāngīr Qulī Bēg and left a large force to support him. He then in the height [1] of the rains turned his bridle and set out for the capital (Agra).

When Shēr Khān heard of the returning of the royal army, and of the departure of the Mīrzās from Agra he withdrew from Jaunpūr and proceeded towards Rohtās. His plan was that if the sublime standards should come against him, he should avoid a battle and return by the Jhārkhand route, by which he had come, and aim at Bengal, (qr. Gaur the capital). And if this should not happen (that Humāyūn's army should follow him) and if the imperial army should proceed towards Agra and an opportunity offered itself, he would follow in its wake and attempt a night attack. When the sublime army of his Majesty Jahānbānī arrived at Tirhut,[2] Shēr Khān came to know the smallness of the force and the disorganization of the royal camp, and waxed audacious (*shīrak*)[3] and advanced with a large and fully equipped army.

He got under his control all the country round about the army, and no one was able to procure information about the enemy's manoeuvres. Ibn 'Alī Qarāwalbēgī (chief scout) went and brought authentic news which were communicated to his Majesty through

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[1] This is not very intelligible. The rains of 946, (1539,) cannot be meant, for the battle of Causa did not take place till 27th June, 1539, and after Humāyūn had been encamped in the neighbourhood for 2 or 3 months. I suppose Humāyūn must have left Gaur in the end of the rains of 1538, *i.e.*, in September or October, and before the country was sufficiently dried up. But if so, he must have marched very slowly indeed not to get to Causa till March or April. The Hindūstānī chronicler of Shēr Shāh, Garcin de Tassy, says Humāyūn left Bengal when the sun was entering the sign of the Bull (*i.e.*, in April). The same phrase *'ain-i-bārān*, height of the rains, has been already used at p. 151, with reference to Hindāl's departure, though that must have taken place a considerable time before Humāyūn left Gaur.

[2] There is the variant Narhan, but neither form seems correct, both being too far east. Price has Purtuh which he conceives may be Patna, and a pencil note to Chalmer's suggests Pūrnīyā. This last seems most likely. Humāyūn does not seem to have advanced on the N. bank of the Ganges beyond over against Monghir.

[3] A pun, *shīrak* meaning a little *shēr* tiger.

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M. Muḥammad Zamān. Though the grand army had crossed the Ganges, and was marching to the capital, yet when news was brought of Shēr Khān's arrival and of his being close by, the flames of the royal wrath were kindled, and out of his perfect majesty and dominion he turned his reins towards him. Though it was represented to him that at such a time, when the army was in the highest degree without equipment—it having travelled such a distance through
158 mud—it was improper to march against the foe and to hasten to the field of battle and that what was proper was to halt somewhere and recruit the army and then to undertake the crushing of the enemy,—such views were not acceptable to his Majesty and so he crossed the Ganges and marched against the foe.

It behoves us to know that it is an ancient canon and fixed principle that, when the stewards of the kingdom of Divine destiny assign to an individual an article of price, they open beforehand the gates of failure and cast him into a tumult of anguish, so that felicity may not remove the unique pearl from its place, and that by this experience sorrow may be fulfilled and things brought to an equilibrium. Accordingly,—as the apparition of the light-increasing star of mortals, which by showing itself in dreamland from out of Qācūlī Bahādur's bosom had exalted the vigilant by the blessing of expectation, was drawing nigh,—the countenances of the thoughts of the meditative and farseeing are not scarred if before this there appeared some misfortunes. Thus did such things happen at the hands of sundry black-hearted, unwashed Afghāns, to a force which might have conquered the universe. Thus was it that, contrary to the advice of ministers, the army marched against the Afghāns, and came face to face with Shēr Khān at the village of Bihīya [1] which is a dependency of Bhōjpūr.[2] There a black [3] river called the Karmnāsā (Text, Kanbās) flowed between the two armies. The royal army made a bridge over it and crossed. Though the royal army was small and many were without equipments, it was victorious in every skirmish, and the Afghāns were slaughtered on every side. But the period of encountering and slaying was pro-

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[1] Fatḥpūr Bihia. Beames J. A. S. B., 1885, 6. Jarrett II. 157.

[2] In Shāhābād.

[3] An allusion to the evil reputation of the Karmnāsā, or Destroyer of merit, among the Hindūs. See Bābar, 408.

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longed, and the great brethren, (Humāyūn's brothers), each of whom could have conquered a clime, placed, out of shortsightedness, a stumbling block in the way of their own fortune, and did not act harmoniously. The blessedness of learning what service was at such a crisis did not help their destiny. Though admonitory rescripts were sent to them, the impressions on these inspired tablets took no form in the minds of those iron-hearts. Shēr Khān, out of craft, sometimes sent influential persons to the sublime porte to knock at the door of peace, and sometimes cherished wicked thoughts of war. At length he deceitfully and fraudulently left a body of infantry and inefficient men, together with his artillery, in face while he himself marched two stages to the rear and then encamped. The royal army, which had all along been victorious, did not understand the craft of that trickster, so they followed and encamped. When an event is going to happen in accordance with destiny, carelessness 159
on the part of the sagacious comes in to help. In this way great remissness ensued in keeping watch. At length Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā showed utter negligence on a night when it was his watch. That fox (Shēr Khān) who was waiting for an opportunity, made a night march and in the morning presented himself at the rear of the camp. His army was divided into three bands (*tōp*), one led by himself, one by Jalāl Khān, and one by Khawāṣṣ Khān. The royal troops had not time to buckle their saddles or to close their cuirasses. His Majesty Jahānbānī when he became apprized of the army's negligence, was confounded by this specimen of fate's workshop, and the thread of resource dropped from his hand. As he was mounting, Bābā Jalāir and Qūc Bēg[1] arrived, and he bade them go quickly and bring away the noble lady Ḥājī Bēgam.[2] Those two faithful and zealous servants drank the poisonous sherbet of martyrdom at the door of honour's enclosure. Mīr Pahlwān Badakhshī also and many others obtained the blessing of offering up their lives around the enclosure of chastity. The time was very brief; her Highness could not come out, but as the Divine protection and defence was her surety and safe-

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[1] See Errata, but according to some MSS. Tardī Bēg Qūc Bēg is one man's name.

[2] Daughter of Yādgār Taghāī, uncle of Humāyūn's mother. She was, in her youth, his chief wife, and was greatly revered by Akbar.

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guard, the boisterous blasts of the evil-minded could not impinge on the sanctuary of the harem of chastity, nor the mists of black-hearted men touch the hem of the curtain of the illustrious recluses. Divine[1] spirits from the glorious sanctuary of sublimity defended the veiled ones of the chamber of chastity with the wands of the door-keepers of[2] jealousy; wicked thoughts did not find their way into the hearts of those wretches, and Sher Khān sent[3] off with all honour that cupola of chastity in perfect security and observance of seclusion.

In fine, when his Majesty came to the bridge, he found it broken. There being no other resource he plunged with his steed into the water like a river-traversing crocodile. By fate he got separated from his horse. Just then, as Providence was watching over his Majesty, a water-carrier became the Elijah[4] of his course, and by the help of his (the water-carrier's) swimming, he emerged from that whirlpool to the shore of safety. On the way his Majesty asked him his name. He answered, "Niẓām." His Majesty replied, "A very Niẓām Auliyā."[5] He showed him kindness and favour and promised that when he safely sate upon the throne, he would give him royalty for half a day. This anguish-fraught affair (*qiṣṣa-i-pur-ghuṣṣa*) occurred on 9th Ṣafar, 946, (7th June, 1539), on the bank of the Ganges at the Causa[6] ferry. M. Muḥammad Zamān, Maulānā Muḥammad Parghalī,[7]
160 Maulānā Qāsim 'Alī Ṣadr, Maulānā Jalāl of Tatta and many officers and (learned) learned men sank in the waters of annihilation. His Majesty in company with M. 'Askarī and a few others rapidly proceeded to Agra. M. Kāmrān was exalted by kissing the threshold, and after some days, M. Hindāl was brought from Alwar by the intervention of M. Kāmrān and his (Hindāl's) mother, and did homage

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1 *Nufūs-i-nāmūs-i-ilāhī.*

2 This recals the expression *shiḥna-i-ghairat*, p. 2 of text.

3 Sher Khān eventually sent her to Humāyūn in Afghānistān, when the latter returned from Persia.

4 Khiẓr or Elijah is said to have discovered the water of life. A. F. however distinguishes between Khiẓr and Elias. Jarrett III, 375 and 377. It is mentioned in Roebach's Oriental Proverbs, Part II, Sec. I, 91, that Khwāja Khiẓr is considered in India to be the guide of those who have lost their way.

5 A famous Dihlī saint.

6 In Shāhābād. Beames, J. A. S. B. l.c.

7 See *Tār. Rash.* 398 and 469 for some severe remarks on this man.

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with shame and downcast looks. His Majesty from his innate clemency forgave his offences and made many inquiries about his welfare. When from causes beyond control a destined event suddenly made its appearance, he at once sought to remedy it. He engaged himself in collecting arms and in retrieving the position. Officers and soldiers came from the provinces and had the honour of performing their obeisances. At this time the honest water-carrier presented himself at the foot of the throne in reliance on the great promise. His Majesty Jahānbānī, who was the crown-giver and throne-conferrer of the land of generosity and urbanity, when he saw the friendless water-carrier afar off, immediately gave his Cyrus (*khusrau*)-covenant a place on the throne of fulfilment, and having vacated the seat of sovereignty in favour of the Elijah of the path, he set the water-carrier, in accordance with his promise, upon the throne for half a day, thereby equalling him to the monarch of midday. Having excepted sundry kingly powers and functions which his capacity could not have comprehended, he exalted him by conferring on him the dignity of command, and wiped away, with the swelling sea of munificence, the dust of want from the countenance of his condition and of that of his tribe. Every order which during that incumbency on the kingly throne, issued from the water-carrier, was executed forthwith. M. Kāmrān on beholding such loftiness of soul displayed the wrinkle of cavil on the forehead of criticism, and a pretext (for displeasure) was furnished to his trouble-seeking heart.

After this affair of deceit (that of Causa) Shēr Khān made an attack on Bengal. He came to the extremity of Bihār, and then halted there and sent Jalāl Khān with a force of troublers against Bengal. In a short time there was a battle with Jahāngīr Qulī Khān who bravely maintained the contest. Inasmuch however, as the design of Providence was otherwise, the Bengal officers did not act harmoniously in putting down the rebellion, but sought their own comfort and did not combine in this war. After struggles and trials Jahāngīr Qulī was unable to keep the field, and had to retreat and take refuge with the landholders (*zamīndārān*). He came forth thence on a false

[1] The Persians call the sun *Pādshāh-i-Nīmrūz*, and A. F. seems to pun upon this and also on the circumstance that Nīmrūz is a name for Sīstān and Mekrān.

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treaty and engagement and was despatched, along with many others, to the plains of annihilation. Shēr Khān being at ease about Bengal
161 went towards Jaunpūr. This he subdued and made long the arm of strife. He sent his younger son, Quṭb Khān, with a large body of vagabonds against Kālpī and Etāwa. When news of this reached the august ears, Yādgār Nāṣir, M. Qāsim Ḥusain Khān Uzbak, who held these parts in fief, and Iskandar[1] Sulṭān, who had charge for M. Kāmrān of some estates in Kālpī, were sent against Quṭb Khān. These lions of bravery's field encountered the foxy tricksters and fought a great battle. By the Divine aid, they gained the victory and Quṭb Khān was slain.

His Majesty Jahānbānī stayed for a while in Agra, the capital, arranging his troops, and conciliating his brothers and relatives and amending their secret dispositions. Though he washed the dust-stained cheek of Kāmrān with the limpid waters of counsel, he could in no wise cleanse it, and however much he scoured the rust of contrariety with the burnisher of advice, the brightness of concord could by no means be developed in the mirror of his fortune. And in such a crisis, when, even if there were internal dissension, outward concord was necessary to safeguard his own fortunes, and at such a time, when together with other resources he had 20,000 tried soldiers with him, and when by the abounding and beneficent favours and prestige of his Majesty Jahānbānī, territory from Kābul to Dāwar Zamīn[2] in the north, and to Samāna[3] in the south was in [illegible] possession, he, being contentious and wanting in his duty to so eminent a king, elder brother and benefactor, alleged illness and with abundance of carelessness and absence of circumspection, held himself aloof from such important service. Almighty God returned to him in this workshop of recompenses (this world), the fruit of his deeds and in the forefront of life he beheld by his own[4] eyes the punishment of his actions. Some of these results will be briefly described with the pen of manifestation in their proper place.

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[1] Probably the son of Sa'īd Khān referred to in the *Tār. Rash.*, 340, 467, &c.

[2] Dāwar Zamīn, or Zamīn Dāwar is in Afghānistān, N.-W. Qandahar.

[3] In Sihrind, Panjāb. Jarrett II. 296.

[4] Alluding to Kāmrān's being blinded by Humāyūn.

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Hemistich.

When his fortune was departed, the omen came true.

He had some chronic diseases, and instead of being aroused by those secret monitions, he out of perversity, grew stubborn[1] in the path of discontent against his benefactor, and in the displeasing of his superior. First he sent Khwāja Kalān Bēg with a large force to Lāhor, and then turning away from the *qibla* of fortune, himself followed him. He became an author and architect of destruction and detriment, drawing[2] evil on friends and attracting good to foes. Though his Majesty Jahānbānī said, "Prince, if you may not give the blessing of companionship and must throw away such an opportunity, make your men join me," the Mīrzā in direct opposition to his Majesty's desire perverted even the king's men and took 162
them with him. Mīrzā Ḥaidar, son of M. Ḥusain Gūrgān,[3] who was the cousin[4] of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdaus-makānī, had come with M. Kāmrān to Agra, and had enjoyed the privilege of serving his Majesty Jahānbānī, and had been treated with abundant favours. Mīrzā Kāmrān made his own ailment an excuse and laboured to induce him (Ḥaidar) to accompany him. The Mīrzā showed himself favourably inclined towards M. Kāmrān and proceeded to excuse himself (to Humāyūn), and out of want of consideration brought forward the matter of leave. His Majesty observed, "If kindred be the point for consideration, you are equally related to us both; if loyalty and truth be regarded, the tie to me is closer. If glory and manliness be sought, you should accompany me for I am marching against the foe. As to what M. Kāmrān is representing about his illness, you are not a physician nor a druggist, that you should go with him. What the Mīrzā imagines about Lāhor's being a place of safety, is idle for, if anything is clear as the result of his holding back from this expedition, it is that he will not find a corner of safety in India. Your action cannot be divested of two difficulties. Should I succeed, what face can you put on the matter or what

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[1] Kāmrān persuaded himself that Humāyūn had tried to poison him.

[2] Cf. *Tār. Rash.*, 474; "giving strength to the enemy, and preparing defeat for his friends."

[3] Or Kūrkān, *i.e.* son-in-law. See *Tār. Rash.*, 278 and Mr. Elias's note.

[4] *Khālazāda*, maternal aunt's son. His mother was younger sister of Bābar's mother.

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respect will you have? You will not from shame be able to lift your head from the ground, so that death will be preferable to life. If, which God forbid, the result be otherwise, it will be impossible for you to remain in Lāhor. Whoever has suggested such a thing to M. Kāmrān is either wrong in his brain, or he is treacherous and has concealed the truth and entered on the path of flattering."[1] In fine, M. Ḥaidar happily found the path of good counsel and gloriously associated himself with the army of honour. M. Kāmrān out of his abundant forces contributed 3,000 men under the command (*bāshlīqī*) of M. 'Abdu-l-lāh Mughul, and did not himself obtain the blessing of service.

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[1] This account is abridged from the *Tār. Rash.* See Elias & Ross, 472 *et seq.*

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CHAPTER XXVI.

MARCH OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHIYĀNĪ'S ARMY FROM AGRA, THE CAPITAL, TO THE EASTERN PROVINCES FOR SUPPRESSING SHĒR KHĀN'S REBELLION; THE RETURN AFTER CONTESTS, AND THE ADMONITORY EVENTS WHICH FOLLOWED.

As the wondrous artists of fate's picture gallery pursue divers methods of painting and decoration, it is matter for thanksgiving and not for complaint if their workmanship on this occasion be not in accordance with desires. Hence God the world-artificer removed concord from the illustrious brotherhood and converted combination into separation. His Majesty went with few forces against many 163
enemies, and out of a stout heart and native courage heeded not the paucity of friends and the plurality of foes.

When the sublime army reached Bhōjpūr,[1] Shēr Khān came with a numerous force to the other side of the Ganges and encamped. His Majesty determined to cross the river with his small army, and in a short time a bridge was put together at the Bhōjpūr ferry. About 150 heroes made themselves ready for the fray and plunged into the river like sea-lions, heedless of the waves and whirlpools. Like river-traversing crocodiles they rushed into the treacherous deep and crossing over, routed the numerous enemy. After giving proof of their courage and accomplishing their object, they were returning to the camp, and when they came near the bridge the Afghāns brought forward the elephant Girdbāz,[2] which had remained with the enemy at the battle of Causa, to break down the bridge. That enormous elephant approached the head of the bridge and broke

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1 This is the Bhōjpūr in Sarkār Qanauj. Jarrett II, 184. It is in the Farukhābād District, 8 miles south-east of Farukhābād and 31 miles north-west (upstream) of Qanauj.

2 Chalmers' MS. has Girdbād.

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its supports. Just then a cannon ball from the royal camp amputated[1] the legs of the elephant Girdbāz, and the enemy which was pressing on, was put to flight. The gallant men who had signified their devotion returned in safety.[2] The plan of campaign was that the army should march along the river bank to Qanauj. They proceeded warily and slowly, march by march. On the way the enemy's boats came in sight. A gun was fired from the royal artillery, and a large boat of the foe was broken to pieces, and was shivered by the dashing of the waves of vengeance. For more than a month the armies confronted one another near Qanauj. At length Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā and his sons[3] Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā—who traced their genealogy up to Ṣahib Qirānī, and were daughter's[4] grandsons of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā and had been exalted by serving Gītī-sitānī Firdausmakānī, and who, after his death, had set themselves in opposition to his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī, (as has already been alluded to)—finding neither glory nor profit in vain strife, and that strife-mongering against their benefactor was unsuccessful, returned to the threshold of his Majesty Jahānbānī and proffered the prostration of obedience. His Majesty from his perfect kindness and liberality regarded their committed offences as uncommitted, forgave them and treated them with royal favours. But as they were radically bad and ungrateful, they again out of worthlessness and inaptitude took to flight at such a crisis and withdrew their feet from the sphere of
164 constancy and patience. They also pointed the way of desertion to other wretches, so that many took the path of disloyalty and withdrew themselves. To his Majesty Jahānbānī it appeared the proper course to cross the river and to engage at any cost, so that any form which was to emerge from the screen of secrecy might show its full face. If they delayed, things might take another (*i. e.* adverse) turn and a large number might desert. With the view then of putting an obstacle in the way of desertion, a bridge was made and a crossing

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[1] Chalmers is probably right in translating this "deprived the elephant of one of its legs."

[2] If would seem however that Humāyūn did not succeed in crossing the river with his main army, though presumably that was the reason for making this bridge.

[3] See *Errata* to text.

[4] Sulṭāna Bēgam, the eldest daughter of Sulṭān Ḥusain of Herāt. Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā was her grandson, Bābar 181 and *Tār. Rash*, 474.

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ordered. A trench was dug in front of the army, and the artillery carriages were put into position and redoubts (*mūrcalhā*) constructed. Opposite to this, Shēr Khān drew up a crowd of rebels and encamped after digging a trench. Every day the young men on each side came out and engaged. Meanwhile the sun entered Cancer,[1] and the rainy season began. The clouds gathered with tumult, like rutting[2] elephants, and distilled moisture. The encampment became flooded, and they were compelled to seek for high ground which should be free from water and mud, and where the tents, the artillery-park, &c. might be placed. It was arranged that the army should be drawn out on the morning of the 'Āshār day, (10th Muḥarram) and that if the enemy should come out of his trenches and advance, they would fight, and if he remained stationary, they would encamp in the selected spot. With this view they mounted their horses on 10th Muḥarram 947 (17th May, 1540), and drew up their lines. Muḥammad Khān Rūmī and the sons[3] of Ustād 'Alī Qulī and Ustād Aḥmad Rūmī, and Ḥasan Khalfāt, who were the directors of the artillery, arranged the gun-carriages and mortars, and stretched chains according to rule. The centre was dignified by the presence of his Majesty; M. Hindāl had the fore-centre; M. 'Askarī the right wing, and Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā the left.

M. Ḥaidar writes[4] in his *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* "His Majesty on that day stationed me on his left so that my right was close to his left, and from me up to the end of the left centre there were twenty-seven bannerets.[5] Shēr Khān arranged his forces in five divisions, two, which were the largest, stood in front of the trench, and then advanced. Jalāl Khān, Sarmath Khān, and all the Niyāzīs faced in front of M. Hindāl. Mubāraz Khān, Bahādur Khān, Rāī Ḥusain Jalwānī and

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[1] This is a mistake. The sun does not enter Cancer till after the middle of June, and the battle was fought on 17th May. It is true this is old style, but even then the ordinary beginning of the rains had not arrived. Perhaps it was only a May storm.

[2] A. F. here alludes apparently to the moisture which exudes from elephant's foreheads when they are in heat. Blochmann, 120.

[3] Apparently it should be M. K. Rūmī, son of Ustād 'Alī Qulī. Ustād 'Alī Qulī was Bābar's artilleryman.

[4] The quotation is not exact. See *Tār. Rash.* 475 *et seq.* and Erskine's Hist. II, 187.

[5] *Lit.* Tūgh-bearing Amīrs.

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all the Kararānī faced Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā and Qāsim Ḥusain Khān. Khawāṣṣ Khān, Barmazīd and many others came opposite M. 'Askarī.
165 The first encounter was between M. Hindāl and Jalāl Khān. A wondrous hand to hand fight occurred and Jalāl Khān fell from his horse. The royal left wing[1] drove back the enemy to their centre. When Shēr Khān saw this, he made an onset in person with a large force, while Khawāṣṣ Khān and his companions fell upon M. 'Askarī. As soon as the Afghāns attacked, many officers did not stand their ground but gave way. His Majesty twice attacked the foe and threw them into confusion. Though it is not reckoned that the king himself should share in a fray, yet at that time of testing manhood, how could rules be adhered to? Hence two lances were broken in his Majesty's hands on that occasion and the claims of endeavour and courage were satisfied. But the brothers did not show brotherhood, and the captains did not keep the foot of fortitude in the circle of steadfastness, but from superfluity of naughtiness were negligent, and brought disaster on their lord. It would seem as though when this externally and internally great man, who saw with the eyes of truth and was capable of contemplating mysteries, went on this expedition with such a small army, full of hypocrisy, empty of sincerity, it had crossed his lofty mind that it was many degrees better to hasten to the city of annihilation on the steed of valour and to urge on the horse of his life to the goal of nothingness, than to be courteous to friendship-affecting enemies, to league oneself in hypocrisy with them, and to play the game (*nard*) of altercation (*radd ū badl*) with unfair gamesters. Better a mirage (*sarāb*) than a river (*ābī*) which must be drunk[2] in company with those wretches (*ābrūyān*)! Such to men of the world clearly appeared to be the case from his method of personal onset. Some of the loyal and single-hearted smote the hand of intercession and solicitude on the stirrup of dominion and forcibly withdrew him. This I say looking to the processes of the world of secondary causes. But in the world of reality, it was God, the world adorner, who withdrew him! Inasmuch as the ascension of the

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[1] Text, *Jarānghār* probably for *Jawānghār*. Apparently however the word should be *varānghar* for it was the right wing under Hindāl which was successful. Jauhar 21.

[2] *Khurda* in text, but see *Errata*, Cf. with this about the mirage, text, p. 182, top line.

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birth-star and the glorious celebration of the apparition of his Majesty, the king of kings (Akbar), were drawing nigh, the wondrous Creator manifested such strange marvels! One school of sages considers that such events are intended to quicken the attention and to arouse the noble-minded, and are not of the nature of recompense for actions. Accordingly it was held by ancient philosophers that worldly calamities were a process of polishing for the elect, and of rusting for the crowd. A number of the enlightened and pure-hearted are of opinion that such occurrences are a process of education. When the stewards of fate's workshop are advancing a chosen vessel to a lofty rank, they first make him compact of all worldly states, of joy and sorrow, health and sickness, ease and labour, expansion and contraction, so that he may be fitted for the lofty rank of sovereignty. And many of the swift traversers of the fields of contemplation are agreed that the reason of such trials is because it is God's will that whenever the boon of greatness is to be bestowed on an auspicious one and the time of attaining that blessing be close at hand, there should be in that period's antechamber a station of labours, and a vent of trials; and that the dust of blemish should mark the skirts of his grandeur and glory so that when he hath ascended to the perfect stage and the most distant height, this mole-stain may prove his charm[1] against the fatal[2] eye. To speak more clearly; as the lines of the apparences of the Holy Light in mortal manifesters and human ascension-points—such as was the holy office of her Majesty Alanqūā—were made resplendent in mysterious withdrawals and apparitions of divers individuals, and so planted themselves in the visible[3] world, and were acquiring, under God's special supervision, the acmé of development, so,—now that the period of the showing forth of the final cause of that Light, to wit, the holy incarnation of his Majesty, the king of kings, was at hand,—untoward occurrences were made the prophylactic charm of this great blessing. 166

[1] *Sipand*, wild rue. Blochmann 139*n*. and 577*n* and Cf. Jarrett III, 425 and note. Herklots in his Glossary says Ispand is the seeds of the Mehndi or Lawsonia inermis, generally thrown into the fire along with benzoin and mustard seed.

[2] *'Ainu-l-kamāl*, the perfect eye, or an eye capable of killing by its glance. Lane 2211*a* and 2423*a*.

[3] The text has *'ālam-i-mulk-i-shahādat* but 3 B. M. M. S. have *mulk ū shahādat*.

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Such was the beauteous fashioning of Creation's workshop! And now I return from the unveiling of mysteries to the thread of my narrative.

In fine, when defeat (*shikastī*), which was to lay the foundation of the righting (*durustī*) of the world, made its appearance, the officers fled without fighting to the bank of the Ganges, which was about four miles (a *farsakh*) distant, and as the requital of their disloyalty and ingratitude, sank in the whirlpool of disappointment, giving the vessels of their lives to the boisterous waters of annihilation in recompense of their unrighteousness. His Majesty Jahānbānī mounted with firm foot on an elephant and proceeded across the river. He descended from the elephant at the water's edge and was looking around for an exit. As the bank was high, no way out presented itself. One of the soldiers who had been saved out of the whirlpool came there and seizing his Majesty's sacred hand drew him up. In truth he then, by help of heaven's favouring hand, drew to himself fortune and power. His Majesty asked him his name and birthplace. He made answer "My name is Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad, my birthplace is Ghaznī, and I am a servant of M. Kāmrān." His Majesty made him hopeful of princely favours. Just then Muqaddam Bēg,[1] one of M. Kāmrān's officers, recognised his Majesty and enrolled[2] himself among those who had received the gospel of good fortune. Acting upon this, he brought for[illegible] his horse, and obtained the news of distinction from royal promises. His Majesty proceeded from there towards Agra, and was joined on the way by the Mīrzās. When they came to the environs of Bhangāpūr[3] the villagers closed the market against the king's men, and behaved in an
167 unruly manner, attacking every one who fell into their hands. When the august mind was informed of this, M. 'Askarī, Yādgār Nāṣir M. and M. Hindāl were ordered to attack the villains and to chastise them. Nearly 3,000 horse and foot of the insolent knaves had gathered together. When the royal order arrived, M. 'Askarī delayed

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[1] Apparently all that is meant is that he entered Humāyūn's service.

[2] Probably the man mentioned in Bābar's Mem. 400 and 401 as a servant of Khwāja Kalān.

[3] See Erskine, Hist. II, 192*n*. The place meant is Bhangāōn in the Mainpūrī district, and on the Grand Trunk Road. Jarrett II, 184, where it is spelt Bhūgāōn (note by Mr. Irvine.)

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to proceed and Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā gave him some strokes with his whip, saying that it was from his discord that things had come to such a pass. Still he did not take warning, and Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā and M. Hindāl obeyed and went against the crowd. A great fight ensued, and a large number of the ill-fated villagers (*gūwārān*) were killed. The Mīrzās after giving them a lesson returned, and M. 'Askarī who had come to complain, was reprehended. His Majesty Jahānbānī hastened on to Agra. The provinces were in confusion and sedition raised its head on every side. Next morning his Majesty proceeded to the dwelling of that great exemplar, Mīr Rafī',[1] who was sprung from the Ṣafavī Sayyids, and was incomparable for knowledge and wisdom, and was the choice favourite of princes. He took counsel with him, and the final conclusion of his Majesty was that he should go towards the Panjāb. If M. Kāmrān were helped by the sovereignty of reason and auspiciousness, and should bind on himself the girdle of good service and come actively forward to help, the rift of strife might still be closed. With this right intention he proceeded to Lāhor. M. 'Askarī went to Sambal and M. Hindāl to Alwar. On 18th Muḥarram (26th May, 1540) Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān joined the king near Dihlī through the influence of Bēg Mīrak, and a large body of men collected for the king's service. On the 20th he again set out, and on the 22nd M. Hindāl and M. let every joined him in Rohtak.[2] On the 23rd his Majesty halted there. The garrison shut the gate of the city in his face, thereby opening the doors of disgrace for themselves. His Majesty addressed himself to the attack and in a short space of time chastised the garrison. On 17th Ṣafar the army arrived at Sihrind and on the 20th Mīr Faqr 'Alī closed life's litter while on the march. When the army approached Lāhor and were near Daulat Khān's *sarāī*, M. Kāmrān came forward to meet him and did homage. His Majesty alighted in the garden of Khwāja Dōst Munshī which is the most charming spot

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[1] A. F.'s mother belonged to this family. Cf. Jarrett III. 423, where Mīr Rafī' is called Mīr Rafī'u-d-dīn Ṣafavī of Ij (Shīraz). See also Bābar's Mem. 345, 349. A. F. speaks in the *Āīn* of his being one of the Ḥasan and Ḥusainī Sayyids. He died in 954. Jarrett l.c. Rafī' was one of the doctors who encouraged Sher Shāh to break his word to Purān Mall and the garrison of Raisīn.

[2] In the Panjāb, 42 miles north-west of Dihlī.

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168 in Lāhor, while M. Hindāl took up his quarters in the garden of Khwāja Ghāzī, who was then M. Kāmrān's *dīwān*. After that M. 'Askarī came from Sambal and settled himself in the house of Amīr Walī Bēg. At this time the fortunate Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad who had given his hand at the river-bank, arrived and was exalted by princely favours. On the 1st[1] Rabī'u-l-awwal, 947, all the noble brothers and Amīrs and other servants collected but in spite of so many lessons and celestial warnings, these fine fellows (*'azīzān*) were not taught and did not bind the girdle of sincerity on the waist of resolve. Several times they gathered together on his Majesty's service, and deliberated and made vows and promises of unity and concord, and took the great and godly as their witnesses. Khwāja Khāwand[2] Maḥmūd, brother of Khwāja 'Abdu-l-ḥaqq and Mīr Abu-l-baqā frequently took part in the deliberations. At length one day all the Mīrzās, nobles and grandees having been assembled, wrote out a deed (*tazkira*) of concord and unanimity, and to this auspicious minute all the officers gave their signatures.

When this record of confidence had been executed, the deliberations began. His Majesty gave lofty counsels and uttered excellent words. With his pearling tongue he said,[3] "The miserable end of those who deviate from the straight highway of concord is known to all. Especially since not long ago when Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā beat the drum of death in Khurāsān, he left eighteen[4] capable and his horse, soured sons and yet, in spite of all their array of wealth, in consequence of fraternal discord, the kingdom of Khurāsān (which for so many years had been a centre of peace), became in a short space a centre of calamities and was transferred to Shāhī Bēg. No trace remained of any of the sons except of Badī'u-z-zamān who went[5] to Turkey, and all the sons of the Mīrzā had been reviled and reprobated by

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[1] Three days after this Humāyūn had a vision in which the coming birth of Akbar was announced. A. N. 13. Cf. Gulbadan's account, f. 39*b*.

[2] See *Tār. Rash.*, 395, where he is called Ḥazrat Makhdūmī Nūra. Abdu-l-ḥaqq was his younger brother.

[3] An exaggeration, which occurs also in the *Tār. Rash.* (B. M. Ms. Or. 157, 348*b*) Sl. Ḥusain had fourteen sons and of these, seven (according to Khwānd Amīr) died before their father.

[4] A. F. gives Humāyūn the credit of this speech, but the *Tār. Rash.*, from which he no doubt copied it, ascribes it to Ḥaidar. See p. 478.

[5] He too, it seems, went there as

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high and low. With what difficulty had his Majesty Gītī-sitānī-Firdaus-makānī conquered a Hindūstān—so vast a country! If through your disunion it pass from our possession into the hands of nobodies (*nākasān*) what will the wise say of you? Now is the time to sink the head into the bosom of good counsel and to exsert it from jealousy's collar, so that you may attain headship among mankind, and be a means of gaining the favour of God."

Every one of the authors of compact and of the lords of confederacy forgot the recent agreements, and each declaimed according to his own good pleasure. M. Kāmrān said, "What occurs to me is that the king and all the Mīrzās should spend some days unencumbered in the mountains while I take their families to Kābul. When I have put them into safety, I shall return and join you." M. Hindāl and 169
Yādgār Naṣir Mīrzā said, "At present we cannot fight the Afghāns The thing to do now is to go to Bhakkar and to subdue that country. By its means we shall conquer Gujrāt, and when these two kingdoms have fallen into our hands and we have brought the business to an end, the deliverance of this country (India) will be effected in an admirable manner." M. Ḥaidar said, "It is proper that all the Mīrzās should settle down after securing the slopes from the mountains of Sihrind to those of Sārang.[1] I engage that with a small force I will in two months get possession of Kashmīr. When that news comes, let every man send his belongings to Kashmīr, for there is no safer place. It will take Shēr Khān four months to arrive and he will not be able to bring into the hill country the gun-carriages and

a prisoner, having been taken by Sulṭān Salīm. He died many years before this speech was made, of plague, in 926. Possibly the reference was to his son Muḥammad. Zamān, who served Bābar and survived till the battle of Causa in 1539.

1 See *Tār. Rash.*, 479*n*. Mr. Elias is no doubt right in considering that Sārang is not a place-name. There is an Afghān tribe in the Salt Range called the Sārangzāī, (Temple, J. A. S. B., 1880, pp. 101 and 106), and perhaps Ḥaidar M. referred to them rather than to an individual. His idea was that the Mughuls should occupy the lower ranges between the Indus and Kashmīr, *i. e.*, from Sihrind in the S. E. to Rāwalpindī on the N. W. For Sulṭān Sārang, see Blochmann 456; and Delmerick, J. A. S. B. 1871, p. 87. He was Sulṭān Ādam's brother and must have died in Shēr Shāh's time, for it was Sulṭān Ādam who delivered up Kāmrān to Humāyūn.

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cannon which are the support[1] of his warfare. In a short time the Afghān army will be ruined."

As their words and their hearts were not in unison, the meeting ended without any conclusive speech. Whatever proposals were brought forward, and whatever sound advice his Majesty communicated in the hope that perchance the lamp of wisdom might be lighted for M. Kāmrān and that he would turn away from his dark ideas and come to the abode of candour, the Mīrzā did not alter what he had said. All his endeavour was that every one should be ruined, and he counted it a gain that he himself might go to Kābul and secure a corner for his own enjoyment. He was perpetually occupied with evil thoughts, and fortune-conferring words did not arouse him. Ostensibly he breathed unanimity and would say, "I shall come forth in some fortunate hour and shall gird on the belt of courage and fight the foe with singleness of heart." But secretly he was strengthening the foundations of opposition, and this to such an extent that out of wickedness and blindness, he privately sent Qāẓī 'Abdu-l-lāh his *ṣadr* to Shēr Khān, that he might establish friendly relations with him, and made a contract of affection with him. He sought the fulfilment of his desires from the help of enemies, and he wrote a letter to the effect that if the Panjāb were secured to him as formerly, he would soon bring affairs to a successful issue!

After these occurrences Shēr Khān came to Dihlī, but did not advance further. He saw that what had happened was due to his good fortune, and was apprehensive lest if he went on further, his affairs would retrograde. He was extremely frightened about the combination which he heard was making progress in Lāhor. Meanwhile the seditious *ṣadr* (*ṣadr-i-pur-ghadar*) who added vile malice to natural baseness, arrived. Shēr Khān whose centre was pivoted in
170 craft, warmly embraced him, and was a thousand times emboldened[2] by the good news of disunion. He gave him an answer in accordance with the Mīrzā's requests. That wretch (the *ṣadr*) instigated him to make a hostile advance, and held out prospects of desertion. Shēr Khān sent a crafty fellow along with him to ascertain the real state of affairs and then return. M. Kāmrān received Shēr Khān's am-

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[1] Babār's Mem, 416, mentions that the Bengalis, *i.e.*, the Afghāns, are famous for their skill in artillery.

[2] *Lit.* one heart became a thousand.

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bassador in the garden at Lāhor, and held a feast on that day. He also by entreaties induced his Majesty Jahānbānī to come there. That crude, short-sighted Mīrzā again sent the same wretch (his *ṣadr*) to Shēr Khān. On this occasion the betrayer of his salt came to the bank of the Sulṭānpūr river, and brought forward disloyal proposals and encouraged Shēr Khān to cross the river. Thereupon Muẓaffar Turkmān, who was stationed on outpost duty near the Sulṭānpūr river, came and reported to his Majesty that the enemy had crossed the river (the Bīās) and killed his brother's son Junaid Bēg, who from his qualities of mind and body was a *persona grata* at Court.

In the end of Jumāda-l-ākhir his Majesty Jahānbānī and the Mīrzās crossed the Lāhor river (the Rāvī), which was fordable, and marched stage by stage to the Cīnāb. As his Majesty Jahānbānī was resolved to attempt Kashmīr, he sent a body of troops in advance with M. Ḥaidar to that province. For, when M. Kāmrān made a rapid march to Qandahār to contend with Sām Mīrzā, he left M. Ḥaidar in charge of Lāhor. Khwāja Ḥājī, 'Abdu-l-mākrī,[1] Zangī Cak, and many of the nobles were opposed to the ruler of Kashmīr and came to Lāhor in order that by their intimacy with M. Ḥaidar they might obtain an army from M. Kāmrān and so get possession of Kashmīr. Though M. Ḥaidar exerted himself, their wish was not fulfilled. When M. Hindāl raised a disturbance by having the *khuṭba* read in his own name, and M. Kāmrān marched from Lāhor to Agra, M. Ḥaidar by great exertions contrived to raise an army and to despatch it from the capital[2] under the charge of Bābā Jūjak[3] who was one of Kāmrān's superior officers. His design was that this force should proceed to Kashmīr under the guidance of the Kashmīrī nobles aforesaid, and take possession thereof. Bābā Jūjak was negligent in setting out and meanwhile the disaster of Causa ferry, which was a blow to eternal dominion, came to be known. He gave

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[1] Text, Bākrī, but the variant Mākrī is right. Zangī is Rumkī in text.

[2] Agra. See *Tār. Rash.* 482.

[3] *Tār. Rash.*, Cūcak Ḥaidar does not say he was an officer of Kāmrān and apparently he was a Kashmīrī. It appears from Niẓāmu-d-dīn and from Jarrett II, 390, that there was an expedition before this from the Panjāb and that Kāmrān sent one, Muḥammad Bēg into Kashmīr but that after plundering he had to return. Apparently this was not long after Humāyūn's accession.

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up the expedition, and the Kashmīrī nobles tarried in Naushahr,[1] Rajaurī and the hollows of the hills in the expectation of some event.
171 But they were continually writing letters to M. Ḥaidar full of the advantages of conquering Kashmīr, and the Mīrzā used to bring these to his Majesty Jahānbānī's notice. His holy heart grew daily more and more eager to visit the charming country of Kashmīr, and meanwhile he gave permission to the Mīrzā to proceed in the first place to Naushahr with a body of troops. If the Kashmīrī nobles, who were always urging the expedition, should come forward, Sikandar Tūpcī, who was a fief-holder in that neighbourhood, was to join him with his troops. When he got to the passes, Amīr Khwāja Kalān, who was one of the high officers of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdaus-makānī, and of whom some account has already been given, was to come and help. As soon as the news of Khwāja Kalān Bēg's arrival should reach his Majesty Jahānbānī he would proceed in person towards that province. His Majesty was on the bank (the right or west bank) of the Cīnāb when M. Kāmrān and 'Askarī Mīrzā went off to Kābul with Khwāja 'Abdu-l-ḥaqq and Khwāja Khāwand Maḥmūd. Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, Ulugh Bēg Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā on hearing, in the territory of Multān, about the separation, joined M. Kāmrān on the bank of the Indus. In the beginning of Rajab, 947, M. Hindāl, Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā and Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān succeeded by importunity in taking his Majesty Jahānbānī off to Sind, though his intention had been to march to Kashmīr. Khwāja Kalān Bēg, who had promised to accompany his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī, went off from Siyālkūt and joined M. Kāmrān. Sikandar Tūpcī withdrew to the Sārang hills. In the same Rajab, after his Majesty Jahānbānī had gone towards Sind at the Mīrzā's instigation they, after going some stages, left him out of thoughtlessness and the suggestions of Bēg Mīrak, who had abandoned his service and joined them. Meanwhile Qāẓī 'Abdu-l-lāh arrived with some Afghāns. M. Hindāl's scouts seized them and brought them before him. The ill-fated Afghāns were put to death, but the wretch 'Abdu-l-lāh having still some breaths of his life remaining, escaped punishment at the intercession of Mīr Bābā[2]

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[1] In the Peshawar district.

[2] I believe this to be the father of Ḥamīda, Akbar's mother. See Gulbadan who calls Ḥamīda's father Mīr Bābā Dōst. As he was a teacher in Hindāl's service he might naturally intercede for a learned man.

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Dost. For twenty days the Mīrzās wandered in the desert of astonishment. They had no idea what to do or where to go. They were severed from fortune and auspiciousness, and having left dominion's fellowship, they had lost their object. As they had not followed the path of purpose, they were astonished and confounded. His Majesty Jahānbānī had gone by way of the desert towards Bhakkar, and was wending his way according to guess and conjecture. They found no water, and there was no grain, but went on under the guidance of endurance and with the rations (*zād*) of reliance upon God. At length one day they heard the sound of a kettle-drum. On inquiry, it was found that M. Hindāl and Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā were three *kōs* 172
away and were pacing the valley of search. His Majesty Jahānbānī sent Mīr Abū'l-baqā, who had left the society of M. Kāmrān, and become a companion of the sublime army, to the Mīrzās to give them information about the camping ground, and to speak wise words and advise them to come and kiss the sublime threshold. The Mīr in accordance with these instructions counselled the Mīrzās and acted as their guide to the blessing of service. They proceeded in harmony towards Bhakkar. Khawāṣṣ Khān and a large army of Afghāns was coming up in the rear, but though the imperial army was very small, the former had not the courage to give battle. In the end of Sha'bān (last days of 1540) when the camp reached Ūc[1] the Amīr Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir Ḥusainī, who was the frontispiece of Sayyids and of the 'Ulamā of the age, expired and was buried there. His Majesty grieved much for his death, but as this evil earth is a scene of departure and dismissal (*guzashtanī u guzāshtanī*), he displayed that resignation to the Divine command which is the ornament of those whose regard is fixed on the station of submission (*maqām-i-taslīm*). When they had encamped near the residence of Bakhshūī Langā one of the landholders and grandees of that part, an order of grace and a mandate of favour was sent together with a glorious *khil'at* by Bēg Muḥammad *Bakāwal*, and Kacak Bēg, and hopes were held out that he should receive the title of Khān Jahān, a flag and a kettle-drum, and he was invited to do loyal service and to send corn to the camp. He came forth to meet the envoys, saluted them, and behaved with

[1] That is, arrived opposite Ūc for they were travelling down the west side of the Cīnāb and between it and the Indus.

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respect. Though he had not the good fortune to come and kiss the threshold, yet with regard to what was ordered, he showed obedience and alacrity, and also sent a proper present. Likewise he arranged for traders to bring articles for sale at the royal camp, and he provided many boats for crossing the river on the way to Bhakkar. Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā went on with the advance guard, and on 28th Ramaẓān (26th January, 1541), the army reached the neighbourhood of Bhakkar. Two days before this Qāẓī Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn of Jām, who was connected with the illustrious family,[1] and was adorned with gifts and graces, was raised to the office of *ṣadr*.

When by God's help they had passed through so many perils on the way and had reached the territory of Bhakkar, they pitched their tents at Lūhrī (Rūhrī) which is on the river bank[2] and opposite Bhakkar. His Majesty took up his quarters in a garden on the
173 environs which was unequalled for pleasantness and delight. Charming houses had been erected there and were made illustrious by his presence. The other gardens and houses were divided among his followers. M. Hindāl went four or five *kōs* and encamped, and some days afterwards made his station on the other side of the river. Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā also settled afterwards on that side. Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Bhakkar, who was a servant of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain Bēg Arghūn, laid waste the Bhakkar territory and strengthened the fort. He also took away the boats from this (the east) side of the river, and anchored them under the fort. This Shāh Ḥusain Bēg was the son of the Mīrzā Shāh Bēg Arghūn who, when his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdaus-makānī took Qandahār from him came to Tatta and Bhakkar and brought all that country into his subjection.

When the majestic army established the light (*far*) of its rendezvous at Lūhrī, a lofty mandate was sent to Sulṭān Maḥmūd calling upon him to pay his respects and to deliver up the fort to the royal servants. He represented in reply that he was the servant of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain, and that so long as the latter did not come, it would not be consistent with loyalty for him to present himself, nor could

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[1] Humāyūn's mother was connected with Aḥmad Jām, and so was his wife, the mother of Akbar. Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn wrote a *Mauladnāma*, or account of Akbar's birth. Blochmann 382, and Maāṣir III. 231 in account of Mīr 'Alī Akbar. Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn afterwards deserted Humāyūn.

[2] On the east bank.

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he make over the fort without Shāh Ḥusain's permission. Such and such like were the expressions of inability that he used. His Majesty accepted his excuses, and sent Amīr Ṭāhir *ṣadr* and Mīr Samandar, two of his confidential servants, to M. Shāh Ḥusain at Tatta, and dignified him by promises of favour. M. Shāh Ḥusain received the envoys with respect, and sent Shaikh Mīrak, the flower of the descendants of Shaikh Purān whom all the Arghūns reverence and rely upon from old times, as a messenger, and with a suitable present, to accompany the royal ambassadors to the Court. He represented that the district of Bhakkar yielded little, while that of Ḥājkān[1] was rich and populous and possessed much corn; that it was fitting that his Majesty should turn his reins towards it and take it into his possession, and that in that way the army would be comfortable, and also he (Shāh Ḥusain) would be at hand with his service. It was a fortunate and auspicious circumstance for him that his Majesty should now come to those parts, and that in course of time his fears and apprehensions would disappear and he would do himself the honour of paying his respects. He also represented that after he had had the gratification of paying his respects, his Majesty would, with a little exertion, be able to bring Gujrāt into his possession, when the other territories of Hindūstān would fall into his hands. That sordid 174
one converted duties (*ḥuqūq*) into disobediences (*'uqūq*) and coming forth by the door of deceit and dissimulation, made a display of false though fair-seeming expressions. His Majesty appointed M. Hindāl to Pātar[2] and its territory, and himself spent five or six months in the

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[1] Jarrett II. 340.

[2] In Sarkār Sīwastān (Sehwān) and lower down the Indus then Bhakkar. Jarrett II. 340, where it is spelt Bātar, but with the variant Pātar. Niẓāmu-d-dīn says it is 50 *kos* from Lūhrī. Jauhar, 30, says it is 20 miles west of the Indus. It is perhaps the Pīr Patta of Burnes's journey to Kabul, p. 10. The best account of it is in Major-General Haig's Indus Delta (1894), p. 91, note. He says "The ruins of the town of Pāṭ, where in August, 1541, Humāyūn married Ḥamīda, and where some time later (since 1545) his brother Kāmrān married the daughter of Shāh Huseyn lies a little to the east of the present village of that name in the Kakar Pargana, and bears the name of Pāṭ-kuhna (old Pāṭ). On the west side of the old site, and separating it from the new village, is an old channel, now containing standing water. In this channel, says a local chronicle relating to that part of the country, the river ran at the time of

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pleasant spot of Lūhrī in the hope that the ruler of Tatta would enter on the right path. During this interval he honoured M. Hindāl by visiting him in his camp at Pātar.

As the period of the appearance of the light of fortune and the rise of the star of glory and grandeur,—which should give grace to spiritual and physical beauty and be the perfect beautifier of this world and the next,—were approaching, so did the apparatus for the attainment of this grand blessing and the notes of the existence of this supreme gift become more and more prepared. The waiting eyes of the heavenly saints of many thousands of years were brightened by the bounteous advent of that nursling of light, and the dim evening of earthly hopes assumed the beauty of the morning from the glory of the coming light of that great pearl of the Caliphate's diadem. For it was on this expedition and in a most excellent season and point of time, that in the year 948[1] he brought Her Highness Maryam-makānī, the sacred and noble lady, the glory of whose chastity and purity and the light of whose sovereignty and sainthood, show forth from her lustrous brow, into the bond of matrimony, with lordly ceremonies and royal rites. A festival of fortune was arranged, and coins from the treasury of gifts were showered on the head of the world, and hearts were rejoiced by blissful favours. Khwāja Hijrī[2] of Jām rendered good service in this auspicious affair. Thereafter the yoke-fellows of blessing and fortune proceeded towards the camp. For a time the territory of Bhakkar was their place of residence. Gradually, owing to the disloyalty of the landholders, corn became dear

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Humāyūn's visit, so that coming from Babārlo (a little to the south of Rōhrī) by Bhētānī in Kandhīārā and Darbelo, he had no water to cross. The river now runs (or did a few years ago) 5 or 6 miles east, and also 3 miles south of Pāṭ. The place gave its name to an extensive and very fertile tract of country in former times."

[1] A. F. does not give the month and day. Gulbadan says, p. 43*b*, that the marriage took place at midday on a Monday in the beginning of Jumāda'l-awwal, 948, and that Humāyūn himself took the astrolabe and calculated the auspicious moment.

[2] See Badāōnī III. 386. Hajrī was a religious poet, and apparently the meaning is that he celebrated the marriage in verse. He was a descendant of Aḥmad Jām. He called himself Ḥasan Hijrī, the last being an assumed name and signifying apparently that he was one who lived apart.

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and the country was made desolate. Imbecile apprehensions and improper schemes passed into the minds of the Mīrzās who were his Majesty's companions,—such thoughts as might be entertained and impressed on the minds of the insincere—till at length M. Hindāl, at the instigation of Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā who was always secretly in opposition, and by the stirring up of Qarāca Khān who held the government of Qandahār on M. Kāmrān's behalf, set off and went to Qandahār. He also sent a man to Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā to tell him of his own departure, and to call upon him to do likewise.

When his Majesty heard of this he went on Tuesday, 18th Jumāda'l-awwal, 948 (September,[1] 1541), to the quarters of Mīr Abū'l-baqā and held a conference with him. He then sent him, under the most 175
respectful circumstances, as an envoy to Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā, that he might bring him from the danger-spot of error to the straight path of rectitude. The Mīr went and by judicious counsels brought the Mīrzā back from the path of opposition to the highway of concord, and by his faithful and truthful utterances withheld him from improper schemes. He settled that the Mīrzā should cross the river and acknowledge service, and should henceforth remain steadily in the fore-court of submission and devotion. The conditions were that when Hindūstān should be conquered, the Mīrzā should get one-third, and that when they arrived at Kābul, he should have Ghaznī, Carkh and Lōhghar,[2] which his Majesty Gītī-sitānī, Firdaus-makānī had given to the Mīrzā's mother.[3] On Wednesday the Mīr proceeded to return after fulfilling his mission. The men of the fort of Bhakkar got news of his departure and sent a force against his boat, and discharged a shower of arrows on the Mīr. He received several dangerous wounds, and died next day. His Majesty Jahānbānī was exceedingly grieved at this, and said with his truth-speaking tongue, that the oppositions and contumacies of brothers, the ingratitude of those whom his salt had nourished, and the helplessness of comrades and friends whereby the kingdom of India had been lost and many troubles had appeared, were all but one side to (*i.e.*,

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[1] 18th Jumāda'l-awwal would apparently be 11th September, 1541, but then the 18th was a Saturday, not a Tuesday. Perhaps A. F. wrote 13th.

[2] Bābar's Mems., 148, Jarrett II. 406.

[3] Bābar's sister-in-law, widow of his youngest brother Nāṣir Mīrzā.

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were all equalled or balanced by) the loss of the Mīr; nay, those calamities did not equal this one. And in truth the Mīr's eminence was such as he in his appreciation declared it to be.[1] But inasmuch as passing wisdom and right-thinking were rooted in his Majesty Jahānbānī's sacred person and were supreme there, an event like this, which might have been a place of stumbling to the saints of faith and might, made him draw nigh to perfect wisdom and swayed him to submission and resignation. Even in such a wisdom-robbing catastrophe, which might have displaced many a man's foot of patience, this wise and God-fearing one took counsel with God-given reason and submitted to the Divine will. Or if by reason of the onsets of circumstance, and the constraining power of his temperament, he could not attain to this blissful retreat, he put aside sighing and crying, as is the manner of those whose hearts are tied and bound to outer things, and was contented with the narrow pass (*tangnāī*) of long-suffering patience. Praise be to God that though his Majesty was at first, owing to his humanity, somewhat overcome by cares and afflictions, yet under the guidance of right reason he became cheerful under worldly troubles and recognised good in the Divine decrees, according to the fashion of the pious and steady of eye who bind nosegays and gather fruit in the rose-garden of submission and resignation, and who come to contemplate with truth-
176 discerning eyes the flowers of such gardens. Five or six days after this presaging disaster, Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā crossed the river and had the good fortune to do homage to his Majesty Jahānbānī, who gave him a gracious reception. Meantime Shaikh Mīrak, the ambassador from Tatta, received his *congé* and a rescript was sent to the ruler of Tatta, to the effect that his representations were accepted on condition that he faithfully came and did homage. The ruler of Tatta for a time gave out that he was coming. As his words were unillumined by sincerity's lamp, they did not attain the glory of performance. At length his Majesty Jahānbānī granted Bhakkar and its territory to Yādgār Nāṣīr Mīrzā and in the beginning of Jumāda'l-ākhir, 948,

[1] It was the Mīr who made the remark which led to Bābar's devoting himself for Humāyūn's recovery from sickness, so Humāyūn may have thought he was indebted to him for his life. The Mīr is mentioned in the *Tār. Rash.* 478. It was he also who arranged about the marriage of Humāyūn and Ḥamīda. See Gulbadan's Mems. p. 43*b*.

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(latter half of September, 1541), marched against Tatta. Having given to the Mīrzā that bad country which by the benediction of kingly justice had turned its face towards civilization and became rich in corn and vegetables, he moved forward. Near the castle of Sehwān, Faẓīl Bēg the brother of Mun'im Khān, Tarash Bēg, elder brother of Shāham Khān, and others, to the number of about twenty were proceeding by boat when a party came out from the castle and attacked them. They disembarked and assaulted the foe who fled into the castle. Some of these tigers of valour's forest went up to the fort, but as they were not supported, they withdrew and joined the camp. On 17th Rajab his Majesty Jahānbānī reached Sehwān and invested the castle. Previous to this, the garrison had laid waste the buildings and gardens in the environs. During the siege the ruler of Tatta advanced, and blocking the way, prevented corn from reaching the camp. Owing to the protracted siege and the scanty supplies of corn, the base and dishonest began to desert and even the feet of great men, whose notions of rectitude had departed, came to slide from their places. For instance, Mīr Ṭāhir *ṣadr*, Khwāja Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn of Jām, and Maulānā 'Abdu-l-baqī went off to the ruler of Tatta's camp, while Mīr Barka, Mīrzā Ḥasan, Ẓafar 'Alī, son of Faqr 'Alī Bēg, and Khwāja Muḥibb 'Alī *Bakhshī* hastened off to Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā. At this time it came to his Majesty's ears that Mun'im Khān, Faẓīl Bēg and many others had joined together and were intending to withdraw. His Majesty as a precautionary measure imprisoned Mun'im Khān, their ringleader. I shall now stop this 177
part of the narrative, and give some account of Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā.

Account of Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā.

He made Lūhrī his residence when his Majesty left him at Bhakkar. Twice did the garrison attack him by surprise, and, willing or unwilling, the Mīrzā showed courage in these engagements. Muḥammad 'Alī *Qābūcī* (*i.e.*, door-keeper) and Shēr-dil, both of them related to Mun'im Khān, bravely drained the wholesome cup of martyrdom. On a third occasion, they (the enemy) had the daring to leave their boats and draw up their forces on the sands. On this occasion the Mīrzā's men showed such superiority that nearly 300 or 400 of the enemy were killed, and the hot sand was saturated with the evil blood of those victims. Such fear fell upon the enemy that they did not again venture to come

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out. Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain increased his craft and led the Mīrzā out of the straight path. He sent his seal-bearer, Bābar Qulī, to him, representing that he was old and had no sympathiser,[1] that he would give him his daughter in marriage and make over his treasures to him, that he did not wish to spend uselessly the few remaining days of his borrowed life, and that they two together might conquer Gujrāt. In fine he deceived that simpleton by lying promises,[2] and the latter being void of understanding and crooked in thought, stained his forehead with disloyalty. If he had had a particle of magnanimity or a glimmering of discernment, he would never even for valid promises have planted his foot in the circle of disloyalty, nor have hearkened to the interested representations of the perfidious, but would have practised honesty and kept his head erect!

When his Majesty Jahānbānī saw the straits to which the army was reduced, he sent a messenger to Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā requesting him to fall quickly upon the ruler of Tatta, who was blocking up the way, so that the army might emerge from the strait of difficulty into ample space. Though the Mīrzā had in his heart became alienated, yet he preserved appearances a little by sending out an advance-camp. But with the same crudity of thought, he delayed and loitered in marching out. Thereupon his Majesty Jahānbānī sent Shaikh 'Abdu-l-ghafūr, who was sprung from the Shaikhs of Turkistān, and whom his Majesty had made one of his intimates,[3] to contrive that

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[1] Shāh Ḥusain never had more than two wives, and from the first he soon passed. He never had a son.

[2] "The lying promises of 'Urqūb." See Lane, 2032*n*.

[3] *Yakī az muqarrabān-i-khud sākhta būdand.* There are three variants, from *muqarrabān*: *Mulāzimān, Mīr Mālān* and *Mīr Pālān*. Apparently Mīr Mālān is right for Erskine has it in his MS. trs. B.M. Add. 26,607, and Niẓāmu-d-dīn describes 'Abdu-l-ghafūr as Humāyūn's *Mīr-i-māl*, *i. e.*, (according to Blochmann VI), keeper of the privy purse. See also D'Herbelot *s. v. Mirimal.* 'Abdu-l-ghafūr is perhaps the man mentioned in Blochmann 538, and whom Niẓāmu-d-dīn also names in the list of learned men and of whom he says that he for a long time taught in *pargana* 'Aẓīmpūr. See also Badāonī III. 42. Evidently his language was unbecoming because he frightened Yādgār by giving him a bad account of Humāyūn's position. Niẓāmu-d-dīn says that 'Abdu-l-ghafūr gave such a description of the Emperor's difficulties that Yādgār and his men thought it best to await the takin of Bhakkar.

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the Mīrzā should advance quickly. But that worthless fellow walked crookedly and as the saying is,—

Verse.[1]

This very road on which you are going leads (also) to Turkistān.

He perverted his mission and by his improper language so affected 178
the short-sighted Mīrzā that he even neglected appearances and recalled his advance-camp. When his Majesty Jahānbānī perceived that the times were so unpropitious, and that the army's difficulties were beyond conception, he saw that it was useless to remain longer near the fort (Sehwān), and proceeded on 17th Ẕī'l-qa'da (23rd February, 1542), towards Bhakkar and Lūhrī. At this juncture one of Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā's censurable acts was, that at the instigation of the ruler of Tatta, he seized and sent to him Gandam[2] and Hāla, who were loyal zamīndārs, and had shown their loyalty by collecting boats, &c. That[3] unrighteous one put them to death in punishment for the meritorious act of this service. His Majesty passed over this vile act and a hundred like it and was always for conciliation, thinking that perchance he (the Mīrzā) would write words of regret on the page of his actions and come into the house of amendment. When the sublime standards reached the borders of Lūhrī, Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā came out with a body of men to attack the camp. His Majesty on hearing

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[1] *Gulistān* Book II, Story 6. The whole verse is—

"O Arab, I fear you'll never reach the *Ka'ba*,
The road you're on leads (also ?) to Turkistān."

The meaning is not very clear, but I think it is, that all depends on how the face is set. The road leads to the *Ka'ba*, but also to Turkistān, *i.e.*, in the opposite direction. I do not know if A. F. means to charge 'Abdu-l-ghafūr with treachery, or only with awkwardness. Probably the latter is meant, the envoy having by his bad driving, made the Mīrza go back instead of forward. Perhaps there is a point in the envoy's belonging to Turkistān.

[2] This story is told at greater length by Niẓāmu-d-dīn. Elliot V. 210. Hāla is the name of a division in Sind (Ḥughes' Gazetteer, 185) and perhaps Gandam is a place name also. The Zamīndārs' offence was that they enabled Humāyūn to cross the river from Bhakkar by raising some sunken boats. *Gandam* means wheat and Price so renders it, but here it seems to be a person's name.

[3] The clause begins with *tā* and perhaps what is meant is that they were sent in order to be put to death and not that this actually occurred.

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this immediately got on horseback. Hāshim Bēg, who was one of the Mīrzā's right-thinking confidants, on hearing of this shameful proceeding, went quickly to him and violently seizing his rein, turned him back. He chided and reproved him, and speaking bitterly and harshly, said "Apparently gentlemanly feeling, shame, respect and reverence have left the world. In what religion and by what canons of reason and sense, is it allowable to exhibit such levity and to set oneself up against one's benefactor?"

Verse.

Good was that commander's saying,
Watch the measure of thy work,
Plant thy foot on the pedestal of thy ability,
So that thou make thyself a place on the sky-top.
Whoever does not quit his own affairs,
Eats the fruit of whate'er he sows in this world.

By such wise counsels he brought the Mīrzā back to Bandar[1] Laharī. Meanwhile many, such as Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān, followed the path of error, and separated from his Majesty, and came over to Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā's side.

Return to the main narrative.

When by the requirements of the mysteries of Divine wisdom and by the subtleties of eternal counsel, which arrange within the cover of every failure (*nāmurādī*) many materials of success (*asbāb-i-murād*), there was no form of success in Sind and when the decisive test for
179 man's unmanliness had been applied, and the disloyalty of the army, the unhelpfulness of brothers, the folly of kindred and the unfavourableness of fortune had been revealed, his Majesty desired to don the dress of the recluse and the ascetic and to strike with the foot of longing into the desert path of the travellers on God's way, and to take up the circumambulation[2] (*ḥalqa*) of the *ka'ba* of purpose and

[1] This is either a mistake, or an unusual expression. Bandar Laharī is not Lūhrī or Rūhrī on the Indus, but a seaport at the mouth of the river and in *sarkār* Tatta. Jarrett II. 339. Bhakkar is placed by A. F. in Multān. Jarrett. 327.

[2] *Ḥalqa-i-ka'ba-i-murād. Ḥalqa* means a ring and also a doorknocker but I suppose the meaning here is that Humāyūn thought of going to Mecca and making a devotional circuit round the *ka'ba*.

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the thread of the skirt of resolution, or to retire into a hermitage, preferring the cell of ease to the beholding of his contemporaries, and wishing to be far removed from this world full of care (*āsīb*) and worldlings full of craft (*farīb*). All his right-thinking comrades who in weal and woe had waited on his stirrup and kept close to the reins of his society, besought him to abandon this idea and represented that the thing to be done now was to cast the shadow of fortune's *Humā*[1] on the country of Māldēō and there to recruit his spirits, for Māldēō had repeatedly sent representations of devotion and made protestations of loyalty; that he had an army and an arsenal; that evidently he regarded this as a favourable opportunity and that when he was at the stirrup of good fortune, he would become a spring of good service, and that by degrees, the secret hopes and wishes of his Majesty's well-wishers would be fulfilled. His Majesty from a regard to the ideas of these faithful ones ordered a march towards that country. He sent a gracious rescript, together with salutary counsels, by Ibrāhīm Bēg Īshak Āqā to Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā, for perchance he might become conscious of his base acts and come to tread the path of repentance, and might depart from villany and display the grace of propriety. The following verse was endorsed on the letter:

Verse.

O thou moon-cheeked one, others' eye and lamp,
I burn! How long wilt thou plaster others' scars?

As the slumbrous-witted Mīrzā did not possess an awakening spirit, the expostulation made no impression on him. With the same old vain hopes he took the road of disloyalty and stayed behind in Lūhrī. His Majesty Jahānbānī proceeded to Ūc on 21st Muḥarram 949, and from thence went towards Māldēō on 18th[2] Rabī'u-l-awwal, and on the 14th idem halted at the foot of Dilāwār.[3] On the 20th

[1] Cf. *Tar. Rash.* 399, where Khwāja Nūr bids Humāyūn not to throw his shadow in a country where the parrot was rarer than the kite. Probably by this the saint meant Gaur where Humāyūn was wasting his time. The saying is a common one, and is to be found in the *Anwār-i-suhailī*.

[2] A n[illegible] to text suggests that 18 is a mistake for 13. Possibly the dates 18 and 14 have been transposed.

[3] In Bahāwalpūr, Panjāb. I. G. Text, Dīwarāwal. See Jarrett II. 331, where it is spelt Dīwār-i-awwal. See Raverty J.A.S.B. 1892, p. 184, note 74, and id. Extra No. 1897, 428, and note 463.

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he encamped at Ḥaṣalpūr,[1] and on 17th Rabī'u-l-ākhir he encamped twelve *kōs* from Bikānīr. On the way the far-seeing members of his retinue became apprehensive of the deceit and perfidy of Māldēō and represented this to his Majesty. They continually suggested that cautious action which is the illuminated border of fortune's rescript. At length Mīr Samandar, who was at the head of men of sense, was
180 sent on rapidly to Māldēō. He returned when he had penetrated the secrets of his heart, and represented that though Māldēō was making protestations of sincerity, it was evident that he did not possess the true light. When the standards of fortune approached his territory, Sankāī (or Sangāī) of Nāgōr, who was one of Māldēō's confidants, came to the camp under pretext of trade and sought to purchase a valuable[2] diamond. As his demeanour did not savour of rectitude, his Majesty Jahānbānī bade them impress on this (would-be) buyer that such jewels were not to be obtained by purchase. They either fell by the shimmer of the flashing sword into the hands of him for whom Providence destined them, or were obtained by the favour of great monarchs. In fine, his Majesty was rendered even more cautious by the arrival of this cheat, and applauded the acuteness of Samandar. Again acting on vigilance and prudence which are the net with which princes work, especially in times of trouble and difficulty, he sent Rāī Mal Sūnī with instructions to go quickly to where Māldēō was and to report what he discovered. If unable to write, he was to communicate by means of a pre-arranged
179 signal. That is, the signal of Māldēō's faithfulness was to be the messenger's clasping all his five fingers, and that of opposition and hypocrisy was to be the clasping of his little finger. The camp moved on two or three stages from Phalūdī[3] which is thirty *kōs*

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[1] Text, Wāṣilpūr, but see Errata. It is however Wāṣilpūr in three B. M. MSS.

[2] This seems to be an allusion to the stone known as Bābar's Diamond but which should be rather known as Humāyūn's. Humāyūn carried it with him in his wanderings, and presented it to Shāh Ṭahmāsp. In Humāyūn's remarks there is a play on the word *jauhar* which means both a jewel and the wave-markings or lustre of a sword. Jauhar *Aflūbcī*, p. 38, mentions that two of Humāyūn's attendants told Māldēō that Humāyūn had valuable jewels, and instigated him to demand them.

[3] Jarrett II. 276. "Phalodi, a salt marsh in the north-west corner of the State, near the Jesalmīr frontier," Rājpūtānā Gazetteer II. 224, also

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from Jōdhpūr, the abode of Māldēō, and stopped at the Kūl-i-jōgī (the recluse's pond). Rāī Mal Sūnī's courier arrived there, and clasped his little finger. This signal explained the state of matters, and afterwards it clearly appeared that the thoughts of this black-fated scoundrel were deceit and perfidy, and that he had an evil intention in sending a large body of men under pretence of setting off the welcome. His Majesty turned his reins towards Phalūdī. Yet many people are of opinion that Māldēō was in the first instance well-intentioned, and desirous of doing service, and that afterwards he was diverted from the right path either by learning the distressed condition of the troops and their small numbers, or by the false promises of Shēr Khān and by perceiving his ascendency. Or he was withheld from help and service by his (Shēr Khān's) threats. In any case he abandoned the path of counsel and auspiciousness and *turned the page* of loyalty. The general opinion, however, is that from beginning to end his protestations of service and his sending petitions of obedience were all based upon hypocrisy and hostility.[1]

In short, as at that time the adorners of the pinakothek of 181
fate were engaged in decoration of another sort, nothing that his Majesty undertook came to any result, and trouble and wickedness appeared in every place when there was a prospect of good and of welfare. When the gilding of those counterfeit troops[2] was subjected to the test, and the perfidy of Māldēō's unrighteous thoughts had been revealed in the ante-chamber of his Majesty's sacred heart, he ordered Tardī Bēg Khān, Mun'im Khān and a number of his other servants to go out and stop the advance of the evil-minded ones and prevent them from putting foot in the sublime camp. After thus keeping them in check, they were to return but if an opportunity offered, they should defeat them. His Majesty marched on with a few devoted followers and with his veiled ladies. Among the soldiers were Shaikh 'Alī Bēg Jalāir, Tarsūn Bēg, son of Bābā

"Phalodi is a large town to the north-west of Mārwār near the borders of Bekanir and Jesalmir," *l. c.*, p. 263.

[1] A. F. probably expatiates on the subject of Māldēō, because he had heard a good deal about it from his father who was then at Nāgōr.

[2] Probably the troops who were ostensibly sent to welcome him.

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Jalāir, Faẓīl Bēg and others, the total number being about twenty. There were also some domestic slaves and some faithful menials. Of learned[1] men there were present Mullā Tāju-d-dīn and Maulānā Cānd the astrologer.[2]

When the camp had left Phalūdī and arrived at Sātalmīr,[3] Māldēō's army appeared in sight, whilst the officers who had been despatched to check them, had lost their way and gone off in another direction, so that there was a passage for the enemy to the royal standards. His Majesty, who was a rock of power and a world of courage, placed the foot of steadfastness on the skirt of resolution and dignity, and turned against them with God-given reason and innate understanding. Many of the ladies were dismounted and their horses given to fighting men, and the troops having been distributed into three[4] bands, were sent against the foe. Shaikh 'Alī Bēg with three or four trusty brethren advanced and attacked the enemy, who were huddled together in a defile. To attack them to put them to flight was one and the same thing. A large number of them were killed, and by the Divine aid the king's servants obtained the victory. His Majesty Jahānbānī after returning thanks to God proceeded towards Jesalmīr, where he encamped in the beginning of Jumāda'l-awwal. At this stage the officers who had lost their way and whose minds had been distressed by agitations[5] experienced the blessing of service, and made the dust of the royal camp the collyrium of fortune's eye. The Rāī of Jesalmīr, who was

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1 *Ahl-i-sa'ādat*, good or auspicious men. See Humāyūn's classification of the people, Elliot V. 120 and text, *infra* I. 357. At p. 9 of text the phrase *arbāb-i-sa'ādat* has a similar meaning and should have been so translated by me. A. F. there represents himself as the last or humblest of the learned men who adorned Akbar's Court.

2 He afterwards cast Akbar's horoscope. Mullā Tāju-d-dīn is perhaps the Tāju-d-dīn of Dilhī mentioned by Badāōnī. Blochmann 181. But more probably he is the Shaikh Tāju-d-dīn Lahrī whose death at Jūn is recorded soon afterwards. Text, p. 185.

3 Jarrett II. 276. "Sātalmīr was built by Satal, the eldest son of Rao Jodha (after whom Jodhpur is named) on the top of a low ridge of hills, there is nothing left but the ruins of an old Jain temple."

4 The three seems doubtful. In two B. M. MSS. the word is more like *sar* and the correct reading is perhaps *sar-i-fauj*.

5 *Anājīr*, perhaps false reports of disaster.

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ed Rāī Lōnkaran,[1] took up, out of wickedness, the position of
stility and set guards over the water-pond, so that the royal army
which had experienced the toils of the desert and had come from a 182
wilderness of mirages to this evil halting-place, was put to trouble
from want of water. The tigers of fidelity's forest advanced and
showing their superiority, defeated that vile crew. From thence they
proceeded on towards the bounty-encompassed fort (*ḥiṣār-i-faiz-inḥiṣār*) of Amarkōṭ on 10th Jumāda'l-awwal (23rd August, 1542).
After difficulties from hunger and thirst, the glory of arriving at
that guarded fort (*haṣn-i-haṣīn*), which is the ascension-point of
glory and storehouse of fortune's jewel, was conferred upon them.
The ruler of the fort, who was called Rānā Parsād, regarded the
sublime advent as a glorious adornment and tendered acceptable
service.

One of the marvels (*barakāt*) resulting from the sacred existence
of his Majesty, the king of kings, which moved the wonder of the
acute of the time, was that in that propitious period when her
Majesty Maryam-makānī was pregnant with that Unique of creation's
workshop, she one day when she had been rapidly traversing the
desert, had a longing for a pomegranate. In that waterless and
grainless Sahara where it was difficult to find any trace of corn, the
caterers for the holy court were in despair, when suddenly a man
brought a bag (*anbān*) full of millet (*jawār*) for sale. When
they took him into the tent and were emptying his bag, suddenly
a large, juicy pomegranate emerged. 'Twas a cause of joy and
gladness, and an astonished world ascribed it to a miracle.

Some[2] days were spent in that delightful spot, and it was there
that Tardī Bēg Khān and many others who had accumulated goods
and wealth—all of it acquired by the abiding good fortune (of the
royal house)—grudged giving it in such time of distress and
difficulty, even when his Majesty asked for it! By the help of the
Rāī of Amarkōṭ his Majesty got possession[3] of the goods, and out
of his perfect kindness, liberality and justice, distributed a portion
among his followers for their expenses, but returned the bulk of it to

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1 The Noonkarn of Todd. A Rāī Lōnkaran is mentioned in Niẓāmu-d-dīn as one of Akbar's nobles. Blochmann, 531.

2 About six weeks.

3 *Cf.* Jauhar, 43.

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those low-minded, narrow-souled ones. God be praised! How l the necks of contemporaries—from the blessing of his Majes. the king of kings and shadow of God's holy essence—come into the noose of zeal and loyalty, so that whilst in that past age great officers and those holding high trusts did not ascend to even a low stage of loyalty, and were at such a crisis niggardly of wealth which they had gathered by the blessing of their master's favour, at the present day the despised and they who stand a great way off from devotion's court, have with respect to self-sacrifice, a delight in climbing to the loftiest stages of perfect loyalty, even though they be in the position
183 of being abused and reproached! How much more then they who are the *élite* of the court and bystanders of the pedestal of the sublime throne! May Almighty God hold aloft, for epochs and cycles, this chosen one from eternity on the *masnad* of bounty, and on the throne of the *khilāfat*, that he may conduct the affairs of the world and of mankind.

As[1] his Majesty Jahānbānī had in his mind the firm intention of marching forwards and as the time of the appearance of the Lord of Time and the Terrene was at hand, he, having ascertained the propitious hour, committed, on 1st Rajab, 949 (11th October, 1542), the litter of her Majesty Maryam-makānī and some faithful followers to the world-upholding Creator, and with fortune and prestige set out on his expedition.

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[1] According to the text this sentence closes the chapter, but I think it would have been better to end with the preceding paragraph. The headings are probably not by the authors and are often arbitrary. The Lucknow edition has not a new chapter here.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

Receipt of the news of the auspicious birth of his Majesty the king of kings, by his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī, and other details.[1]

At this time, when the hoping eyes of the watchers of the night of expectation were opened and the door of hopelessness was closed for the world, the exaltation-point (*sharaf*) of the birth of his Majesty, the king of kings and shadow of God, displayed its countenance. As has already been stated, that nursing of Divine light emerged from the womb of concealment into the world of manifestation on the night of Sunday,[2] 5th Rajab, 949 (15th October, 1542), in order that all the sorrows of mortals might end in everlasting joy; that the sorrow-pelted heart of his Majesty Jahānbānī might receive the balm of assuagement; that the perturbed outer world might assume *kosmos* and the rent-spiritual world be composed; that the spectators of Divine power (*i.e.*, the angels) might rejoice over the spectacle of the accomplished fact and the expectants of the spiritual and temporal world have their desire satisfied; that to Wisdom there should come a master, to Justice a gracious father, to Perception a wise friend, to Law a righteous king, to Love an acute appreciator; that universal peace might have a wise daysman; that an adorner of the outward and a shewer-forth of the inward might appear. God be praised that in adequate correspondence with hope, there shone a dawn of union after a dark night of distraction, and that a morning of joy succeeded an evening of gloom. The desire of celestials was accomplished, the glory of terrestrials revealed. When this darkness-destroying refulgence and universe-lighting flash came from holy heaven and unveiled itself in that land

[1] A better sub-heading would be, "Some account of Bairām Khān."

[2] Saturday, according to our reckoning, the birth being early on Sunday morning.

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of roses,[1] swift messengers hastened to convey the good news. While they were yet on the way, the heart of his Majesty Jahānbānī,—for his far-seeing eye was on the watch on account of the secret intimation,—became a thousand hearts from the life-giving good news. He prostrated himself in thanksgiving to Providence who had made fortune's rose bloom in the thorn-brake of misfortune, and had in the emptiness of failure, cast thousands of fruitions into his bosom. Within and without, there was a feast of joy, and all addressed themselves to enjoyment. The noble and the humble, the rich and poor, the small and great, opened the hand of rejoicing,
184 and beat the feet of delight in that feast of fortune, and secured endless favours. An account of this sublime feast, which was the celestial *'Īd* and the world's New Year, and of the arrival of the honoured cradle of his Majesty, the king of kings, at his Majesty Jahānbānī's sublime camp, and of other occurrences which are the adorning frontispiece of this auspicious rescript and the illuminated border of this mandate of fortune, has been incorporated in the beginning of this lofty-titled volume; for this real Pinacothek,[2] wherein are depicted the wondrous events, noble deeds and glorious victories of his Majesty, the king of kings, is fashioned in accord with the initiative of the exaltation-point (*sharaf*) of the holy nativity, and whatever else has been traced by the pen of supplication is but ancillary to this and but a diluent[3] or vehicle of the

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[1] *Gul-zamīn.* Perhaps Maryam-makāni's bosom is meant.

[2] *Artang* or *Arzhang*, the house of the painter Mānī and also his album. D'Herbelot *s. v.* Ertenk & Jarrett III. 336, 337. Mānī is the supposed founder of Manicheism.

[3] *Sīrābī-i-sukhan, lit.* irrigation of words. A. F. here explains why he began his work with the horoscopes of Akbar and the details of his birth although this causes some repetition in his account of Humāyūn's reign. It may be worth while noting that A. F. divided his history according to *qarans* or periods of thirty years, of his hero's life. Thus his first volume embraced the first thirty years of Akbar's life, *viz.*, from his birth to the end of the seventeenth year of his reign, for Akbar ascended the throne when he was 13. The next book was to contain the history of the reign up to the end of the 47th year, but was not completed because A. F. was killed in that year. Apparently he had carried on the history till the end of the 46th year. His hope, as he tells us in the *Āīn*, Jarrett III. 416, was that he might write four volumes, *i. e.*, the history of four

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discourse, and has a real connection with that subject. God be praised! The imposing record of this ever-during progression has been accomplished even from Adam, down to this period (Akbar's birth), generation after generation. That it may go on, the veil is being withdrawn from the countenance of narration.

In short, as his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-ashyānī was a world of urbanity and generosity, he had stayed his desire of retirement for the sake of his loyal companions, and with his far-seeing eyes had set about the ordering of the world of interdependencies, as is the special purpose of the existence of princes, and had proceeded towards Māldēō's country. Māldēō that ravening demon (*dēv-maāl-i-dad-sīrat*) did not comprehend the magnitude of the blessing—such as he could not see even in a dream, and behaved in an unworthy manner. Of necessity and at the request of his devoted followers, his Majesty proceeded back to Sind on the chance that the rulers of that country might awake from the slumber of negligence, and amend the past. Though the world-adorning mind did not approve of this, still in accordance with fate he agreed to return. When the sublime army came near the boundary, it became known that the Arghūnīāns were assembled in Jūn and were prepared to fight. His Majesty Jahānbānī sent forward Shaikh 'Alī Beg Jalāīr, whose ancestors were of hereditary devotion and loyalty from the time of the uprearing of the standards of glory of his Majesty *Ṣāḥib-qirānī* (Tīmūr), together with a body of brave men. He himself followed. As Shaikh 'Alī had at his back the victorious

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qarans (120 years). The third volume which he refers to in the passage mentioned above is the *Āīn*, which was finished, in a manner, in the 42nd year, *i. e.*, 1597-98. No doubt, however, he intended to add to it from time to time according as new regulations were issued by Akbar, and new territories added to his kingdom. The *Āīn* is generally called the third book of the *Akbarnāma*, but it should be remembered that it is not a continuation of the first two, and that it was completed (in a manner) before the historical part of his work was finished. It is in reality an *excursus* or side-piece to his history. A. F.'s division of his work has not been preserved in the *Bib. Ind.* edition which is in three volumes, the first ending with Akbar's accession and not with his 17th year as A. F. designed. The expression *sīrābī-i-sukhan* above referred to is used again by A. F. at p. 195 of text when he digresses into accounts of Sher Khān, Ḥaidar Mīrzā and others.

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army, he went forward bravely with a few men and soon scattered the foe. The breeze of victory's morn blew from the orient of the sword and the horizon of the bow, and the sun of fortune burnt up the darkness of that field of nemesis. The army encamped near Jūn.[1] To that town of lofty threshold (*qaṣba-i-rafī'-'ataba*) there came from Amarkot, the birth-place, the honourable litter of her Majesty Maryam-makānī and the sublime cradle of his Majesty, the
185 king of kings, attended by fortune and happy augury. Accordingly a detail of the circumstance has been made an adornment to the Introduction. As this spot was on the banks of the Indus and was eminent among the cities of Sind for its many gardens, streams, pleasant fruits and amenities, the army stayed there for some time. There were continual fights with the Arghūnīāns who were always defeated. Shaikh Tāju-d-dīn Lārī,[2] who was one of his Majesty Jahānbānī's favourites, became a martyr here.[3] One day Shaikh 'Alī Beg Jalāīr, Tardī Beg Khān, and a body of men were despatched to attack the neighbouring district. Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Bhakkar and a large number of people fell upon them. Tardī Bēg was remiss in fighting, but Sher 'Alī Bēg stood firm and in that battle-field (*razm*) which is the banquet-table (*bisāṭ-i-bazm*) of the brave, quaffed with unaltered mien the sherbet of martyrdom. The heart of his Majesty Jahānbānī was grievously wounded by the fate of so faithful a follower, and some other untoward circumstances having occurred, his heart cooled towards the country of Bhakkar and he determined to go to Qandahār. Just then, on 7th Muḥarram 950 (13th April, 1543) Bairām Khān arrived alone from Gujrāt and laid a balm on the wounded spirit of his Majesty, and was a cause of cheerfulness and joy. One of the wonderful things was that as

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[1] As Stewart remarks, Jūn is not marked on the maps. A. F. puts it in Hājkān. Jarrett II. 340. Apparently it was on the east bank, between Tattah and Sehwān. General Haig, (l. c., p. 92) says "Jūn, the chief town of a fertile and populous district, was situated on the left bank of the Rēn. It is 75 miles south-west of Umarkote and 50 miles north-east of Tattah." A note adds that the ruins of Jūn are to be seen two miles south-east of the present Tando Ghulām Ḥaidar.

[2] Lār or Lāristān is a maritime province of Persia. D'Herbelot s. v. Lār.

[3] Perhaps all that is meant is that he died a natural death.

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he was coming to the camp, he had first to pass over a battle-field. Before he could make his obeisance or reveal himself, he had to prepare for war and to fight bravely. The victorious soldiers were amazed, and thought "he comes from the secret army (of God)." When it transpired that he was Bairām Khān, a shout was raised by those standing in battle-array, and the heart of his Majesty Jahānbānī rejoiced. On account of this arrival, they continued for some [1] days to halt in that land of roses (*gulzamīn*).

Account of Bairām Khān.

The brief account of Bairām Khān is as follows. After exposing his life in the unfortunate affair of Qanauj, he went to Sambal. There he took refuge with Rāja Mitter Sen, one of the great landholders of that country, in the town of Lakhnūr [2] and for a while remained there under protection. When Sher Khān heard of this, he sent a messenger for him, and the Rāja being helpless, sent the Khān. They met on the road [3] to Mālwa. At the beginning of the interview, Sher Khān rose up to receive him and in order to attract him, spoke crafty words to him. Among his remarks was this, "Whoever keeps his loyalty, stumbleth not." "Yea," replied Bairām Khān, "whoever keeps his loyalty, shall not stumble." He contrived, after a thousand difficulties, to escape from near Burhānpūr in company with Abū'l-qāsim, the governor of Gwāliyār, and set out for Gujrāt. While they were on their way, Sher Khān's ambassador who was coming from Gujrāt, got information about them and sent people who arrested Abū'l-qāsīm,—who was remarkable for the beauty of his person. Bairām Khān out of nobleness and generosity stoutly asseverated that he was Bairām Khān, while Abū'l-qāsim heroically said, "This is my servant; he would sacrifice himself for me, beware and withdraw your hand from him." Thus it was the case of 186

[1] Three months according to A. F.'s own chronology, for they did not leave Jūn till 11th July. It is more probable that it was Bairām's arrival and energy which made Humāyūn take such a decided step as that of leaving Sind.

[2] Jarrett II. 298. There is a fuller account of Bairām's visit to Sambhal in 'Abbās' chronicle.

[3] At Ujjain, according to the chronicle of Sher Shāh.

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Verse.[1]

"Leave me, seize the hand of my friend."

In this way Bairām Khān escaped and went to Sulṭān Maḥmūd in Gujrāt. Abū'l-qāsim was taken before Sher Khān, and from failure[2] to appreciate him, that mine of magnanimity was martyred. Sher Khān used frequently to remark that "as soon as Bairām Khān said in the assembly 'Whoever keeps his loyalty shall not[3] stumble,' we gathered that he would not come to terms with us." Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt too, though he tried to induce him to stay with him, could not succeed. He (Bairām) got leave to go on pilgrimage and came to Sūrat. Thence he hurried off to the country of Hardwār[4]

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[1] Gulistān V. 20.

[2] *Az nā-shināsī*; this cannot mean, owing to his not being recognised, for Sher Khān had seen the real Bairām.

[3] I adopt the variant *na khwāhad*.

[4] Corrected in the Errata to Mārwār, but apparently on the authority of one MS. only and I suspect that Mārwār is merely a guess devised to get rid of the improbability of Bairām's having gone to such a distant place as Hardwār. The *Ma'āṣīr-i-umarā* has Hardwār and so has the *Ma'āṣīr-i-raḥīmī*. It does not agree very well with A. F.'s statement that Bairām joined Humāyūn from Gujrāt, but then neither does Mārwār. Though Hardwār be very far it is not impossible that Bairām who was trying to hide, went the distance in order to escape Sher Khān and Sulṭān Maḥmūd. He may have done so in disguise and in company with Hindū pilgrims. Possibly too he went there because it was not far from his old refuge of Sambhal. At first I was inclined to accept Mārwār and to suppose that A. F. wrote it in the form Marūwār or Marūwar (مرو وار or مروور) which according to Tod, is the original word and which might easily enough be read by a copyist as Hardwār. It might also have been supposed that Bairām went to Mārwār, *i.e.*, Jodhpūr, in pursuit of Humāyūn of whose expedition into Māldēō's country he may have heard. A pencil note in Chalmers' Ms. suggests Dwārkā (in Gujrāt) which would do very well if we had any evidence that Dwārkā was ever called Hardwār. On the whole I think that we must hold that A. F. wrote Hardwār. The *Ma'āṣīr-i-raḥīmī* has a biography of Bairām taken apparently from a work called the *Tārīkh-i-akbarī* by Muḥammad 'Ārif Qandahārī who had been Bairām's steward. It uses the word Hardwār twice apparently without any suspicion of mistake. It describes Bairām's parentage, his birth in Qil'a Ẓafar in Badakhshān, the death of his father, Saif 'Alī at Ghaznīn, his entering Humāyūn's service, and becoming his *muhrdār* (chancellor), and finally, with refer-

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and from there he came to the feet of his own master (*ṣāḥib*) and the benefactor of mankind in the village of Jūn.

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ence perhaps to A. F.'s remarks on the thousand difficulties which Bairām experienced in making his escape to Gujrāt,—it tells us how he in the course of his wanderings, fell in with a party of Gūwārās who were drinking and dancing, and how they constrained him to take part in their merry-making.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

SINGULAR MANIFESTATION BY HIS MAJESTY, THE KING OF KINGS, IN THE EIGHTH MONTH FROM HIS NATIVITY'S EXALTATION-POINT (*sharaf*), BEING THE ILLUMINATED BORDER OF MIRACLES (*karāmāt*), AND PRESAGE OF HIS CAREER (*maqāmāt, lit. stages or stations*).

In the pages of Divine knowledge, which are "the guarded tablets"[1] from and for eternity, it is laid down that when the diadem of distinction is set on the marvellous head of a world-adorning creature in the temporal and spiritual enthroning-room, there are emitted, from the auspicious birth-hour of that glorious one, flashings and wonders (*bawāriq-i-ḥālāt-ū-khawāriq-i-'ādāt*) from the folded pages of his record, each of them a mysterious herald loudly proclaiming in the reason's ear of mankind the glorious progression of his power, and by such revelations augmenting the felicity of mortals. One of the marvellous proofs of this is that when seven months complete had elapsed from his Majesty, the king of kings', auspicious birth, and when he had in his fortune and felicity entered on the eighth, a strange circumstance occurred. On an evening which was seized of the light of fortune's morn, Jījī Anaga—that cupola of chastity—
187 was nursing the first fruit of the garden of holiness, and grieving over the opposition to her by that veil of chastity—Māham Anaga, and by many others. She was very sad because they had represented to his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī that Mīr Ghaznavī's wife (*i. e.*, herself) was practising incantations so that his Majesty, the prince of mankind, should not accept anyone's milk but her own. At this time, when none else was present, his Majesty, seeing that there was privacy, became vocal, and Messiah-like[2]

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[1] *Lauḥ-i-maḥfūẓ*, Book of Destiny. D'Herbelot s. v. *Omm Alkitab*, & Lane, 2680c.

[2] Muḥammadans believe that Jesus Christ spoke in the cradle.

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opened his wondrous mouth to comfort Jījī Anaga's afflicted heart. "Be of good cheer," he said, "for the celestial light of the *khilāfat* shall abide in thy bosom and shall bestow on the night of thy sorrow the effulgence of joy. But see that thou reveal this our secret to no one, and that thou dost not proclaim untimely this mystery of God's power, for hidden designs and great previsions are infolded therein." Jījī Anaga declared, "This life-fraught intimation brought me into rapture, and sorrow's knot was at once loosed from off my heart. This portent which gave me from the eternal throne the sole and undisputed charge of a child of light, expanded my heart, one becoming a hundred and a hundred a thousand.[1] Day by day the doors of joy and gladness opened wider and wider before me, and having established myself on thanksgiving for this great blessing, I addressed myself to my duties, heart and soul. The glory and dominion of two worlds were revealed to me. But I kept this mystery sealed up till that nursling of dominion became the throne-adorner of the regions of world-conquest. One day he had gone forth from Dihlī to hunt in the district of Pālam,[2] and there an enormous and terrific serpent, such as might move the heart of the daring,[3] appeared on the line of road. On this occasion his Majesty exhibited the miracle of Moses, and without the hesitation which comes even to generous hearts, put forth his white[4] hand and approaching the serpent, courageously and in the strength of a sacred intimation, seized its tail with his holy hand and quelled it. Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān,[5] brother of Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōkaltāsh beheld this token of power and in his astonishment came and told me. On that occasion I told my dear son that sealed and hidden-away mystery which I myself had seen and heard, and said, 'His Majesty did that wonderful thing in his tender years, 'tis not strange

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[1] Text, *Khāṭirīkī*, but it should be *Khāṭir yakī*.

[2] Jarrett II. 286. In the Dihlī district, and so apparently, different from Pālam in Kāngra.

[3] *Arbāb-i-taḥawwur*. *Taḥawwur* means, according to Lane, a state in which one enters on rash enterprises, such as fighting with unbelievers more than double the number of the Muslim. Dict. 2906c.

[4] An allusion to the Muḥammadan story of the white hand of Moses *cf.* Exodus iv. 6. The miracle of Moses above referred to seems to be the conversion of Moses' rod into a serpent.

[5] Blochmann 323. Son of Jījī Anaga. He was the elder brother.

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if in his maturity he has performed this miracle, for every act hath its time and every speech its season. The reason of my not mentioning this marvel till this point is that no one to whom I told it, would have believed it, but on the contrary would have taxed me with weakness of intellect. The taste of such a story would have been bitter to their wishes' palate. Moreover I was not at liberty to reveal it. Now, my son, that I have heard from you the story of the serpent, I have opened my lips to tell of the mystery which marked his tender years, while the other is a sample of his riper age. My honoured son! in that exhibitor of miracles such indications and stages of development (*'alāmāt ū maqāmāt*) are not
188 surprising." Though Abū'l-faẓl, the composer of this noble record had heard these two anecdotes from a person of veracity, yet he also received them direct from that receptacle of chastity (Jījī Anaga). But what the writer has seen with his own eyes and has understood by his own contemplation, concerning the perfections and miracles of this nursling of Divine light, exceeds mortal conjecture and human comprehension. In truth what was recounted by the venerable mother of M. 'Azīz Kōka is astonishing to the exoteric (*aṣḥāb-i-ẓāhir*), but what this humble one hath witnessed is awe-augmenting to the esoteric (*arbāb-i-bāṭin*).

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CHAPTER XXIX.

Departure of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī for Qandahār, with the design of going thence to the Ḥijāz and of his resolution to enter Persia.

It is the Eternal will and the Divine design that when the glorious robe of a king's fortune is being embroidered with the fringe of perpetuity and the props of his throne of greatness and sovereignty made strong and glorious by the pillars of fixity and permanence, sundry accidents which have the appearance of retrogressions and withdrawals are brought in front of his path. In truth these are apparent and not real, and the impediments are in the end subjects of thanksgiving. The short-sighted regard such as defects and become astonished. But they of uplifted eyes recognise them as the mole on Fortune's cheek, and regard them as a note of the subjugation of the evil eye. The fortunate man regards every evil which comes in his way, as the complement of perfection, while the unfortunate man regards them as his destruction, spiritual and temporal, and collapses into the collar of lamentation. The retrogradations of the planets—the regents of the seven[1] celestial climes—are an illustration of this and typify the design. Though the world-illuminating sun be hid from sight by cloud and vapour, yet in truth 'tis no mighty screen which has been lowered over mortal eyes, nor has any defect reached those glorious halls (the sun's). When it seemeth to be a cause of concealment, the strong blast of Divine power casts the vapour headlong and relegates it to the black earth. The phenomena of sunrise and sunset too are torch-bearing indicators of this. For the status and condition of the Treasury of Light when in the East are identical with his status and condition when under the veil of the West. And the condition which he hath when

[1] The sun and moon were recognised as planets, thus making seven in all.

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in the zenith and when in declination from the meridian, is absolutely the same as his condition when in the *nadir* of mid-night.[1] The difference is in the earth-born beholders and in the imaginations of the dwellers in a handful of clay. Assuredly the pinacles of his glory is all the holier because the thoughts of detrimental have touched its fringe. In accordance with these propositions, whoever cherisheth evil thoughts against tiara'ed lords of bliss,
189 and diademed lords of fortune, is caught at last by the exemplary punishment of his deeds, and becomes a primefactor of his own destruction. These truths are mirrored in the presage-full history of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī for in brief space was the skirt of his Majesty's fortune, which had been sullied by misfortune, washed and cleansed at the fountain-head of fruition, while all the ingrates received the punishment of their designs and deeds. The stack[2] of their lives and fortunes was consumed by the lightning of Divine wrath, and the note of the existence of those wretches was erased from the Book of Time. Accordingly the difficulties (*maṣā'ib*) and fatigues (*matā'ib*), of adversity (*'usr*) and the stations (*mawārid*) and ascensions (*maṭāli'*) of prosperity (*yusr*) are being set-forth in the order of their time and place.

In fine, as his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī's holiness-expressing soul had grown aweary of this world's vain show, and had turned away her lofty contemplation from the territory of Sind, it occurred to his sanctified mind to offer peace to the ruler of Tatta and to march to Qandahār. When the sublime cavalcade should arrive there, he would commit his Majesty, the king of kings, and the elect ones of his Court to God's protection, would plant his own foot on the highway of asceticism and retreat and ascend the steps of ecstacy and rapture and phœnix-like (*humāwār*), pet the pinnacle of love 'neath the wings of genius. As he had gained spiritual abundance by circumambulating the altar of the heart, he would, by conveying the sacred litter (*maḥmil*)[3] to the *ka'ba* of clay at one semblance and substance. As the spiritual pinacothek had been constructed, he would also adorn the visible temple. Thus would

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[1] *Watad-i-rub'-i-nisfu-l-lail.*

[2] *Khirman.* It also means parhelion or halo, and probably A. F. wished to take advantage of this double meaning.

[3] See Lane's Dict. 650*a*.

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hearts be conciliated and a method of truthful guidance be furnished to the simple-minded followers of forms.

He was occupied with these thoughts when the ruler of Tatta on understanding his intention, recognised his own gain therein and despatched a petition for peace. As the soaring falcon of his Majesty's genius had spread her wings for the chase of the phœnix (*'anqā*) and had withdrawn her far-seeing gaze from lower game and let it fall on lofty eyries, his petition reached the place of acceptation. The Arghūnīāns whose affairs were in distress, tossed the cap of joy to the skies on hearing the gladtidings of peace, and regarding the project as the goal of desire and as an unlooked for boon, forwarded a large present[1] and made various apologies.

His Majesty auspiciously and prosperously left Jūn for Qandahār *viâ* Sīwī (Sībī) on 7th Rabī'ul-ākhir, 950 (11th July, 1543). M.'Askar on hearing of the approach of the royal cavalcade, and acting by M. Kāmrān's orders and from his own wickedness, strengthened the fort (Qandahār) and proceeded with evil intentions with a large body of troops towards the sublime camp in order that he might by help of villainy take his Majesty prisoner. Meanwhile Amīr Allāh Dōst, one of the learned of the age and who had on several occasions acted as M. Kāmrān's Agent[2] (*vakīl*) and Shaikh 'Abdu-l 190
wahhāb[3] a descendant of Pūrān[4] were coming to solicit, in marriage on Mīrzā Kāmrān's behalf, the daughter of Shāh Ḥusain Beg Arghūn. On hearing of the approach of the sublime army, they took refuge in the castle of Sīwī. His Majesty Jahānbānī sent an exalted mandate to Mīr Allāh Dōst, summoning him to his presence, but he out of worthlessness, chose exclusion from the honour

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[1] Shāh Ḥusain on the principle of making a golden bridge for a flying enemy, sent Humāyūn 30 boats and 300 camels. Badāōnī I. 442. See also Gulbadan 526 ff.

[2] This may be compared with *Tār. Sind.* Bābā Cūcak is also mentioned there as one of Kāmrān's ambassadors.

[3] The *Tār. Sind* has a good deal to say about this man. He was descended from Abū Sā'id Pūrānī, and was of an Arabian family, settled in Sind. He was a distinguished lawyer and perhaps A. F.'s remark about the eminence of Allāh Dōst was intended for 'Abdu-l-Wahhāb.

[4] Possibly Jalālu-d-dīn Pūrānī is meant. But more probably the reference is to a descendant of his, Shaikh Mīrak Pūrānī who was Shaikhu-l-islām of Tatta. See *Tār. Sind.*

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of service and made the excuse that the garrison would not let him leave.

When the army came to the territory of Shāl, which is about 30[1] *farsakh* (150 miles) from Qandahār, Jalālu-d-dīn Beg, an officer of M. Kāmrān and who had a fief in the territory, had left people to capture any scouts and by them two of the royal servants who had gone on in advance to Sar-cashma[2] were arrested and brought in. One of them managed to escape from their clutches and came and reported what he had learnt of their evil designs by observing their ways and language. His Majesty Jahānbānī, on perceiving the ingratitude of this crew, gave up the idea of proceeding to Qandahār, and turned off towards Mashtang;[3] Pāyanda[4] Muḥammad Waisī took leave and went to Qandahār. With him was sent an autograph letter to M. 'Askarī, strong[5] in expressions such as might appeal to a little-loving, disloyal brother, and containing warnings and instructions. But where was the reason-harkening ear, and where the heart of right understanding? Treating these remonstrances as unheard, he continued to go on in his villainy. Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān,[6] Mahdī Qāsim Khān and many others of 'Askarī Mīrzā's servants remonstrated against his going lest his Majesty should grow desperate, and out of dire necessity proceed to Persia, and less great calamities should occur. Abū'l-khair and a number of wicked men uttered flattering, house-subverting words, outwardly specious but inwardly productive of evil and ruin, and confirmed him in his faulty resolves. On that day's

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[1] *Sih* in text, but the variant *sī* is right. Shāl is Quettah which is by compass about 130 miles south-east of Qandahār.

[2] I presume this is the place marked on the survey map as about 60 miles N. by W. of Quettah.

[3] See Errata of Text. Mashtang or Mastang lies about 30 miles, S. S. W. of Quettah and is between it and Khilāt. Both Mastang and Shāl are referred to in the *Āīn*, Jarrett II. 396, where they are described as east of Qandahār.

[4] Apparently Pāyamda Khān Mughul, nephew of Hājī Muḥammad Kōka, and perhaps the part-author of one of the translations of Bābar's Memoirs, (Blochmann 387 and Ma'āṣir 394.)

[5] Text, مصدّر *muṣaddar*, but most of if not all the MSS. I have consulted write مصدر without tashdīd, and as if the word was *maṣdar*, theme or source.

[6] Blochmann 348.

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morning which was his downfall's evening,[1] the Mīrzā proceeded with evil intent towards Mashtang. When he had advanced one or two *kos*, he asked his servants, if any of them had been that way. Jai Bahādur Ūzbak, who was Qāsim Ḥusāin Sulṭān's servant and had on this expedition taken service with the Mīrzā, said, "I know this road thoroughly, and have repeatedly gone and come by it!" The Mīrzā replied that he was speaking the truth for he had been a 191
jāgīrdār[2] there, and he bade him go on ahead and lead the way. He objected that his pony was knocked up, and the Mīrzā signed to Tarsūn Barlās, one of his servants, to give him his horse. He objected about his own necessities but had to surrender the animal. Jai Bahādur, who had served the king in India, advanced a little by auspicious guidance and then putting his horse to the gallop, went off to Bairām Khān's tent, and unfolded[3] the facts of the case. Baīrām Khān went with him to his Majesty Jahānbānī, whom he informed of the evil intentions of that ingrate ('Askarī). His Majesty sent to Tardī Beg and some others for horses. Those base, narrow-eyed men turned away from the perception of their good fortune (in thus having an opportunity of serving Humāyūn) and refused to give them. His Majesty wished to mount his horse (perhaps Jai Bahādur's) and go and give them a lesson. Bairām Khān deprecated doing this, as the moment was critical and there was no time for dallying. "Let the ingrates be left to God's vengeance, and let his Majesty follow his own course." On hearing this representation his Majesty, attended by a few devoted followers, took the road of the desert. He gave up the idea of Qandahār and Kābul and proceeded towards Persia (*'Irāq*) with the intention of going to the *Ḥijāz* (Mecca, &c.), and as a desert-traverser, entered on the path of separation (*firāq*). Khwāja Mu'aẓẓam, Nadīm Kōkaltāsh, Mīr Ghaznavī, and Khwāja 'Ambar Nāẓir were directed that his Majesty, the king of kings, was in the cradle of guardianship and under the protection of the

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[1] A. F. plays on the double meaning of *shām*, evening and unlucky. 'Askarī *advanced* in the morning, but this was in reality the retrogression (*idbār*) of his fortune.

[2] Probably what is meant is that his master had been *jāgīrdār*.

[3] *Pardagushāy-i-ḥaqīqat-i-ḥāl*. A.F. seeks to convey the double meaning that Jai Bahādur opened the fold of the tent (as he is said by other authorities to have done) and also disclosed the truth.

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Divine love, and that affliction's dust could not reach his fortune's skirt, but that they should by every possible means bring her Majesty Maryam-makānī to the king. Those right-minded ones made haste and performed acceptable service. After going a little way, night came on darker than the hearts of unacknowledging ingrates. Bairām Khān represented that his Majesty was aware of Mīrzā 'Askarī's lust for gold and property; that at this time the Mīrzā would be secure and at ease, and be sitting in a tent with two or three clerks, and looking at the list of the goods and chattels in his Majesty's camp. The proper thing for them was to rely upon the Divine favour, and to come suddenly on that tent, and settle his business. That though the Mīrzā had become alienated, all his servants had been brought up on his Majesty's salt, and that they would inevitably come forward and serve him. His Majesty approved of this proposal from the practical point of view,
192 but out of his pure nature and well-meaningness he declined to adopt it, and said they had now set out for a foreign land and had entered on a long journey, and that he would not give up his plans.[1] Once more he committed his Majesty, the king of kings, to the protection of the God of Glory, the repeller (*dāfi'*) of evils, and supporter (*rāfi'*) in dangers, and taking the eternal counsels as his guide and the everlasting favour as his helper in place and out of place, he fixed the saddle of dominion on the steed of enterprise, and the foot of forward-faring in the stirrup of trust and proceeded on his way.

When Mīrzā 'Askarī with his evil intentions approached Mashtang he sent on his *ṣadr* Mīr Abū'l-ḥasan that he might go to his Majesty Jahānbānī, and that if the latter was meditating departure, he might by trick and stratagem detain him. The Mīr arrived just when his Majesty Jahānbānī was mounting his horse, and sought to turn him by alleging sundry messages from the Mīrzā. His Majesty, by God's guidance, did not listen to his vain words, but rapidly went off. M. 'Askarī came up afterwards and sent Shāh Walad, Abū'l-khair and many others of his men to guard the camp and not let any one go out of it. He heard from the *Ṣadr* Mīr Abū'l-ḥusain

[1] The meaning is that Humāyūn had begun his pilgrimage to Mecca and so would not turn back.

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the story of Jai Bahādur's warning and of his Majesty Jahānbānī's departure. Tardī Beg Khān and the other faithless servants came and paid their respects to the Mīrzā who made them all over to trusty men of his own.

A short-sighted man, who does not reflect on the evil day or on a bad end and who enters on the path of wicked designs and of shamelessness, in reality strikes an axe into the foot of his own well-being, and prepares for himself misfortunes and heaven-sent adversities. These things are not hidden from the readers of the pages of the world's history! When Mīr Ghaznavī came and paid his respects to M. 'Askarī, the latter said, "We came to do homage to the king, wherefore has his Excellency gone off by the desert?" Then he inquired where the Prince was, meaning his Majesty, the king of kings. Mīr Ghaznavī said he was in his quarters. The Mīrzā said "Good, let a camel-load of fruit be taken to him from the commissariat (*rikābkhāna*); I am coming too." At night he and one or two clerks examined[1] in his tent some of the things which had been brought from the royal stores (*sarkār*); they wrote them down and the state of affairs was exactly as Bairām Khān had conjectured and had represented. Next day at breakfast time (about 9 A. M.) he had his drums beaten and moved from his quarters to the royal encampment. He alighted at the door of his Majesty Jahānbānī's residence (*daulatkhāna*) and had all the men, one by one, small and great, arrested. He made over Tardī Beg Khān to Shāh Walad, and he put all the unfaithful servants in charge of his own men and took them off to Qandahār. Many of them he destroyed by hardships and torments, and from Tardī Beg Khān he took all his 193
hoard so that he soon got the retribution of his deeds. But no, no! how could this be retribution for such crimes? if we called this typhoon of evils one revolution (*girdī*)[2] in the descending of retribution, it would still not be appropriate.[3]

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[1] Jauhar, who remained in the camp, describes how disappointed 'Askarī was to find that a heavy chest contained only stones.

[2] *Cf.* text I. 63, l. 5 where the same word *girdī* is used. But several MSS. have *nazl* نزل instead of *nuzūl* نزول as if the phrase was an atom (*girdī*) out of the abundance. Typhoon, *tūfān*, means etymologically a turning or revolving (*cf.* whirlwind) and hence is appropriately used here.

[3] Tardī Beg was eventually put to death by Bairām Khān.

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Verse.[1]

If a wicked and ill-fated man
Become good by a teacher's instruction,
In the end the mystery is explained
For then his true nature is revealed.

It is clear to those who can discern the mysteries of fate, that when the fortunate hand of an eternally elected one be decked with sovereignty's signet, and the dominion-head be exalted by the *khilāfat's* diadem, the rays of glory are ever shining on the forehead of his career. One of the wondrous indications and celestial portents which occurred at this time in relation to his Majesty, the king of kings, was as follows. When Mīrzā 'Askarī came to the royal camp and began his improprieties, Mīr Ghaznavī and Māham Āghā[2] brought his Majesty the king of kings before him on the shoulder of honour and in the bosom of security. Though the Mīrzā directed his countenance towards him and had a jubilant[3] air and wore a forced smile, his Majesty, even then an aggregate of the perfections of a mature man of the world, spite of his tender years, was in no way elated (*shigufta*). Restraint[4] of spirit was manifested on his brow. The Mīrzā changed his tone[5] and said, "We

[1] The text has in the first line *kunad* instead of *kunish* and consequently is unintelligible. Most of the I. O. MSS. have *kunish* كنش and I think this is unquestionably the right reading. The meaning is that the coltish nature will break through some day, or as Bābar exexpresses it, that everything returns to its original. It corresponds to the Horatian maxim about nature's returning even if expelled by a pitchfork.

[2] So in text instead of the Anaga sometimes used. Probably Āghā is right for it is also a term applied to a woman.

[3] *Dar maqām-i-shigaufṭagī u zahrkhand āmad. Zahrkhand* is said by the *Bahār-i-'ajam* to be the opposite of *shukrkhand*. It means smiling or laughter out of anger or recklessness, *lit.* a poison-smile. A sardonic smile perhaps expresses the meaning.

[4] *Qabẓ-i-khāṭir*, repression or depression of spirit; قبض and بسط, says Lane 2482*b*, are terms applied by the investigators of truth among the Sufis, to two contrary states of the heart, from both of which it is seldom or never free; the former being an affection of the heart withholding it from dilatation and joys. See also Dict. T. T. II. 1198. There A. F. uses it in opposition to *shiguftagī* which literally means expansion.

[5] *Ṭarīq shuda.* This term is explained by the Bahār-i-'ajam to mean

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can see whose this child is. Why should he be elated at seeing us?" The Mīrzā's ring was hanging from his neck by a red ribbon and after a little while the child in accordance with infantive ways—no! no! by Fortune's guiding hand, put his hand to the ribbon and sought to take it. The Mīrzā immediately took the ribbon from his neck and gave it to his Majesty, the king of kings. The acute in the assembly saw in this an auspicious prognostic that bye-and-bye the seal of dominion and the ring of sovereignty would bear his Majesty's name, and that water flowing from the fount of Divine bounties would become a river. From thence his Majesty the Shāhanshāh went, protected by the Divine aid, in company with M. 'Askarī towards Qandahār. Standing and sitting, sleeping and waking, rays of greatness and command streamed from his Majesty's forehead, and the lights of God's knowledge were manifested. On the road Kōkī Bahādur, one of M. 'Askarī's confidants, came near his Majesty's (Akbar) camel litter and said to Mīr Ghaznavī that if he made the prince over to him he would take him to the king. The Mīr replied that as the king himself had not taken him, 'twas evident there was a reason for leaving him; nor could he venture without high authority to take action. Bahādur said, "I've formed the desire to serve his Majesty and hence I come at such a time of desolation 194
to do so. I wanted to perform this service and now that you don't exalt me by this blessing, give me a token from his Majesty, the king of kings (Akbar), that I may give it to his Majesty." Mīr Ghaznavī gave to Bahādur his Majesty's cap,[1] the diadem of the moon of auspiciousness, and thereby exalted him.

M. 'Askarī brought his Majesty, the king of kings, to Qandahār on 18th Ramaẓān, 950 (16th December, 1543), and assigned him a residence in the citadel near himself. Māham Āghā, Jījī Anaga and Atka Khān were made eternally fortunate by serving him, and longed for the diffusion of the light of holiness. The Mīrzā made over this nursling of fortune who was growing up in the shadow of the

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hanging down the head, or the reversal of a former condition. He quotes p. 216*b* A.F. for such use of it.

The *tāqīya* is properly the skull-cap worn under the turban, but perhaps this was all the child was wearing. It is very ridiculous that A. F. makes Bahādur speak of the infant as his Majesty Shāhanshāh, a title not invented for him till long afterwards.

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Divine protection, to his own wife Sulṭān[1] Begam, and that cupola of chastity out of her abundant wisdom, lovingly and devotedly tended him. To appearance she watched over him, but in reality she was keeping herself alongside of light absolute, and so receiving illumination, and day by day she was beholding more and more the glory (*farr*) of greatness proceeding from the light-increasing brows of that world-blessing.

Evil thoughts respecting one who is God-supported and in whose person God-nourished light exists, can only terminate in good, and out of contrariety nothing can come except service and benefit. Accordingly Eternal Providence was tending him at that time when paternal affection and maternal love should have been responsible for his needments (*takafful-i-muhimmāt*) and he was in the hands of deadly enemies, so that the foot of loyalty of the far-sighted of wisdom's kingdom might be the more established, and that a guiding lamp might come into the hands of the short-sighted and simple, and that the facts of the Divine watchfulness and of heavenly guardianship might be manifest to friend and foe. I have heard from the sacred lips of his Majesty, the king of kings, as follows: "I perfectly remember what happened when I was one year old, and especially the time when his Majesty Jahānbānī proceeded towards 'Irāq and I was brought to Qandahār. I was then one year[2] and three months old. One day Māham Anaga, the mother of Adham Khān, (who was always in charge of that nursling of fortune), represented to M. 'Askarī, "It is a Tūrkī[3] custom that when a child begins to walk, the father or grandfather or whoever represents them, takes off his turban and strikes the child with it, as he is going along, so that the nursling of hope may come to the ground (*i. e.*, may fall down). At present his Majesty Jahānbānī is not here; you are in his room, and it is fitting you should perform this spell which is

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[1] This lady went, after her husband's death, to Mecca in company with Gulbadan Begam and others in 1574.

[2] Fourteen months, *viz.*, from 15th October, 1542, to 16th December, 1543, or 14½ Muḥammadan months.

[3] Text, *rasm-i-buzurgān*, ancestral custom, but I. V. MS. A. 564, and 3308 and 3330 have Turkān, and this is most likely to be correct. Māham Anaga being a Turk or Uzbak might speak of Tūrkī customs to 'Askarī, but would hardly refer to ancestr customs.

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like *sipand*[1] against the evil eye. The Mīrzā immediately took off his turban and flung it at me, and I fell down." "This striking and falling," his Majesty deigned to observe, "are visibly before me. Also at the same time they took me for good luck to have my head shaved[2] 195
at the shrine of Bābā[3] Ḥasan Abdāl. That journey and the taking off my hair are present before me as in a mirror."

What is there extraordinary about this or a hundred things like it, to any one in the blissful chambers of whose heart there is an enkindled lamp?

As the thread of the narrative has extended so far, it is unavoidable that for the moistening of discourse (*sīrābī-i-sukhan*), I say something about the remaining events of Sher Khān, about Mīrzā Ḥaidar's going to Kashmīr, about the condition of M. Kāmrān who went to Kābul, and M. Hindāl who hurried off to Qandahār, and Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā who made opposition and remained in Bhakkar, o that the searcher after instruction may take warning, and by the strength of a happy fortune, spend his days prudently and righteously.

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[1] Apparently *sipand* is not wild rue, but *mehndī*, *i.e.*, *Lawsonia inermis*, which yields henna.

[2] Probably what was cut off was a *cūnti*, or tuft. See Herbelot, pp. 21 and 180.

[3] There is a famous shrine of Ḥasan Abdāl in the Attock *tahsil* of the Rāwal Pindī district. See Murray's Hand-book for the Panjāb 268, the *Tuzak-i-jahāngīrī* 48 and Blochmann 575. Jahāngīr says that Shamsu-d-dīn Atka made a reservoir at Ḥasan Abdāl, and as he was Akbar's guardian and foster-father, it is possible that it was to this Ḥasan Abdāl that the child was taken. But the shrine is a long way off from Qandahār and it is doubtful if 'Askarī would have allowed Akbar to be removed so far. There is a shrine called Bābā Walī, and also Ḥasān Abdāl, in the outskirts of Qandahār (to the westward). It is mentioned *infra* text I. 238, eight lines from foot, and it is probably to this place that Akbar was taken.

I may note that there is a long account of the saint Ḥasan Abdāl in the *Tar. Sind.* Mā'ṣūm was a descendant of his, the saint's original home being Sabzwār in Persia.

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CHAPTER XXX.

Brief account[1] of the evil-ending career of Shēr Khān.

It is known that Shēr Khān after crossing the Bīāh (Beas) advanced slowly, and in spite of all his warlike equipment acted with great circumspection. He was greatly afraid lest the heroes of the royal army should coalesce and advancing into the field of warfare should exact vengeance from him and bring to nothing all his treacherous machinations. He had sent a large force ahead, but was very cautious about engaging. After some days, when the defection of M. Kāmran, and the opposition of the other brothers became known far and wide, he came to Lāhōr. From thence he advanced as far as Khushāb,[2] and was for some days in Bhera[3] and its neighbourhood. He sent a summons to Sulṭān Sārang[4] Ghakkar and Sulṭān Ādam who were leading landholders in that neighbourhood, but as they had been clients of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī, and had prospered by the favour of that exalted family they did not listen to his overtures. He advanced to Hathīāpūr[5] in the Ghakkar territory and sent a large force against them. The Ghakkars fought bravely and defeated the Afghans so that many of them were captured and sold. Shēr Khān wished to march against them in person. He consulted his followers and they advised that as this tribe had strong mountains and remote (*zamīnhā-i-qalb*, heart, *i.e.*, internal) territories, they should be dealt with by degrees and by

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[1] This and the two following headings do not occur in several MSS.

[2] Jarrett II, 323. In Shāhpūr, Panjab v. bank Jehlam, W. N. W. Lāhōr.

[3] Also in Shāhpūr, North-West Khushāb.

[4] See Delmerick, l. c. and Blochmann, 486.

[5] Perhaps Hatiyār Lang, Jarrett II, 325. Named after Hātī Ghakkar; Bābar, 259, and Tuzak-i-Jahāngīrī, S. Aḥmad ed. 47, where the place is called Hatīya. It is between Rohtās and Rawal Pindi, and near a river called the Kāsī. Delmerick apud Blochmann, 487*n*.

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policy. The proper course was to leave a large army in that neighbourhood which could both watch the royal army and also devastate the country of the Ghakkars. It was also desirable that a strong fort should be built for the carrying out of these two objects. Thus by a counter move these men would be impeded by their own impediments (*az tanganāī-i-khud batang āmada*) and their stubborn heads be brought low. For himself, the proper course was to turn back and apply himself to the administration of the vast country of India. In consequence of this advice he laid the foundations of 196
the Fort of Rohtās[1] and having left a large force there he marched back and came to Āgra. From thence he came to Gwalior where Mīr Abū-l-Qāsim was sheltering himself, but was obliged by want of provisions to surrender. Shēr Khān became supreme, and divided all India, except Bengal, into 47 divisions. He introduced the branding[2] of soldiers' horses and carried into effect some of the many plans of Sulṭān 'Alā'u-d-dīn which are set forth in the Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-shāhī,[3] and which he had heard of. After that he proceeded against Pūran[4] Mal the Raja of Raisīn and Candīrī. He got the Raja out of the fort by a dishonest treaty and promises and by the efforts of sundry misguided lawyers[5] and wretched ignoramuses he destroyed the very men to whom he had given quarter. Thence he came to

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[1] I. G. s. v. Rotās. Named after Rohtās in Bihar; on the Kahan and in the Salt Range. For description see Murray's Hand-book, Panjab, 237. See also Tuzak-i-Jahāngīrī, pp. 46, 47.

[2] According to the Chronicle, Shēr Shāh claimed this as his own invention.

[3] Elliot III, 197 and also 179.

[4] According to one account descended from the Salhadī of Bābar's Mem. But 'Abbās calls him Bhāīa Pūran Mal and says he was only an officer under Salhadī's family.

[5] A. F.'s indignation is very creditable to him and he is apparently the only writer who expresses it, Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Badāonī and Ferishta tell the story without censure, and 'Abbās Khān seems to exult in it. Elliot IV, 402. But A. F. draws a veil over the fact, mentioned by the other historians, that the leading instigator or ratifier of Shēr Shāh's shameless breach of faith was a lawyer or rather theologian named Rafīu-d-dīn Ṣafavī of whose wisdom and learning A. F. speaks so highly in Chapter XXVI and in Jarrett, III. 423. Probably the reason for this reticence was that A. F.'s mother was the daughter or other near descendant of Rafī-ud-dīn. See Jarrett l. c. The reason the lawyers gave for the breach of the safe-conduct was that Pūran Mal had Muḥammadan women in his *harem* and had even made some of

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Āgra and after the manner of the governors[1] (*ḥukkām*) of Bengal established serais on the roads at the distance of every *kos*.

After a dangerous illness in Āgra[2] he marched against Māldēō the lord of Ajmīr, Nāgor and many other cities. When he had by fraud and guile[3] disposed of that territory he hastened to Citūr and Ranthanbūr. There too he practised his juggleries so that the custodians of the forts sent him the keys. Having got rid of everything there he entered the territory of Dhundīra.[4] From there he went to the fort of Kālinjar and laying siege to it, he made covered approaches (*sābāṭhā*) and drove mines against it. On 10th Muḥarram,[5]

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them into dancing girls. In a footnote to the text there is a passage which is too interesting to be omitted, supported as it is by two MSS. It is to the effect that on account of the breach of faith Quṭb Khān left Shēr Shāh's service and became a hermit. It is not clear who this Quṭb Khān was, but he could not have been Shēr Shāh's son for he had been shortly before killed in battle. 'Abbās Khān, Elliott, l. c. calls him Quṭb Khān Nabīt and says, as also does Badāōnī, that he was one of the negotiators of the treaty. The word which I have translated ignoramuses is *safīhān*. Could A. F. possibly mean to pun on Rafīu-d-dīn's title of Ṣafavī? For definition of safa, see Lane's Dict. 1377*b* and Dict. T. T. I. 724.

[1] Referring to Ḥusain Shāh of Gaur, Stewart's Bengal 109.

[2] According to 'Abbās the illness occurred on his way to Bihar and Bengal.

[3] Alluding to the stratagem of the forged letters by which he is said to have deceived Māldēo. See Elphinstone's History. This is probably the Ḥādiṣa-i-Māldēo, Maldeo's catastrophe, to which A. F. refers in the *Āīn*, Jarrett III. 421 and note. It was this affair that drove A. F.'s father from Nāgōr.

[4] This is Jaipūr in Ambar, the old name of which was Dhūndār. See Tod's Rajasthan.

[5] This month and day are wrong. The date given by Ferishta and Khāfī Khān is 12 Rabī'u-l-awwal. A. F. says Shēr Khān reigned 5 years, 2 months, 13 days, which does not agree with the date 10th Muḥarram. Shēr Shāh is said to have assumed the title and to have struck coins after the battle of Qanauj. This occurred in the beginning of 947, 10th Muḥarram, whence perhaps A. F.'s date 10th Muḥarram 952, in order to make it an anniversary and point a moral. If we reckon that he ruled five years, *viz.*, 947–51 and died 12 Rabī-'ul-awwal we get the figures 5 2 12 or almost exactly A. F.'s. Indeed if he did not die till after sunset the 13 is right. A. F. refers to Shēr Shāh's death in the *Āīn*, Jarrett II, 159, 160. As pointed out by Erskine, A. F. later on, p. 336 of text gives another date for the death, *viz.*, 11 Rabī-'ul-awwal.

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952, or 5th March, 1545, he was consumed by flames of fire which had spontaneously arisen out of the smoke-sighs[1] of the oppressed. The chronogram of his combustion was found in the words "*(a)z ātish murd :*" "Died from fire (=952)." Though in taking this splendid citadel his life came out of its elemental quadrilateral,[2] yet the fort came into possession. He governed Hindustan by fraud and craft 5 years, 2 months, 13 days. Eight[3] days afterwards his younger son Jalāl Khān took his place, and calling himself Islām Khān took the title of Shāh. He surpassed even his father in wickedness. As the sway of those two seditious impostors was alongside of the crescent-moon[4] world-lighting splendours of the standards of the everlasting dominion like the light of fireflies,[5] semblance without substance, the mysterious design of God for the sake of some purposes, which were infolded in His wisdom's ambushes, let it prank for a few days and then levelled it with the dust of ruin, and so the world escaped from the grip of the existence of those tyrannous mischief-makers.[6]

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[1] The allusion seems to be to the Gulistān I, 27. *Dūd* means smoke, but is used metaphorically for the sighs or exhalations of the heart.

[2] A. F. plays upon the supposition that the human body is made up of four elements, and compares this quadrilateral to the four walls of Kalinjar.

[3] According to Niẓāmu-d-dīn and Ferishta Islām Khān succeeded on 15 Rabī-'ul-awwal, or the third day after the death.

[4] *Mahca*, a crescent, or perhaps a ball representing a moon which was carried on the standards.

[5] *Kirmakān-i-shabtāb*, tiny, night-gleaming worms, but apparently fireflies are meant. I do not remember to have seen glow worms in India, and the reference to the falling to the ground shows that fireflies are intended, and Chalmers so translates the passage.

[6] *Mu'arbidān-i-satīzakār. Mu'arbid* is properly one who does not carry his liquor well, and so annoys his boon-companions. Lane 1995c.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

Brief account of M. Ḥaidar.

The story of M. Ḥaidar is as follows:—When he had got assistance from his Majesty Jahānbānī, he proceeded towards Kashmīr,
197 as already related. When he got to Naushahr,[1] the officers whose names have already been given, loyally came forward and did homage, and again showed him how he could enter Kashmīr and take possession of it. The Mīrzā advanced by the passes in reliance on the Divine aid and the royal fortune. Meanwhile a schism occurred in the Emperor's army. As has been already stated, Khwāja Kilān Beg either from his own inclination or at the instance of M. Kāmrān, abandoned the enterprise and joined M. Kāmrān, while Muẓaffar Tūpcī[2] went off to the Sārang[3] hills. None remained with M. Ḥaidar save a few old servants and the troops whom his Majesty Jahānbānī had deputed to his assistance. But as there was much strife and dissension and confusion and anarchy in Kashmīr, he was warmly supported by the eagerness of the Kashmīrīs, and on 22nd Rajab, 947 (22nd November, 1540), he entered by the pass of Pūnc[4] and conquered Kashmīr without a battle or a struggle. For at that time it had been long without an established ruler, and the ministers tyrannously held the country in their own possession, and while giving to one of the claimants the name of monarch, themselves exercised the authority. At that period a person called Nāzuk Shāh—having a name that was no name[5] was the

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[1] *Tār. Rash.* 483. Naushahr is in Kashmīr and W. N. W. of Jammū. It is not given in the Ind. Gaz. It was the old capital.

[2] *Tār. Rash.* 483, Iskandar. And B. M. Add. 27, 247, Iskandar.

[3] The Ghakkar country S. W. of Kashmīr, Panūc.

[4] Text, but there is a variant Pūnc and Niẓāmu-d-dīn so writes it.

[5] A. F. puns on the word Nāzuk which means slight or slender, and calls it an *ism-i-bī-musammāī* (like the 'outis' of Ulysses). There is the variant Bārak (qu. Nārak), and the coins give Nādir. See Mr. Rodgers' paper, J. A. S. B. 1885, p. 114.

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reputed sovereign. Under such circumstances in whatever direction there might not be union, or plan, or counsel, or judgment, to that quarter did the affairs of the country drift. It was the winter-quadragesima[1] and there was heavy snow. When Kāci Cak saw[2] that M. Ḥaidar was disposed to make himself independent, he, using the craft and perfidy which are indispensable to Kashmīrīs, left Kashmīr and went before Shēr Khān. For his object in bringing in M. Ḥaidar was his own aggrandisement and when that was not achieved, but when on the contrary things assumed a different shape, he withdrew his hand and entered on another scheme. He now tried another course and gave Shēr Khān the sister of Isma'īl, the son of Muḥammad Shāh.[3] When he had made himself acceptable by this means he took 'Alāwal Khān,[4] Ḥasan Khān Sarwānī and others to the number of 2,000 men and came to Kashmīr. Meanwhile Abdāl Mākrī, who was his backer, died of dropsy, and M. Ḥaidar having left his family in Andarkōt,[5] which is a very strong place, was in a protected position. The people of Kashmīr all deserted him and but few persons remained with him. He spent three months in the mountain defiles, and then on Monday, 20 Rabī'u-ṣ-ṣānī, 948 (16th August, 1541), a battle took place, and by God's help he gained the victory. Though the enemy, consisting partly of Afghān auxiliaries and partly of faith- 198
less Kashmīrīs was more than 5,000 horse, yet as their action was based on faithlessness and disloyalty, it did not succeed and they were defeated. Many of the enemy were slain, and a party of them were made prisoner. Kashmīr came absolutely into the possession of the Mīrzā, and the Kashmīrī preacher (*khaṭīb*) Maulānā Jamālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Yūsuf found the chronogram *fatḥ-i-mukarrar* (victory repeated=948). Though the use of the word "repeated" (*takrār*)

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[1] *Cilla-i-dai*, the forty days of *Dai*, a Persian month corresponding to December. Here *Dai* must be taken to mean winter as the month has 30 days only. The text has *bārān*, rain, but *Tār. Rash.* 485 shows that snow is meant.

[2] *Lit.* read on the brow of M. Ḥaidar's conduct the writing of independence (or absolute sovereignty).

[3] A former ruler of Kashmīr. Apparently he reigned four times and Nāzuk three. Jarrett II. 379, 380.

[4] Variant 'Ādil Khān and so in Firishta, but Niẓāmu-d-dīn has 'Alāwal.

[5] See *Tār. Rash.* 485 *n.* and Jarrett II. 370, but perhaps Indrakōt is the true reading.

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might be applicable to the present expedition of the Mīrzā, yet as he himself has pointed[1] out in his history, the reference is to the fact that he once came[2] to Kashmīr by the pass of Lār, as the agent of Sa'īd Khān, the ruler of Kāshghar, and got possession of it on 4th Sha'bān,[3] 939 (1st March, 1533). But towards the end of Shawwāl of that year, (May 1533), he made peace with the Kashmīr ministers, and with Muḥammad Shāh who was then the nominal ruler. The Shāh's daughter was given in marriage for Iskandar Sulṭān, the Mīrzā's son,[4] and the Mīrzā returned by the way he had entered.

When on this (last) occasion a providential victory was gained, and Kashmīr was conquered, he for ten years zealously applied himself to its administration and clothed that charming land, but of desolated[5] appearance, with cities[6] and civilization. He sent for artists and craftsmen from all quarters and laboured for its renown and prosperity. Especially was music[7] in brisk demand and varieties of instruments were introduced. In short, the outward condition of that country, that is, its worldly state, acquired solidity. But owing to the Mīrzā's frigid[8] and insipid bigotries, the result of imperfect

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[1] *Tār. Rash.* 423.

[2] *Tār. Rash.* 423 and Jarrett II. 363. Ḥaidar on that occasion entered Kashmīr from Baltistān, *i. e.*, from the N. E.

[3] Apparently this is not the date of the victory, but of occasion on which the Kashmirīs rallied after their defeat, (*Tār. Rash.* 437–39,) but Ḥaidar is not very explicit. In the *Āīn* A. F. wrongly gives the date as 930. Jarrett II, 390.

[4] Iskandar was not Ḥaidar's son, but Sa'īd Khān's, (T. R.) 341, though Ḥaidar at Sa'īd Khān's request regarded him as his own. In the *Āīn* A. F. correctly calls Sikandar (or Iskandar) the son of Sa'īd Khān. See also *Akbarnāma* III. 552, l. 8. Probably *pisar-i-khud* is a copyist's error for *pisar-i-khwānda*, *i.e.*, adopted son.

[5] *Ḥukm-i-kharāba dāsht. Ḥukm* seems to be used here in the sense of appearance, *cf.* p. 127, l. 4 and 196, l. 5 from foot.

[6] Apparently an adaptation of the phrase used by Ḥaidar about his predecessor Zainu-l-'ābidīn.

[7] *Lit.* for music there was a bazaar (*hāt*).

[8] *Ta'aṣṣubhā-i-khunuk-t-bīnamak. Ta'aṣṣub* has etymologically nearly the meaning religion. *Cf.* p. 334. l. 9. *Khunuk:* A. F. in the *Āīn* uses the word with reference to Sulṭān Sikandar, another ruler of Kashmīr. He seems to contrast his bigotry and that of Ḥaidār with the liberal spirit of his son Zainu-l-'ābidīn.

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development, the essentials for Kashmīr, *viz.*, unanimity and fidelity, found a bad market. And to this day there is an odour of bigotry about the Kashmīrīs, for there is a powerful influence in association, and especially is a strong impression produced by the ways of princes who are vigorous. It is to be hoped that by the blessing of his Majesty, the king of king's truth and chastity (*ḥaqīqat ū ḥaqqānīyat*) Kashmīr, spiritual and temporal, may attain unity, and that the articles of worship and religion may become current, unadulterated by hypocrisy and bigotry.

One of the capital and most inauspicious mistakes of the Mīrzā was that in spite of such victory he read the *khuṭba* and struck the coin in the name of Nāzuk Shāh after the fashion of the Kāshmīrī ministers. He should have fulfilled his duty of loyalty towards his Majesty Jahānbānī and have impressed the *darāhim* and *danānīr* and the pulpit *rostra* with his Majesty Jahānbānī's sacred name. Apparently he was temporising and was not giving currency to disloyalty, for when Kābul[1] was taken he honoured himself by having the *khuṭba* read in his Majesty Jahānbānī's sacred name.

In 958 (apparently October, 1551) he became, in a night attack 199
by the Kashmīrīs, a traveller to the region of non-existence. The short account of this is as follows :—

The Mīrzā transgressed the law of justice,—dominion's watchman, —and took to living for his own lusts and pleasures. He let fall from his hands prudence and the bearing of burdens, those two arms of felicity. The fraud and seditiousness of the Kashmīrīs which had been subverted by the Mīrzā's skill and sagacity, again stood up and the hypocritical and wicked faction took the road of deceit and in

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See Jarrett II. 387, 388. It is clear from the *Tār. Rash.* that Ḥaidar was a rigid Muḥammadan of the Sunnī school and a persecutor of Sufīs, &c. See Elias & Ross, p. 436. He there takes exactly the opposite view to that of A. F. with regard to Sikandar and Zainu-l-'ābidīn.

1 There are Kashmīr coins bearing Humāyūn's name and dated either 952 or 953. *Tār. Rash.* 24. Mr. Rodgers gives representations of three, of which one, No. 33, bears the date 950. Kābul was twice taken by Humāyūn, once in Ramaẓān 952, (November, 1545), and again in Rajab 955, (August, 1548). A. F. apparently refers to this second capture for he mentions that after this event an embassy arrived from Ḥaidar. (A. N. II. 284).

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friendly garb did the work of enemies. Their best stroke was the separating his army from him by stratagem, and the scattering of his capable servants. Some were sent towards Tibet, some to Paktī, and some to Rajaurī. 'Īdī Rīnā and Ḥusain Mākrī, son of Abdāl Mākrī, gained over Khwāja[1] Ḥājī, the Kashmīrī pedlar (*baqqāl*), who was the manager of the Mīrzā's affairs. They drew a great many to their side and marched against the Mīrzā. Ghāzī Khān and Malik Daulat Cak also joined them. Near Khānpūr, between Hīrapūr and Srīnagar, which last is the chief city of Kashmīr and the seat of government, they made a night-attack on the Mīrzā. He had approached the quarters of Khwāja Ḥājī to release Qarā[2] Bahādur, who was a prisoner. Suddenly he lost his life at the hands of Kamāl Dūbī,[3] though some say one of his own servants unknowingly hit him with an arrow.[4]

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[1] *Tār. Rash.* 460 and 482.

[2] Ḥaidar's second cousin. See his biography in the *Ma'āṣir* III. 48 and in Blochmann 460.

[3] Text, *Dūlī*, but the variant *Dūbī* is right, for Niẓāmu-d-dīn speaks of Kamāl Dūbī as one of the persons who is supposed to have killed Ḥaidar.

[4] See *Tār. Rash.* App. A. 487 and Calcutta Review No.

A. F.'s account of Ḥaidar should be compared with Niẓāmu-d-dīn's and Firishta's and also with the *Tār. Rash.* and A. F.'s own statements in the *Āīn*. In the latter he is more favourable to Ḥaidar than in the *Akbarnāma*. The translation, (Jarrett II. 340,) does not seem quite correct. What A. F., text 584, 585, says, I think, is that the Kashmīrīs read the *khuṭba* in Nāzuk's name and that Ḥaidar at one and the same time recognised Humāyūn. The introduction of arts into Kashmīr which A. F. ascribes, in part, to Ḥaidar, is modestly attributed by the Mīrzā himself to Zainu-l-'ābidīn. *Tār. Rash.* 434.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

Brief sketch of Mīrzā Kāmrān's career.

As a short account of Mīrzā Ḥaidar has been given, I shall now record the actions of M. Kāmrān. On that ill-omened occasion when M. Kāmrān chose separation from his Majesty Jahānbānī and proceeded towards Kābul, he on arriving at Khushāb treated chiefship and pre-eminence (*sarī ū sarwarī*) as an affliction, and time,[1] the gamester, as his ally and had the *khuṭba* read in his own name. Improprieties of this kind will ever be manifested by him who maketh not far-seeing wisdom and instruction his counsellor and beloved associate. He knoweth not the duties of love nor the paths of generosity. He regardeth others' bane as his good, and scattereth evil seed in good men's fields. It is manifest what sort of crop will spring from such a sowing and tilling. And how shall the tree of his hopes yield the wished-for fruit? There is no permanency for him who takes no thought of the issue of things, nor any bond in fortune fastened to oneself by violence. What stability is there in a lofty palace wanting foundation; it soon falls to pieces like a minaret of ice! What fixity has a first night's moon which like a blinding flash of lightning vanishes in the twinkling of an eye? M. Kāmrān's sovereignty was quickly gone, like the freshness 200
of a rose, and his fortune departed like the soon-dying breeze of spring!

To be brief; he came by way of Dhankōṭ[2] to the bank of the Indus. Muḥammad Sulṭān and Ulugh Mīrzā who had gone into the Multan territory but had been unable to maintain themselves there,

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[1] That is, he regarded the whirligig of time whereby Humāyūn had been dethroned &c. as an advantage for himself.

[2] Jarrett II. 401 and note, and Bābar's Memoirs 140 where it is called Dīnkōt.

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came and saluted M. Kāmrān on the river-bank. The Mīrzā tarried there for a while, and when the rebels fell into difficulties about corn, he made a bridge and crossed the river. Thence he came to Kābul and there he opened the gates of enjoyment in front of his own existence and spent his days in the indulgence of his pleasures and lusts. And Jamshīd[1] of Merv's saying, "Until the tiger leave the jungle, the pasturage is not open for the deer; nor till the falcon seek her nest, has the partridge freedom to fly," was verified in this instance. M. Kāmrān gave Ghaznīn and its territory to 'Askarī M. and sent Khwāja Khāwand Muḥammad on an embassy to Sulaimān M. in Badakhshān with the request that he would submit and make M. Kāmrān's style and coinage current in Badakhshān also. M. Sulaimān sent back the ambassador *re infectâ* and M. Kāmrān got enraged at this and led an army into Badakhshān. Near the village of Bārī[2] an engagement took place and when M. Sulaimān saw his own weakness and M. Kāmrān's strength he sent an envoy to knock at reconciliation's door. He caused the *khuṭba* to be read and coinage to be issued in M. Kāmrān's name; and the latter also took some Badakhshān territory from M. Sulaimān and gave it to his own men and then returned full of success. Meanwhile news came that M. Hindāl had taken possession of Qandahār. M. Kāmrān collected an army and marched against the city and besieged the fort for six months. M. Hindāl's supplies falling short, he asked for quarter and delivered up the fort. M. Kāmrān gave Qandahār to M. 'Askarī and returned to Kābul, bringing M. Hindāl along with him. For some days he treated M. Hindāl with severity but afterwards out of brotherhood and from hypocrisy in the guise of concord, gave him the fertile tract of Jūī Shāhī, which now bears the name of his Majesty the king of kings, and is called Jalālābād. The ruler of Sind also submitted[3] and now fortune was ministering the materials of negligence till M. Sulaimān broke his compact and seized of the territories which M. Kāmrān had

[1] Apparently the riddle-maker mentioned at text, 221 and Blochmann, 102.

[2] Chalmers, Mārī and Nārī in variant. Perhaps it is Paryān or it may be Barah which is marked on the map half way between Paryān and Chitral.

[3] Probably this refers to Shāh Ḥusain's giving his daughter in marriage to Kāmrān after refusing her to Humāyūn.

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detached from Badakhshān. M. Kāmrān a second time led his army thither and a battle was fought near Andarāb.[1] M. Sulaimān was defeated and took refuge in Fort Ẓafar. M. Kāmrān followed him and besieged the fort. He stopped the coming of supplies and many of the inhabitants of Badakhshān came and did homage to him. As M. Sulaimān despaired of his soldiers, who were only eye-servers (*cashm-i-wafā dāsht*) and also as the fort was in difficulties from want of supplies, he was obliged to submit. M. Kāmrān left Qāsim Birlās, Mīrzā 'Abdu-l-lāh and many others of his 201
partisans under the charge of the said Birlās in Badakhshān, and himself went back (to Kābul). Khwāja Ḥusain[2] of Merv found the date of this occurrence in the words "*Jum'a hafdahum-i-māh-i-Jumāda's-ṣānī.*" (Friday, Jumāda II, 17th, 948=October 8th, 1546). He kept M. Sulaimān and his son M. Ibrāhīm in confinement. When he returned, he put the city into fête for a month, and spent his days in insouciance. He remembered not his God, nor did he deal justice to the oppressed. Till at length the fortune-star of his Majesty Jahānbānī's gracious heaven ascended, and coming with dominion and auspiciousness, lodged his punishment in his bosom, as will be related hereafter.

(M. Hindāl.)

Whoever behaves improperly to his benefactor and advances along the path of insincerity, receives the punishment of his actions in this world (*lit.* in the same condition). The account of M. Hindāl is of this tenor. He, at such a crisis and time of strife and sedition, left the service of his Majesty Jahānbānī, and taking the road of faithlessness proceeded towards Qandahār. When Qarāca Khān, who was governing Qandahār for M. Kāmrān, heard of the Mīrzā's arrival, he came out of the fort and respectfully embraced him. He made over the territory to the Mīrzā. Many days had not[3] elapsed when M. Kāmrān came and took possession thereof. He imprisoned

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[1] Jarrett, III. 88. N. of Hindu Kush, South West Badakhshān.

[2] Blochmann, 574. A. F.'s somewhat disparaging remark about him there, may perhaps be due in part to his having celebrated a victory of Kāmrān. His odes on the births of Jahāngīr and Murād will be found at pp. 125 and 136 of Lowe's Badāonī.

[3] Kāmrān took Qandahār after a siege of six months.

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the Mīrzā and treated him with severity, as has already been briefly stated.

(YĀDGĀR NĀṢIR MĪRZĀ.)

It is certain that the end of the unfaithful, like the commencement of their deeds, is rejection by every heart (*mardūd-i-dilhā*). The wise do not place reliance (*i'tibār*) on unstable reliability (*i'tibār*). They wait in expectation of these ingrates receiving their portion so that they may be thankful and rejoice at their getting the punishment which is due for transgressions of rectitude, inasmuch as this will be a warning to mankind, and also an adminicle of the repentance of the wicked. Accordingly when Yādgār Nāṣir M. had been led from the right path by the deceit and perfidy of the ruler of Taṭṭa and had remained in Lohrī (Rohri), he stayed nearly two months there after the departure of his Majesty Jahānbānī. At last it became clear to him that the proposals of the ruler of Taṭṭa were all pretence, and his representations based on lies. Being helpless he abandoned his projects and proceeded towards Qandahār, though Hāshim Beg who was one of his truth-speaking well-wishers and well-pleasing (*riẓā-jūī*) followers, told him that his joining M. Kāmrān and his leaving the service of his Majesty Jahānbānī were not approved of, and that the world was a place of retribution, and that he should reflect upon this. And it is a thing certain that the mind of him whose day of calamity is at hand, becomes darkened, that he displays audacity in injuring his benefactor, and that he reckons the advice of the right-thinking as wind and does not admit it into the ears of his understanding, and that he regards the weighty words of the wise as fables and fictions.[1] Accordingly Yādgār Nāṣir M. being unblessed, went toward Qandahār. He arrived at the time when M. Kāmrān had brought the fort of Qandahār to extremity, and did
202 homage to him; and accompanied him to Kābul. M. Kāmrān sent a person to the ruler of Taṭṭa and requested him to send with all respect her Highness Bilqīs-makānī Shahrbānū[2] and her son M. Sanjar, for they had separated from Yādgār Nāṣir M. and had remained in the Bhakkar territory. The ruler of Taṭṭa sent them in a suitable

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[1] This is singularly like the *quem deus vult perdere*, &c.

[2] Of the household of Bilqīs, *i. e.*, Queen of Sheba.

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tonner, together with a large number of persons who had separated from his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī and were in that territory. By mistake or design it occurred that these people were sent by the route of the waterless and forageless desert. Many of them perished and when the remainder came to Shāl, fever broke out among them. Her Highness Bilqīs-makāni [1] died. Out of 2000 or 3000 men who were wandering in that caravan, only a few escaped with their lives and reached Qandahār.

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1 Younger half-sister of Bābar and full-sister of Yādgār's father Naṣir. She married Junaid Birlās, and bore him Sanjar.

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

March of the Sacred Band of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī to Khurāsān and Media ('Irāq), and account of what happened on the way.

Since the swift courser of the events-traversing pen has made some strides afield and has borne the words to their goal, let it now return to the track and resume its long journey. A brief account shall now be given of the finally victorious progress to Khurāsān and 'Irāq which came to pass to his Majesty Jahānbānī, and of his passing, with Providence for guide, through waterless deserts (*fayāfī*), saharas, and wastes.

When his Majesty, in accordance with the ordinance of the Eternal, planted his foot in the valley of resignation and took the path of the perilous wilderness (*cūl*), he honoured the attendants on his auspicious stirrup by the title of *Cūlī*.[1] By the infinite goodness of God, Malik Hātī Balūc, captain of the banditti, did homage in this howling wilderness (*cūl-i-pur-haul*), and conducting his Majesty to his abode, exerted himself in his service. He also became his guide out of that dread valley and brought him to the territory of Garmsir (*i. e.*, the warm region). Though Mīr 'Abdu-l-ḥai, the magistrate (*kalāntar*) of that territory, owing to unbefitting cautions, did not himself come forward and obtain the grace of service, yet he was assiduous in the performance of the rites of hospitality.

Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd[2] had come to that quarter to make

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[1] Man of the desert; it corresponds to Badawī or Bedouin.

[2] Blochmann 384 and 527. At 527 he is mentioned as one of the viziers or finance-ministers. But perhaps this really was his younger brother Mas'ūd. There is a long biography of the Khwāja in the Ma'āṣir I. 615. He was put to death by Mun'im Khān, apparently in consequence of his unbridled tongue. The Ma'āṣir makes Bairam Khān primarily responsible for his murder, cf. A. N. II. 70, 71. It was Jalālu-d-dīn who conducted M. 'Askarī to Badakhshān when he was sent off

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to collections of revenue on behalf of M. 'Askarī. His Majesty sent Bābā Dōst Bakhshī to him to guide him aright and to bring him into his service. The Khwāja recognised this as a great opportunity and hastened to accept service. He poured out every thing he had in his store, in cash and in kind, among the troops. His Majesty Jahānbānī received him with favour and committed to his prudent judgment the duties of the *mīr-sāmānī-i-sarkār-i-khāṣa*.[1] His Majesty spent several days in this region giving charming counsels and instructions 203
to his faithful followers, and showing by heart-touching argument the world's faithlessness and the instability of external circumstances. He turned back their secular spirits from the pursuit of such things and directed them to the true goal and to the real point which it behoves the student of the masters of mind to pay attention to. His Majesty's lofty soul was engrossed by the thought that as the things belonging to detachment and seclusion increase day by day, he should seek some lonely corner, and withdrawing himself, outwardly and inwardly, from other matters should give himself up to God alone.

But his nobleness and humanity did not allow of his saddening the hearts of the followers of his fortunes by such mortification of desires. Nor did this faithful band withdraw their hand from service on account of these occurrences nor permit such a perfect personality, worthy of the true *khilāfat*, and whose like as a superintendent of things external and internal it would be hard to find in the course of revolving cycles, should restrain his arm from the world and amputate the series of everlasting sovereignty. All the aspirations of this family (*ṭabaqa*) are, inwardly for truth, and outwardly for humanity, and so it works for the production of universal concord. God be praised! the Unique Pearl of that abounding ocean, his Majesty the

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to Mecca in disgrace—merely a cruel aggravation to 'Askarī's misfortunes. Jalālu-d-dīn is called Aubahī, *i. e.*, from Aubah, a town near Herāt, by Bāyazīd who mentions to his credit—that by a timely remark he reclaimed Humāyūn from drunken habits. Bāyazīd mentions also that Jalālu-d-dīn was in the castle of Bābā Ḥājī when Humāyūn sent for him. The epithet *bujūq*, or half-nose, referred to by Blochmann, must have been given to Jalālu-d-dīn because 'Askarī had his nose cut or slit for improper language. See the story in Bāyazīd 55*a*.

[1] Stewardship of the Privy Purse. The expression *Sarkār-i-khāṣa* is used in Ṭahmāsp's letter p. 209, l. 17.

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king of kings, to wit, hath attained such sway in full measure. In spite of the cares of conquering and upholding the visible world, he hath attained complete immersion in the billowy ocean of the empyreal and divine universe. And the step of his genius on the towering ascents of sublimity is firm and assured.

In fine, his Majesty determined, in accordance with the Divine will and his native nobleness to write a loving letter to the ruler of Persia and to turn the reins of intent towards that country. Should the ruler of Persia recognise hereditary right and show love and liberality, he would again give his attention to mundane matters and secure the hearts of his faithful band. Should it turn out otherwise he would in the liberty (*ikhtiyār*) of a hermitage, devote himself without liberty (*bī-ikhtiyār*) to his generous nature. Accordingly on Thursday, 1st[1] Shawwāl, 959 (28th December, 1943), he sent a letter by Cūlī Bahādur[2] to the effect that by order of the superintendents of destiny, who have attached so much deliberation and knowledge to every act, an urgent cause had arisen for procuring a speedy interview. After a brief sketch of his adventures this line was written under the cover.

Verse.

What has passed over our head, has passed,
Whether by stream, or hill, or wilderness.

His Majesty desired to spend some days in the Garmsir but Mīr 'Abdu-l-ḥai of Gārmsir sent to represent to him that it was rumoured that M. 'Askarī had despatched a large force, and that possibly—which God forbid—they might come there, and things thus become irretrievable. If he went to the country of Sīstān, which belonged

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[1] The letter is given in full in the ambassador Khur Shāh's history B. M. MS., No. 153, 58*a*, and the date of despatch stands there as 7th Shawwāl, 950 (3rd January, 1544). Perhaps A.F. did not quote the whole because, some phrases might be regarded as too abject. After the lines above-quoted Humāyūn went on to say that now the bird of desire was spreading his wings in order that he might be rewarded by beholding the sun of greatness and glory, *viz.*, Ṭahmāsp.

[2] Perhaps the Jai Bahādur formerly mentioned. As we have seen, Humāyūn gave the name of *Cūlī* to all who accompanied him across Balūcistān.

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to the King of Persia, he would be protected from that reckless crew. 204
His Majesty reflected on the paucity of the sincere, and the plurality of the lords of opposition and discord, and recognised the fact that to stay in that country was to act carelessly, and so he proceeded towards Sīstān. He crossed the Hīrmand (Halmand) and halted at a lake[1] into which its waters flow. Aḥmad Sulṭān Shāmlū, the governor of Sīstān, recognised the advent as an unexpected blessing and tendered acceptable service and showed alacrity in offering hospitality. His Majesty spent some days in that pleasant country, the arena of the cavaliers[2] of fortune's plain, in the sport of catching waterfowl.[3] And in order to comfort his faithful comrades he busied himself with worldly matters and was a spectator of the wonders of destiny. Thence he proceeded to (the city of ?) Sīstān.[4] Aḥmad Sulṭān sent his mother and his wives to wait on her Majesty Maryam-makānī, and tendered all the revenues (*amwāl*) of his district as a present. His Majesty accepted a little of these in order to do him pleasure, and returned the remainder. In this halting place Ḥusain Qulī M. the brother of Aḥmad Sulṭān, who had come from Mashhad to pay his respects to his mother and brother, in order that he might bid adieu to them before he went on pilgrimage, was honoured by an audience.[5] His Majesty questioned him about

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[1] Lake Hāmūn. See Reclus 47 and 48. It is also called the Sea of Durra, or Zereng. Elphinstone's Caubul II. 219.

[2] Alluding to the fact that Sīstān was Rustam's country. See Elphinstone's Caubul II. 219.

[3] *Shikār-i-qashqaldāgh*. This appears to be the coot (*fulica atra*). See Scully's App. to Shaw's Turk. Dict. p. 213 s.v. *qāshqāldāq*. See also P. de Courteille's Dict. s. v. *qasqāldāgh* where it is translated "*plongeon noir*" and is said to be equivalent to Persian *māgh*. In Bāyazīd's Mems. 2 *b*. the word is spelt *qashqaladāgh*, and we are told that the *shikār* or sport was carried on *ba-tarkāz*. Erskine in his MS. translation queries if this be stubble. Perhaps we should read *tīrgaz* or harpoon, the *gaz* being a double-headed arrow, and suppose that the sport was carried on in the manner described by Bābar, (pp. 153, 154) by means of a harpoon.

[4] I presume that this must be a city of that name for he was already in the district. Probably it is the place mentioned by Elphinstone under the name of Jalālābād. Bāyazīd has Qaṣba-i-Sīstān, the town of Sīstān. Raverty (*Ṭabaqāt-i-nāṣirī* 1122*n*.) speaks of Zaranj as being called the city of Sīstān.

[5] By the distinction of kissing the carpet.

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religion and faith. He submitted that he had long studied the creeds of the Shī'as and Sunnīs, and had perused the books of both sects. The Shī'as maintained that the reviling and cursing of the Companions was meritorious and a means of religious progress, whereas the Sunnīs held that to blaspheme the Companions was an act of impiety. After consideration and meditation he had satisfied himself that no one can become impious by thinking he is doing right.[1] His Majesty much approved this remark, and with great kindness and condescension offered him the honour of service. As he was about to go on pilgrimage and had made his arrangements accordingly, he was debarred from this boon. Here also Ḥājī Muḥammad (son of) Bāba Qāshqa, and Ḥasan Kōka left M. 'Askarī and joined the noble army. They recommended that his Majesty should proceed towards Zamīn Dāwār because Amīr Beg, the governor, thereof was coming to serve, and Calma[2] Beg, governor of the fort of Bast, was also solicitous of the honour of employment; (and said also) that soon many men of M.
205 'Askarī would separate from him and enter his Majesty's service; and that Qandahār and its territory would come into the possession of the royal servants. When Aḥmad Sulṭān heard that they were giving this advice and were deterring his Majesty from going to Persia, he came to his Majesty and submitted, out of well-wishing and affection, that the expedition to Persia was worthy of his genius and that the faction which was dissuading him from going, was only actuated by fraud and treachery. As Aḥmad Sulṭān had by his devotion and sincerity established himself in his Majesty Jahānbānī's heart, his representations were accepted and acted upon. The Emperor determined to proceed to 'Irāq. On account of this affair Ḥājī Muḥ. Kōka was for some days excluded from the presence. Aḥmad Sulṭān attended on the stirrup, and wished to be a guide for the road, by way of Tabas[3] Kīlakī. As his Majesty had set his heart on visiting Herāt, he took the road by the fort of Ūk.[4]

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[1] This story and much of the narrative of events in Sīstān are taken from Bāyazīd. See I. O. MS. No. 216. p. 3*a*.

[2] Afterwards a very distinguished officer. See Blochmann, 368.

[3] A town in Khurāsān. Jarrett III. 67. I insert the name Tabas in accordance with a variant and with Niẓāmu-d-dīn. For Tabas or Tubbas see Macgregor's Khurāsān I. 125. It lay on the road from Sīstān to Qaswīn (then the capital) and was a long way west of Herāt.

[4] See Raverty trans. *Ṭabaqāt-i-nāṣirī*, 34 and 1122*n*. He says Ūk lies

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When the loving letter of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī reached Shāh Ṭahmāsp, he regarded his Majesty's auspicious advent as an unlooked for blessing and felt delighted. He wished that the glorious shadow of the auspicious *humā* (*humā-i-sa'ādat-i-humāyūnī*) might fall on the crest of his own fortune, and that the experience of this grace might form the inframing border for the record of the splendour of his family.[1] In acknowledgment of the blessing he bade the drums of rejoicing beat for three days in Qazwīn.[2] And he wrote a reply full of respect and veneration and of wishes for his Majesty's speedy arrival, with thousands of lands and *encomia*, and sent it along with various gifts and rarities by his special courtiers. This verse was written on the border (*'amwān*) of the letter.

Verse.

"A *humā* of auspicious soaring falls into our net,
If for thee there chance a passage to our abode.[3]

He sent back the messenger after doing him special honour, and expressed all manner of thankfulness and gratitude, and recalled old friendship. He also wrote to the governors of the cities and towns that at every city and halting-place where the august progress should rest, the leading men and the inhabitants, high and low, should keep the occasion as the *fête*, day of the royal family, and should go out to welcome his Majesty and should engage in royal feastings; also that they should provide at each stage proper materials and furnishings, food and drink, and fresh fruits, such as might be worthy of his Majesty's regard. An exact copy of the ordinance which was addressed to Muḥammad Khān, the governor of Herāt, is here set forth that it may be a code of regulations for the intelligent and that those alive to the ways of humanity may, by looking at this frontispiece of urbanity, act with philanthropy, honouring and reverencing the unfortunate who 206

between Farah and Zaranj and has been in ruins for many years. Nāṣirī describes Ūk as N. E. of Shahristān, which is apparently the same as Zaranj.

1 Ṭahmāsp was only the second of his line.

2 D'Herbelot s. v. Cazwin. Jarrett III. 83. It is 90 miles west-north-west of Ṭahrān. Milton refers to it in Paradise Lost X. 435:—

—or Bactrian Sophi, from the horns
Of Turkish crescent, leaves all waste beyond
The realm of Aladule, in his retreat
To Tauris or Casbeen.

3 This couplet is the beginning of an Ode of Ḥāfiẓ: No. 217, Vol. II, p. 138 Ed. Brockhaus.

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have experienced fate in its heights and depths, and may not abate one jot of kindness towards them.

Order (*farmān*) of Shāh Ṭahmāsp to the Governor of Khurāsān.

This august order has been issued so that the asylum of dominion, workshop of Majesty and sun of power and prestige, Muḥammad Khān[1] Sharafu-d-dīn Ughlī Taklū, tutor[2] of our precious and upright son,[3] governor of Herāt,—the seat of sovereignty,—and *mīr dīwān*,[4] who hath been exalted by divers royal bounties and benefits, might know that the contents of his report, lately despatched to the court, the asylum of glory,—through Kamālu-d-dīn Shāh Qulī Beg, the asylum of nobility and brother of Qarā Sulṭān Shāmlū,[5] arrived on 12th Ẕī'l-ḥijja[6] (8th March, 1544), and that its distinguished purport has become known and understood from beginning to end.

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[1] Blochmann, 426, and *Ma'āṣiru-l-umarā'* I. 507, under title of J'afar Khān, his grandson who came to India and served under Akbar.

[2] *Lāla.* Blochmann, 426, remarks that the word does not occur in our dictionaries. Apparently it is a form of *lālā*, a *major-domo*, tutor, &c. Wollaston gives both *lālā* and *lallah*, *s. v.*, tutor, but marks the last as vulgar.

[3] Sulṭān Muḥ. M. eldest son of Ṭahmāsp, and often called Muḥ. Khudābanda. He became king in 1578, but was a weak and unworthy ruler and soon disappeared. See Oliver. J. A. S. B. 1877, Vol. 56, p. 43.

[4] Apparently a translation of the Turkish title *beglar-begī* which occurs in the letter as given in B. M. MS., Or. 4678.

[5] According to Malcolm, Shāmlū means a son of Syria and refers to the fact that the tribe was brought from Syria by Tīmūr.

[6] Price points out that there is a difficulty about this date, for A. F. describes Humāyūn as reaching Herāt on 1st Ẕī'l-qa'da, or about 1½ months before Muḥ. Khān's letter was received by Ṭahmāsp. He suggests that the names of the months should be transposed. Probably the date in A. F.'s copy of the letter is altogether wrong, and the true date is that given in B. M. MS. Or. 4678, *viz.*, Tuesday, 5th Shawwāl, 950 (1st January, 1544). In the copy there given Ṭahmāsp describes himself as answering the letter on the same day. It was brought to him by Ḥasan Beg Taklū. Humāyūn wrote to Ṭahmāsp, according to A. F., on Thursday, 1st Shawwāl, 950, and probably Muḥ. Khān, the governor of Herāt, would write about the same time to his master. If Thursday was 1st Shawwāl, however, the following Sunday would be the 6th, not the 5th, unless we count, as the Muḥammadans do from sunset to sunset.

I have however found in the *Ma'ā-*

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As to what has been written concerning the approach of the fortunate vicegerent (*nawwāb-i-kāmyāb*, i. e., Humāyūn), sphere-rider, sun-cupola, pearl of success and sovereignty's ocean, goodly tree ornamenting the garden of government and world-sway, world-illuminating light of the portico of sovereignty and glory, soaring cypress of the stream of auspiciousness and fortune, aromatic tree of glory and majesty's rose-garden, fruit of the tree of the *khilāfat* and of justice, king of land and sea (*barrain u baḥrain*), world-warming sun of felicity's heaven, exalted full-moon of the zenith of the *khilāfat* and world-rule, altar and exemplar of just princes, greatest and best of the *khāqāns*, the lord of majesty, high-born sovereign of supremacy's throne, exalted king of the kingdom of the dispensation of justice, khāqān of Alexander-type, glorious potentate, an enthroned Solomon, lord of guidance and assurance, world-guardian, lord of diadem and throne (*tāj u takht*), *ṣāḥib-qirān* (lord of conjunction) of the world of fortune and prestige, crowning diadem of famous *khāqāns*, the aided by God, defender of the Faith (Naṣīr-ud-dīn) Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh. May the Almighty grant him greatness in accordance with desire until the last day! How may it be told what joy and delight have been caused by this.

Verse.

Good news, O courier of the morn,[1] thou bringest of the friend's advent.
May thy tidings be true, O thou ever the friend's intimate.
May that day come when, in the feast of meeting,
I shall sit, having my heart's desire, breathing in unison with the friend!

ṣir-i-raḥīmī (A. S. B. MS. p. 170*b*), a reading which seems to me to remove some difficulties and to be perhaps the right one. This is, that instead of *Ẕī'l-ḥijja* we have *Day-i-khujista*,—not ذي حجه but دي خجسته The date thus would be the 12th of the Persian month Dai, which corresponds to December. But if this is so the governor of Herāt must have written to his sovereign before Humāyūn actually entered Persia. Bāyazīd has Ẕī'l-ḥijja 949! I must admit here that though the *khujista* is plain enough in the Ma'āṣir yet the *dāl* of Dai is dotted (ذی) as if the copyist, at any rate, meant it for Ẕal.

[1] *Ṣabā*, rising; also east wind. Perhaps used here because Humāyūn was then in eastern Persia, and Ṭahmāsp was in the west, in Qazwīn.

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Recognising that the untroubled progress and approach of this king, the angel of honour, are a great boon, be it known that, in guerdon of the glad tidings, we have bestowed the territory of Sabzwār[1] on that asylum of dominion (*i. e.*, Muḥammad Khān the addressee) from the beginning of Aries[2] of the year of the Hare. Let him send his *dārōgha* and vizier there, that the regular revenue and the extraordinary civil receipts thereof may be perceived from the begin-
207 ning of the current year, and be expended for the requirements of the victorious troops and his own necessities. Having acted, paragraph by paragraph, and day by day, in accordance with the procedure set forth in this edict (*nishān*), let there be no remissness concerning the paramount instructions.

Let him appoint five hundred prudent and experienced men, each of whom shall have a led[3] horse, a riding mule, and the necessary accoutrements, that they may go forth to meet the king, the lord of fortune,—with one[4] hundred swift horses which have been sent from the sublime court for the use of his Majesty, together with golden saddles; and let the asylum of dominion select from his own stable six swift horses, quiet, of good colour and strong, and such as may be fit for the riding of that royal cavalier of the field of glory

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[1] A town in Khurāsān, west of Nīshāpūr and between Mashhad and the Caspian. Blochmann, 55*n.* and Jarrett III. 85. But there is also a Sabzwār, south of Herāt, and probably this is the place meant. This Sabzwār is properly *Aspa-zār* or horse-meadow, and is so written in the copy of the Shāh's letter in the *Ma'āṣir-i-raḥīmī.*

[2] Text, *'amal,* but the Lucknow edition and three B. M. MSS. have *ḥamal,* and this seems correct. The Turkish, or Aighurian, cycle seems to have been used in official documents, &c., and began in Aries, as also did the Persian year. *Tushqān,* or the year of the Hare was the fourth of the cycle. Jarrett II. (I) 21.

[3] *Asp-i-kutal. Kutal,* or *kūtal,* is used to mean a second or substituted article. (Blochmann 109, 115.) The *Bahār-i-'ajam* explains it, when applied to horses, as meaning an animal strong enough to form part of the procession before a king's carriage, a processional horse in short. Such horses formed part of the *istiqbāl* which met the Persian-Afghān Mission on its approach to Mashhad. (Eastern Persia. Goldsmid and others. Macmillan, 1876. p. 357.)

[4] Bāyazīd has *three* only and this is probably correct. Ṭahmāsp would hardly send 100 horses with golden saddles, nor if he did, would he be likely to tell Sharafu-d-dīn to add six. The six were probably added to the three to make the mystic nine.

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and success; and let him place on them azure and embroidered saddles, with housings of gold brocade and gold thread, such as may befit the riding-horses of that majestic king; and let him make over each horse to two of his own servants, and despatch them. A splendid, special side-dagger ornamented with exquisite jewels which came to us from the fortunate vicegerent, the pardoned prince of sublime seat, the king our father—May God make his proof clear!—together with a golden scimitar (*shamshēr*) and a jewelled girdle, have been sent to the Alexander-principled king, for victory and conquest and good augury. Four hundred pieces of velvet and satin from Europe and Yezd have been sent, so that one hundred[1] and twenty coats may be made for the king's special use, and that the remainder may be for the servants attached to the victorious stirrup of that fortunate prince; also two-pile gold-brocaded velvet carpets and coverlets (*namad takya*[2]) of goat's hair with satin lining, and three pairs of large carpets twelve cubits (square?), four *Gōshkānī*[3] of fine silk,[4] and twelve tents, crimson, green and white, have been sent. May they arrive safely!

Let arrangements be made day by day for sweet and pleasant drinks, with white loaves kneaded with milk and butter and seasoned with fennel seeds and poppy seeds. Let them be well made and be sent to his Majesty. Let them also be sent for each member of his staff and for his other servants. Be it also arranged that at the places where his Majesty will halt, there be arranged and pitched, on the previous day, cleansed, pleasant, white, embroidered tents and awnings of silk and velvet, and also pantries and kitchens and all their necessary out-offices, so that every requisite apparatus be in readiness. When he, in his glory and fortune, shall direct a halt, let rose-water-sherbet and wholesome lemon-juice be prepared and poured out, after having been cooled with snow and ice. After the sherbet

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1 120 were perhaps intended as a supply for a twelvemonth. Cf. Blochmann, 90, where it is stated that Akbar had 120 suits in his wardrobe, made up into twelve bundles.

2 Blochmann, 55 and 96, *takyah-namad*.

3 Gōshkān, or Jōshaqān, a town half-way between Kāshān and Ispahān, famous for carpets. (Blochmann, 55*n*).

4 *Kurgī*, *kurk*, or *kurg*, is the fine short wool of the goat, nearest the skin. It also means fur. (Blochmann, 616).

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let conserves of *maskān*[1] apples of Mashhad, water-melons, grapes, &c., with white loaves made as already directed, be tendered; and let care be taken that all the beverages be examined by the protector of sovereignty,[2] and that rose-water and grey ambergris be added to them. Each day let five hundred dishes of varied food be presented, together with the beverages. Let the asylum of dominion, Qazzāq[3] Sulṭān, and the acme of nobility, J'afar Sulṭān, together with your (other?) descendants and your clan to the number of one
208 thousand persons, go forth to offer welcome three days after the five hundred shall have set out. And during those three days let the said officers and the various troops be inspected. Be careful to give your servants *tipūcāq* and Arab horses, for there is no finer decoration for a soldier than a good horse; and let the uniforms of the one thousand be coloured and smart. And be it arranged that, when the officers come to wait upon his Majesty, they kiss the ground of service and honour with the lip of respect and render their service one by one. Be it seen to that, on the occasion of riding, &c., there be no altercation between the officers' servants and his Majesty's,[4] and that no annoyance of any kind happen to the king's servants. During the time of riding and of marching, let the officers remain with their own[5] troops and serve the king from a distance, but at the time of being on guard,[6] let each officer display his alacrity in the vicinity of the quarters which shall have been fixed (for the Emperor); and let them, having taken in their hands the staffs of service, serve in the manner that one would serve one's own king, and let them adopt and bring into practice the utmost attentiveness. Let this mandate be shown to the governor of every territory to which

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[1] Text, *mashkān*. The editors suggest *mashkīn*, but according to *Bahār-i-'ajam*. *Mashkān* is the name of a kind of apple grown in Ṭūs, *i.e.* Mashhad.

[2] *Salṭanat-panāh*. Bāyazīd has *ayālat-panāh* and in both cases Sharafu-d-dīn is the person meant. The special watch over the drinks of kings is characteristic of the East.

[3] Qazzāq Sulṭān was Muḥammad Khan's son, and J'afar was his grandson. Qazzāq, called in the *Ma'āṣir*, Qazzāq Khān, rebelled against Ṭahmāsp in 972, and his son Ja'far emigrated to India. (Blochmann, 426).

[4] Lit. on no account let there be any unfriendly glances. *Wujūh* not *wuḥūh* as in text.

[5] I adopt *khud* after *fauj*, from Bāyazīd.

[6] *Kashāk* or *kashīk*.

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he (Humāyūn) may come, and care be taken that that officer render his service. Let entertainments be so conducted that the total of the food, sweetmeats and liquids be not less than 1,500 dishes. The service of, and attendance on the asylum of sovereignty, will be in charge of the asylum of dominion up to Mashhad, the pure and holy. And when the officers aforesaid come to serve, every day there will be produced in the sublime banquet of that king, 1,200 dishes of varied food, such as may be fit for a royal table. And let each of the aforesaid officers, on the day when he is host, tender a present of nine horses, of which three will be for the king's special use, one for the chief *amīr* Muḥ. Bairām Khān Bahādur,[1] and the five others for such of the select officers as may be fitting. Let all nine horses be produced for his auspicious inspection, and mention which of them are for the fortunate *Nawwāb*, and also mention which is for such and such an officer,—that having been previously arranged by you,—for such statement, though it may appear improper, is right and will not look wrong; but by every possible means keep the servants in attendance pleased, and show the utmost sympathy and assiduity. Soothe the hearts of this body of men which have been clouded somewhat by the revolutions of unequal fate, with affection and sympathy, as is proper and pleasing at such seasons. Continue this practice throughout till they come to our presence. Thereafter, what is proper will be executed by ourselves. After food has been partaken of, let sweetmeats and comfits[2] prepared from candy (*qand*) and refined sugar (*nabāt*), and various conserves, and *rishta-i-khaṭāī*[3] (Chinese threads), which shall have been perfumed with rose-water, 209

[1] Bāyazīd has Bahārlū, which seems preferable.

[2] *Pālūda* or *fālūda*, the same as *ḥalwā*, except that the *sūjī* is boiled in milk. Herklots. App.

[3] China or Cathay threads, apparently resembling vermicelli. See Vullers II. 39, and *Bahār-i-'ajam*. Steingass says they are a kind of paste lozenge eaten in soup, but this hardly agrees with the long description quoted by Vullers. They were made of rice flour, were very thin, like silk threads and were flavoured with almonds, pistachios, rose water, &c. In the B. M. Sloane, 4093, (Rieu I, 391*a*), which is a similar letter of Ṭahmāsp, but addressed to 'Alī Qulī Khān Shāmlū, the governor of Sīstān, the expression *rishta-i-khaṭāī* is not used, but we have the apparently nearly synonymous phrase *āsh-i-māhca*. Vullers 1132*a*.

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musk[1] and grey[2] ambergris, be brought in. The governor of the province[3] (*wilāyat*) after performing the duties of service and hospitality, shall put his mind at ease about his province, and escort (his Majesty) up to Herāt, the capital, not omitting the most minute points of service and attendance. When he shall arrive at twelve *farsakhs* from the said province,[4] the asylum of dominion (*i. e.*, the governor) will leave one of his experienced officers[5] in charge of our dear and excellent son, that he may take care of the city and wait on the son. The remainder of the victorious army from the city and province, and its boundaries, consisting of the Hazāra,[6] Nikodārī and others, to the number of thirty thousand, which number must be exact, shall go forth with the asylum of dominion to offer welcome. Tents, awnings and necessary furnitures will be conveyed by strings of camels and mules, so that a well-ordered camp may come under the Emperor's auspicious glance. When (the governor) is honoured by attendance on his Majesty he will, before making any other remarks, convey to him many prayers for his welfare on behalf of ourselves. And on the same day that he be distinguished by service he will halt in accordance with the rules (*tuzak*) and regulations of an army in camp. The asylum of dominion, when he has come on duty, will request leave, in order that he may entertain his Majesty, and will establish himself for three days in those quarters. On the first day he will invest all his (Humāyūn's) troops with handsome *khil'ats* of satin and brocade (*kamkhāb*) from Yezd, and of silk (*dārā'īhā*) of Mashhad and Khāf, and let them all have velvet cloaks (*bālāpōsh*),[7] and let there be given to every soldier and servant two Tabrīzī *tūmāns*[8]

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[1] The musk here referred to seems to be a vegetable product.

[2] *'Ambar-i-ashhab.* This was the best kind. Blochmann 78.

[3] Probably a general order for the governors of all the provinces passed through.

[4] Apparently meaning, when Humāyūn arrives within 12 leagues, or about 50 miles, of the city of Herāt.

[5] *Uimāq.* Blochmann 371*n*, where it is stated that the word was originally the name of a Turkish tribe. See also Jarrett, II. 401*n*. 4 and III. 117*n*. The meaning here seems to be a confidential subordinate. Is Aimāq the right reading? Shaw gives this as a tribe near Herāt.

[6] Jarrett II. 401*n*. 4.

[7] The word also means a quilt, but here probably a cloak or upper garment.

[8] Wollaston, (App.), says the *tūmān* is a gold coin worth about eight shillings, but that it used to

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for his daily expenses; and provide varied food in accordance with the rules already prescribed. And let there be a royal assemblage, so that tongues may speak in praise of it and shouts of approbation reach the ears of mankind. Let there be made a list of his troops, and let it be sent to the sublime court. Let 2,500[1] Tabrīzī *tūmāns* be taken from the funds of the Privy Purse which are coming to the said capital, and let them be spent for necessary purposes. Let the utmost zeal be displayed in service, and let the march from the said quarters to the city occupy four days, and let the entertainment of each day be the same as on the first. And it is proper that at every entertainment the honoured sons of the asylum of dominion bind, like servants and waiters, girdles of service on their loins and perform worshipful ministration, and that, in thanksgiving that such a king, who is a gift from the gifts of God, has become our guest, they display the utmost alacrity in service; and do not let there be any failure, for the more zeal and devotion are displayed in respect of his Majesty, the more will be the approval by us. And on the day before he will reach the city, let there be erected at the head of the avenue (*khiyābān*) of the Bāgh 'Īdgāh tents with crimson satin on the inside, fine[2] linen between, and Ispahān linen (*miṣqālī*) on the top, which, during these days, was reported as being prepared. And let care be taken that at every place where his 210
Majesty's gracious heart may take pleasure, and in every flower-garden that may be remarkable for its air, its streams, its amenities and delights, his Majesty be approached by you in an agreeable way, with the hand of respect placed servant-wise on the bosom, and that it be represented to him that that camp and army and all its paraphernalia are a present (*pēshkash*) to the fortunate Nawwāb. Also, while on the march, do you continually keep him pleased by conversation of a reassuring character. And do you yourself on the day before he will arrive at the city, leave that station

be worth much more, and in the time of Shāh 'Abbās I. was worth £3. Jahāngīr, quoted by Blochmann, 486, makes the Persian *tūmān* about equal to Rs. 33. If so, it might be compared with a gold mohur. But probably it was a silver coin that the soldiers received.

[1] The MS. has 10,500. The letter in Or. 4678 says that from first to last 10,000 *tūmāns* are to be expended.

[2] *Ṭaiyābī*. One MS. has Ṭabasī, *i. e.*, of the town of Tabas, and perhaps this is correct.

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after obtaining your dismissal, and proceed to serve our son. Next morning bring out the dear son from his residence for the purpose of giving a welcome. Put on him the suit which we sent him last year on New Year's day, and leaving one of the grey-bearded confidential officers of the Taklū family (*Ūīmāq-i-taklū*) who may be approved of and trusted by the asylum of dominion, in the capital, mount the son on horseback. And, for the time that he is proceeding to the city, let the asylum of dominion place Qazzāq Sulṭān on duty (with Humāyūn), and let[1] tents and camels and horses be presented, so that, when the fortunate Nawwāb mounts his horse next day, the camp may also march, and let the aforesaid[2] asylum of dominion be the guide. When the son shall come out of the city, strive that all the troops mount in the prescribed order,[3] and that they proceed towards the welcoming. When near that king, the Court of Majesty, *viz.*, when the space intervening be an arrow's flight, let the asylum of dominion advance and beg the king not to dismount. If he agree,[4] let him return immediately and dismount the happy son, and let the last go quickly and kiss the thigh and stirrup of that king of Solomon's Court and show all the points of service and respect and honour which are possible. Should the fortunate Nawwāb not agree, and should he dismount, let the son dismount before him and do homage and, his Majesty having first mounted, let our son kiss the king's hand and mount, and proceeding on thus, ride according to etiquette to the camp and the fixed quarters. And let the asylum of dominion be in attendance on the king, and close to the son, so that, if the king should put any questions to the son, and the son, out of bashfulness, be unable to reply, the asylum of dominion may make a proper reply. And in the quarters aforesaid let that son show hospitality to the king according to this routine, *viz.*, at about 9 A.M. let 300 dishes of varied foods be at once presented by way of refection. Between the two prayers (at midday) let 1,200 courses of varied foods be presented on *langarī* dishes known as *muḥammad*

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[1] *Cādar*, perhaps veils or canopies for the women; as one does not see why tents should be required for the marching.

[2] Bāyazīd has "the asylum of dominion" (*i.e.*, Sharafu-d-dīn) *and* the aforesaid, *viz.*, Qazzāq Sulṭān, and this is probably correct.

[3] Text, *shān*, but most MSS. have *sān*, order or procession.

[4] Bāyazīd inserts here the word *fabihā*, *i. e.*, "good" or "Be it so."

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khānī, and also on other plates of porcelain, gold and silver, placing covers of gold and silver over them. After that, let sweet conserves, such as may be available, and sweetmeats and comfits—be pre- 211
sented. After that let seven handsome and good horses be taken from the son's stables, and velvet and satin trimmings be placed on them, with girths of fine linen woven with silk, and let white girths be placed on red, and black girths on green velvet housings. It is proper that Ḥāfiẓ Ṣābir Qāq,[1] Maulānā Qāsim Qānūnī, the harpist, Ustād Shāh Muḥammad,[2] the hautbois player, Ḥāfiẓ Dōst Muḥammad Khāfī, Ustād Yūsuf *Maudūd*,[3] and other famous singers and musicians who may be in the city, be always present, and whenever his Majesty desire it, please him by singing and playing. And let everyone from far and near who may be worthy of that assemblage be in attendance so that he may be present when called upon, and that they may by every possible means make his hours pleasant to him. Further let gerfalcons[4] (*shunqār*), and hawks, saker[5] (*cargh*), sparrow hawks[6] (*bāsha*), royal[7] falcons (*shāhīn*), peregrine[8] falcons (*baḥrī*) and the like which may be in the son's establishment, or that of the asylum of dominion or his sons, be presented, and let all his servants have silk *khil'ats* of every kind and colour suitable to each—coloured velvets, waved silks (*khārā*[9]) and *takma-kalābattūn*,[10] and gold brocade. And on arrival at the quarters, let his servants be brought before our son, who shall, with the munificent ways which are hereditary with him from his ancestors, entertain them, giving each a suit of clothes and a horse befitting his condition, and let not the largesse (to each) exceed three *tūmāns*. Also let twelve times nine pieces of silk, includ-

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1 Bāyazīd has Ṣābir Qāf. Does this mean one who has control over the Koran, *i.e.*, who knows it off by heart. The last three names in this list, *i.e.*, Ḥāfiẓ Dōst, &c., are not in Bāyazīd.

2 Blochmann, 613.

3 Apparently a *nom de plume* and meaning the beloved or the ecstatic :—from *wadd*.

4 Also spelt *shūnqār*,—the *Falco Hendersoni*, (Scully, App. 2, Shaw's Vocabulary.)

5 The Saker, or Cherugh of Jerdon.

6 *Accipiter nisus*; it is the female.

7 *Falco peregrinator* of Jerdon I. 25; it is the female.

8 Scully l. c. See also list of hawks in Burnes' Travels, and the account of hawking in the *Āīn*. (Blochmann, 293, *et seq.*)

9 Moirée antique. Blochmann, 92*n*.

10 *Kālābatūn* of Blochmann, 91*n*., who says it is a stuff with gold and silk threads.

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ing velvet, satin, European and Yezdī *kamkhāb*, and *bāfta-shāmī* (Syrian cloth) and other choice materials (be taken), and let three hundred gold *tūmāns* be placed in thirty purses, together with the silk aforesaid, and let there be given to every soldier and servant[1] three Tabrīzī *tūmāns*, which are equal to 600 *shāhī*.[2] Let him spend three days in the Avenue and in the underground-channel country (*kārīzgāh*). And order that, during these three days, various artificers make a *cahār-tāq-bandī*[3] from the gate of the Cahār Bāgh which is a royal palace, to the Avenue which is in the Bāgh 'Īdgāh. And let one of the officers aforesaid be a coadjutor with each artificer, so that by their mutual rivalry every craft and excellent device may be executed. This is excellent that, as the king hath exalted this country by his distinguished advent, he should first come to a city which is the light of the eyes of mankind. Let there then be brought before his alchemic eye genial and sweet-spoken persons, such as are in this city, so that he may have cause for cheerfulness. On the third day when your mind shall be at rest with regard to the *cahār-tāq*, the City-Avenue, and the brightening up of the Cahār Bāgh let heralds
212 be appointed in the city, its wards, and the environs, and the neighbouring villages, to proclaim that all the men and women of the city shall assemble on the morning of the fourth day in the Avenue (*khiyābān*), and that in every shop and *bāzār*, where carpets and cloths shall be spread in order, the women and maidens[4] will be seated, and, as is the rule in that city, the women will engage in pleasant[5]

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[1] The text does not seem quite correct here. All the I.O. MSS. have *lashkarī* and not merely *lashkar* and the proper reading seems to be *lashkarī u ba har nafar*. The account about the *tūmāns* is not clear. Perhaps the 300 gold *tūmāns* were a special present to Humāyūn. And perhaps the 30 purses were to be made of the silk.

[2] The *shāhī* is worth about a half penny, so that if the *tūmān* be reckoned at 8/8 three would be about equal to 600 *shāhī*. The figures in the text are, however, doubtful.

[3] An erection with four domes; a quadrangular tent, or canopy, apparently.

[4] Text, *beghā*, *i. e.*, chiefs, but I take the word to be *baikahā*, *i. e.*, maidens from بیکه *beka* which P. de Courteille renders *femme non mariée*.

[5] *Dar maqām-i-shīrīn kārī u shīrīn gūī dar āyand*. One of the meanings of *maqām* is a musical tone, and *kār* and *kāthā* are used by Bābar to mean airs or melodies. See his Memoirs, Erskine 197 and 198, and notes. So possibly all that is meant here is that the women were to recite

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sayings and doings with the comers and goers. And from every ward and lane let the masters[1] of melody come forth, so that the like of it will not be seen in any other city of the world. And bid all the people come forth to offer welcome. After all this has been arranged, let the king be respectfully asked to put the foot of dominion in the stirrup of auspiciousness, and to mount on horse-back. Our son will proceed alongside of his Majesty, but so that the head and neck of the latter's horse be in front.[2] You, the asylum of dominion, will follow close behind, so that, if he should put any questions about the buildings, the palaces, and gardens, you may make suitable reply. And when he shall come with auspiciousness to the city, he will visit the Cahār Bāgh. And let him alight in the small garden which was made at the time of our residence in that delicious city for the purpose of our living there and of reading and writing, and which is at present known by the name of Bāgh Shāhī. And make the baths in the Cahār Bāgh white and clean, and also the other baths, and make them fragrant with rose-water and musk, so that, whenever he is inclined, he may have a place for bodily repose.

On the first day our son will show hospitality with abundance of provisions, and when he shall have gone to his repose, you, the asylum of dominion, will display hospitality in the manner that will be described below.[3] When he (Humāyūn) enters the city, you will

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and sing to the passers by. Most likely, however, the word *kārī* refers to dancing. See Vambéry's History of Bokhara, p. 242, note, where he describes a dance known as the Herātī. Mōhan Lāl, Burnes' *munshī*, rather maliciously observes that all the women of Herāt know how to sing and dance, but show these accomplishments neither to their husbands nor to their relations, but merely to their friends.

1 This might mean women as well as men.

2 The letter in B. M. MS. Or. 467 is still more explicit. The head of the prince's horse is to be on a line with Humāyūn's stirrup, and the head of the tutor's horse on a line with the prince's stirrup.

3 A. F. appears to have missed out some words here. In Bāyazīd 96, we have "On the first day our son will show his Majesty abundant and excellent hospitality, and at night when he (the son) shall have gone to rest, the asylum of dominion (Sharafu-d-dīn) will call the great officers into his presence and direct that each one of them shall entertain the king who is favoured by God, one day in one of the gardens. On two other days, the son will entertain him, and after that the asylum of

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make a report on the same day and despatch it to the sublime court. And let it be arranged that Mu'izzu-d-dīn Ḥusain *kalāntar* (magistrate), of Herāt, appoint a good writer who is a man of experience, to write a full diary from the day that the 500 make the reception (*istiqbāl*) to the day that he comes to the city, and let it be sealed and despatched by the asylum of dominion, and let all the stories and remarks, good or bad, which pass in the assemblage, be reduced to writing and be sent by the hands of trusty persons, so that we [1] be fully informed of all that occurs.

The entertaining by the asylum of dominion will be as follows :—Three thousand dishes of food, sweetmeats, syrups (*shīra*) and fruits will be prepared, and the necessary furniture will be arranged as follows :—*First*, fifty tents and twenty awnings, and the large store-tent [2] which was reported to have been prepared for his Majesty's special use, with twelve pairs of carpets of twelve cubits and ten cubits, and seven pairs of carpets of five cubits, nine
231 strings of female camels, 250 porcelain plates, large and small, and other plates and pots, all with bright covers, and also tinned (*qalqal'ī karda*), and two strings of mules let the asylum of dominion present on the occasion of his entertainment; and let the officers conduct their entertainments as follows :—Let them present food, sweetmeats and comfits to the extent of 1,500 plates, and also three horses, a string of camels and a string of mules, which shall have first been seen and approved by the asylum of dominion. The governors of Ghūrīān, Fūshanj,[3] and Karshū will show hospitality in their own country. The governor of Bākharz,[4] in Jām, and the governors of Khāf, Tarshīz,[5] Zāwahā and Muḥawwalāt [6]

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dominion will himself entertain him according to the method which will now be described. When he (Hūmayūn) enters the city, &c."

[1] The *iẓāfat* after *auẓā'* in text seems wrong. By the phrase *Nawwāb humāyūn-i-mā* Ṭahmāsp means himself. See text 207, l.10.

[2] *Cādar-i-buzurg alābata.* Qu. *ablat* or *abtāt*, Persian *batāt*, provisions. See Lane 148c. Perhaps it is what Abū'l-faẓl calls in the *Āīn*, (Blochmann, 48.) offices and workshops (*buyūtāt*).

[3] Bushang of Yāqūt. Jarrett III. 87.

[4] Macgregor's Khurāsān I. 253 and II. 146.

[5] Blochmann 605*n.* and Macgregor's map, Jarrett III. 86*n.* It is a dependency of Nīshāpūr.

[6] Macgregor II. 145, Muḥawwalāt etymologically means barren tracts.

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will entertain at Sarāī Farhād which is five *parasangs*[1] from Mashhad.[2]

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[1] Written *farsangī* here. It is *farsakhī* earlier in the letter.

[2] This letter seems to have been greatly admired and appears in several collections of letters. It also appears in the *Ma'āṣir-i-rahīmī* but merely as a copy from the *Akbarnāma*. Erskine thinks that A. F. copied it from Bāyazīd, and this is very likely. There are occasional omissions and alterations in A. F.'s transcript which were probably made by him as improvements, or to show that he was not a servile copyist. Thus A. F. omits in one place the title *Jannat-āshiyānī* which in Bāyazīd is given by Ṭahmāsp to his own father, Ismā'īl, but which perhaps A. F. considered too sacred to be applied to anybody but Humāyūn. Then in the list of Humāyūn's titles at the beginning of the letter we have in Bāyazīd after the words "*'adl-gustarī*," (dispenser of justice), and before the words *khāqān-i-sikandar-nishān*—the jingling addition of *ṣāḥib-i-dev-u-parī*, lord of demons and fairies, which A. F. perhaps omitted as not being sufficiently dignified. On the other hand, A. F. gives the names of three persons who are to entertain Humāyūn, which do not occur in Bāyazīd.

Bāyazīd says the document was produced on 20th Rajab, 1000 H. by Mīr Mirdād Juvīnī, *dārōgha* of the records, and that he made an exact copy of it. Probably he did, for at the end he seems also to have copied an endorsement or other writing on the document to the effect that in 990 A. H. a copy was taken for the *Tārīkh-i-alfī*, (Record of a thousand years). Possibly, however, this was an endorsement made simultaneously with Bāyazīd's copy and meant to show that the copy was made for Bāyazīd's use in connection with the *Tārīkh-i-alfī*. The 990 may be the era of the *riḥlat* or death of Muḥammad which was adopted by Akbar for this work, and which began ten years after the Hijra. I have examined the copy of the second volume of the *Tār.-i-alfī* in the B. M. Or. 465, but the letter is not in it. Indeed the events of Humāyūn's reign are very cursorily referred to, and as if it was contemplated that they should be dealt with separately by A. F.

In his introduction to the letter, Bāyazīd tells us that Humāyūn took counsel with Aḥmad Sulṭān about visiting the Shāh, and that Aḥmad recommended him to go by Tabaskilakī as being the shortest, but that Humāyūn said that life was uncertain, and that as he had heard much praise of Herāt (perhaps from his parents) he would like to go that way. So he went by Ūk and there was met by 'Alī Sulṭān, a relation of Sharafu-d-dīn. Both Aḥmad Sulṭān and Sharafu-d-dīn wrote to Ṭaḥmāsp and received replies.

In B.M.MS. Or. 4678, Rieu's Cat. Supplement, there is at p. 117*b* *et seq.*, a letter from Ṭaḥmāsp to Sharafu-d-dīn which closely resembles that given by A. F., but still is

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When his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī came near Farāh,[1] the Shāh's ambassador and his Majesty's messenger arrived, and his Majesty was made aware that the king of Persia regarded his advent as a great gain and was delighted at it. His Majesty, being a mine of courtesy, could not resist going to 'Irāq and so pleasing his faithful companions. He placed the foot of resolve in the stirrup of dominion and went on with a firm determination towards Herāt. At every stage some one of the notables and grandees of Khurāsān came out to meet him, and waited upon him as if he had been one of his own confidential courtiers. The sound of the royal cortége opened the gates of joy for the inhabitants, and the people of many towns, such as Jām,[2] Turbat,[3] Sarakhas,[4] Isfarāīn,[5] came to Herāt in expectation of the sublime advent. When the couriers of Tātār[6] Sulṭān, and of the nobles of Khurāsān, who had gone forth to welcome him, reported to Muḥammad Khān that the sublime procession had come near the Ziyāratgāh[7] the latter himself came out, accompanied by the nobles such as Wais Sulṭān, Shāh Qulī Sulṭān and the distinguished men of learning such as Mīr Murtaẓā Ṣadr, Mīr Ḥusain of Kerbalā and other excellent persons, and by the people generally. At the head of the Bridge of Mālān,[8] which is a famous resort in Herāt, they

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far from being the same letter. It seems to be dated Wednesday, 5th Shawwāl 950, unless indeed that be the date of Sharafu-d-dīn's letter which is being replied to.

[1] Or Farrāh, 164 miles S. of Herāt. See *Tār. Rash.* 205 and Meynard's *Yāqūt*, 420. It is in Sīstān, and is now under Afghanistan. Hunter's I. G. I. 35.

[2] Halfway between Herāt and Mashhad.

[3] Probably Turbat-i-Ḥaidarī, S. of Mashhad.

[4] N.-N.-W. Herāt, on road to Merv and a long way from Herāt. Perhaps Carakhs is meant.

[5] This too is a remote place S. of Burjnaid and N. W. of Nīshāpūr. Also called Mihrjān, Jarrett III. 85.

[6] Not mentioned in Ṭahmāsp's letter as given by A. F., but in the copy in Or. 4678 Tātār Beg is directed to be sent out to welcome Humāyūn.

[7] There are many shrines near Herāt. I do not know which this is. See Yates's Notes on Herāt, J. A. S. B. 56 for 1887, p. 84.

[8] Bābar's Mem. 207*n*. Erskine says, Mālān is the name of the river that passes Herāt coming from the east. If so, it is another name for the Harī Rūd. It is also spelt Mālīn, Jarrett III. 87. Conolly II. 51 says, "Four miles from the city we crossed the Herirood by a long bridge of brick called Pool-i-Moulaun, which gives a name to the river. So much of the water had been drawn off

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met him and conveyed to him the Shāh's felicitations and those respectful greetings which are magnanimity's essence. It had already been arranged that the roads should be swept and watered from the Mālān Bridge up to the Jahānārā Garden, and that the grandees and the ingenious men (*ẓurafā*) [1] of the city should come from either side and wait upon him. When the royal party arrived at a certain [2] stage Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā came and welcomed him, and paid his reverential respects. That fortunate Prince and the other great officers treated him with all honour and respect. From the Ziyāratgāh 214
to Pul-i-Mālān, and from thence to the Jahānārā Garden—a distance of three or four leagues, the whole plain and the heights were filled with spectators from the city and the villages, and the crowd and the rejoicings were such as never occur but at the 'Īd and on New Year's day. On 1st Ẕīlqa'da,[3] 950 (27th January, 1544), he alighted at Bāgh Jahānārā. Muḥammad Khān gave a royal feast and tendered large presents. At the first assembly Ṣābir Qāq, the foremost reciter in Khurāsān and 'Irāq, chanted an ode of Amīr Shāhī [4] to the air *Sihgāh* [5] so that even rapt devotees were moved by it. In truth it was very appropriate and affecting. It began thus—

> "Blest the abode to which such a moon hath come,
> August the world where there is such a king."

When he came to the verse

> "Be nor grieved nor glad at terrestrial pain or pleasure
> For the world is sometimes this and sometimes that"

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above, that the stream here was inconsiderable, but it was swift, and clear as a diamond." Mohan Lāl says it had 33 arches, but now only 27.

[1] I adopt the variant. The text has *shurafā* nobles.

[2] Perhaps it should be "the stage of Darqarā."

[3] I have already remarked that this date seems wrong. It is also inconsistent with A. F.'s statement that the Persian New Year was near at hand for that occurs in the middle of March.

[4] A Persian poet of the first half of the 15th century. Rieu 640*a*.

[5] *Sih kāh* in text. *Sihgāh*, *i. e.*, three times, is the name of an air. *Vide* Vullers II. 354*b*. and the Burhān-i-Qāṭi'. Bābar p. 19 speaks of the Cārgāh key. I think the reference is to a musical air, but the words, which are *darmaqām-i-sih kāh*, may mean a place, *viz.*, the Kāhdastān, *Tār. Rash.* 206*n.*, and Bābar 207 who mentions both the bridge of Kāh and the Kāhdastān. For the use of the words *dar maqām*, to mean in the manner or fashion, see above p. 428, note 5.

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His Majesty Jahānbānī was touched and deeply affected, and poured presents into the skirts of his hopes.

As Herāt and its sights pleased him much, and the New Year festival was at hand he stayed several days there. Whenever he rode out sight-seeing Muḥammad Khān was in attendance and paid his respects and scattered gold on each side of his Majesty. Every day he visited some famous spot, and on each occasion there was a joyous assemblage. Everything was managed on a prescribed plan. Sometimes his heart was solaced with the Kārīzgāh, (the place of underground channels) and sometimes the Bāgh Murād, the Bāgh Khiyābān, the Bāgh Zāghān,[1] and the Bāgh Safēd[2] were visited. In every flowering spot there were particoloured assemblages. Also on these days he visited the shrines of the great saints, especially that[3] of Khwāja 'Abdullāh Anṣārī, the Saint of Herāt. May his grave be holy! Ascetics, religious persons, lofty-souled men and famous men of learning were honoured by his company.

When the festivities of the New Year were over and the places of recreation had been visited, he proceeded towards Holy Mashhad by the way of Jām. At this time Aḥmad Sulṭān, Governor of Sīstān,
215 who had accompanied his Majesty hitherto, took leave to go to his own province. On 5th Zīlḥajja[4] he reached Jām and visited the shrine of His Highness Zhinda Pīl Aḥmad-i-Jām. When he approached Mashhad Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Istajlū who was the governor of the province, came out to welcome him, accompanied by the leading

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[1] Bābar 207, *Tār. Rash.* 83.

[2] Bābar l. c.

[3] Yates l. c. p. 100, &c. It is at a place called Gazargāh (Bleaching ground) which is said by Major Raverty to derive its name from being a graveyard, *i. e.*, a place where bones are bleached. It is at the foot of the hills and some two miles north-east of the city. Yates, 83 and Conolly II. 24.

[4] =29th February, 1544, but I think this must be a mistake for 5th Muḥarram =29th March, 1544. We are told immediately below that Humāyūn arrived at Mashhad on 15th Muḥarram, and surely he would hardly have taken six weeks to get there from Jām. Besides we are told that he spent the Persian New Year at Herāt which he could not have done if he had left it in February. If the date given in J. R. A. S. for January, 1897, p. 47, be correct, Humāyūn must have paid a second visit to Jām some ten months later, for the date of the inscription put up by him there is 14th Shawwāl, 951= 29th December, 1544.

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Saiyids, and all paid their respects. On 15th Muḥarram, 951, he reached Holy Mashhad and visited the shrine of (Imām) Riẓavī,—may the blessing of God be upon him! He spent some days in the precincts of that noble building. Thence he went to Nīshāpūr. Shamsu-d-dīn 'Alī Sulṭān, who governed there, came with great and small and paid his respects, and was prompt with various services. His Majesty visited the turquoise[1] mines in that neighbourhood, and from thence went to Sabzawār and from thence to Dāmaghān. Among the marvellous things of that place is an ancient fountain[2] which has a talisman from of old, to wit, whenever any dirty thing falls into the fountain a storm arises, and the sky grows dark from the force of the wind and the dust. This too he examined with the eye of prescience. How many things are there not in the wondrous workshop of the Creator, the understanding of which does not come within the scope of our thoughts and imaginings? From Dāmaghān he went on to Bisṭām[3] and as the shrine of Baḥrṭamī[4] Shaikh Bayāzīd Bisṭāmī (may his grave be sanctified) was not on the line of road he turned aside to visit it. From thence he proceeded

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[1] These still exist. Reclus ix. 225. They are at a place called Ma'din, *i. e.*, the mine, N.-W. Nīshāpūr

[2] D'Herbelot s. v. Bādkhaneh. In Eastern Persia by Goldsmid and others, p. 381. We find the following, "Ferrier has written of the high wind so prevalent here. The Persians say that it is occasioned by a mystic spring in the mountain about two *farsakhs* off which, the moment anything dirty is thrown into it, causes a tremendous gale to blow, which lasts several days, till the spring is purified, and a sentry is always kept at the well to prevent tampering with its waters. It is said that when the Shāh passed through Dāmghān *en route* for Mashhad, being incredulous of the story he ordered some of his suite to throw dirt into the spring when immediately such a wind arose that the royal camp was rolled up like so much paper, and the Shāh was compelled to have the cistern completely cleaned out and purified before the wind would cease." Dāmaghān is supposed to be the old capital of the Parthians, the Hecatompylos of the Greeks. It may be noted that Bābar, 149, tells a story about a fountain in Ghaznī, similar to that about the one in Dāmaghān.

[3] Jarrett III. 85*n.* and Meynard 104. It is N. Shāhrūd.

[4] *i. e.* swelling ocean. Bayāzīd belongs to the 8th and 9th century A.D. Jarrett III. 352 and 359, and Khazīna-al-Aṣfīyā I. 519. He was a very famous saint and the founder of a religious order.

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towards Samnān[1] and halted at Ṣūfīābād[2] where is the tomb of Shaikh 'Alāu-d-daula Samnānī (may his grave be sanctified!).

Whether on the march or when halting, it was his Majesty's excellent practice to visit the shrines of Divine worshippers and to seek inspiration from the mental and physical circumambulation of the awakened of heart.[3] At every station that he reached the governors and grandees came forward to do him homage and on many occasions there came from the Shāh affectionate messages and splendid presents.

As the cavalcade reached Rey[4] the Shāh left Qazwīn with the intention of going into summer quarters and proceeded towards Sulṭāniya[5] and Sūrlīq. His Majesty Jahānbānī halted at Qazwīn,[6] which was at that time the Shāh's capital. The grandees and inhabitants generally came out to welcome him. He remained some days there, visiting the remarkable buildings and holy places in the city, and taking up his abode in the house of Khwāja 'Abdulghanī who was the city Magistrate (*Kalāntar*) and where the Shāh had for-
216 merly resided. From there he sent Bairām Khān to the Shāh, whose cortége had nearly reached its destination when Bairām Khān arrived. He conveyed his message and then returned from that stage[7] with joyful foot. Thereafter his Majesty proceeded to Sulṭāniya. The Shāh was encamped between Abhar[8] and Sulṭāniya. When his Majesty arrived near that residence the great officers came, one after the other, and paid their respects. After that Bahrām Mīrzā and

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[1] Jarrett III. 85 and Meynard 317.

[2] Apparently there is some mistake here. Ṣūfīābad lies far to the east of Samnān and Bisṭām, and would naturally be reached by Humāyūn before them. It is N. Sabzawār and N.-W. Nīshāpūr.

[3] Jarrett III. 376. He was a famous Ṣūfī and author of a book on religion, and also of one on general history. He died 736 A.H. (1336); see Rieu Cat. I. 413*a*.

[4] Meynard 273 and Jarrett III. 84. It is the Rāgas of the Book of Tobit.

[5] Jarrett III. 83.

[6] Meynard 441.

[7] Firishta calls the place Bīlāq-i-Qadār (the name of the son of Ishmael). There is unconscious irony in A. F.'s remarks. If Jauhar's account, Stewart 62, is to be trusted, Bairām had cause to be glad that he got away safely from the Shāh's presence.

[8] Bāyazīd says the meeting was in Zangān. Badāonī I. 444, calls it Ilāq Sūrtāq. Abhar is W. Qazwīn and is described by Chardin. See also Meynard 11 and Jarrett III. 83.

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Sām Mīrzā, the Shāh's honoured brothers came and welcomed him. In Jumāda-al-awwāl, 951 (July, 1544), the Shāh himself welcomed [1] him with all the observances of respect and honour, and had an interview with him in which all the conditions of reverence and veneration were fulfilled. In a noble palace, on the gilding of which skilful artists had long been engaged and in which they had displayed miracles [2] of craftmanship, an enchanting picture-gallery received its inauguration by the interview with his Majesty Jahānbānī. A regal assemblage took place, and in accordance with the canons of magnanimity and the requirements of condolence and exalted inquiries after welfare there was sympathy and mutual discourse. The gates of sincerity and honouring having been unclosed, those of sociability and gaiety opened of themselves, and high converse ensued. Mīrzā Qāsim [3] of Gūnābād in his book of poems (Maṣnavī) in which the Shāh is celebrated has spoken as follows of the interview between those two illustrious potentates :—

Verse.

Two Lords of Conjunction in one banquet-hall
Made a syzygy like the sun and moon,
Two lustrous visions for Fortune's eye,
Two blessed 'Īd for month and year,
Two stars making heaven resplendent
Side by side in one spot like the Farqadain, [4]
Two eyes of the world in companionship
Joining in courtesy like two eye-brows,
Two auspicious portents in one sign (*burj*),
Two glorious pearls in one casket (*darj*).

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1 *Istiqbāl farmūda*, as if Ṭahmāsp had gone forward to meet Humāyūn, but according to Jauhar, who was probably an eyewitness, the only *istiqbāl* made by Ṭahmāsp was his advancing to the edge of the carpet.

2 *Yad-i-baiẓā*, lit. a white hand, the reference being to the transfigured hand of Moses.

3 A Persian poet with the title of Qāsimī. Rieu Cat. 660*a* and 661*b*, and Blochmann 591. Gūnābād is the Jūnābiz of Yāqūt, Meynard 165. It belongs to the province of Nīshāpūr. The form Gūnābād is said to be wrong. It lies S. Nīshāpūr and nearly due W. Herāt. Qāsimī wrote a poetical history (Shāhnāma) of Shāh Isma'īl and another of his son Ṭahmāsp.

4 The two calves, the name of two bright stars near the Pole, β and γ of Ursa Minor. Lane 2387*a*.

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The Shāh observed "The glorious Creator and Bestower of Worlds made the conquest of India, achieved by his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī, the key of the treasure-house of universal sway for your world-compassing sword. Every failure and infirmity which hath in these days appeared in administration and world-rule arose from the disservice and discord of disloyal brothers. Over this you had no control. In mundane affairs fraternal unanimity is
217 of high import, and is a disentangler of perplexities. In this present regard ourselves as your younger [1] brother and know us to be a helper and a supporter, for—our life on it—we shall succour you to the height of your desire. We acknowledge old ties, and shall fulfil whatever assistance may be necessary. Should we be required to go in person as your auxiliary we will go." He spoke many sincere words and such as bore the impress of magnanimity. For several days they held Cyrus-like festivities. His Majesty the Shāh entered personally into all the arrangements, and every day had a novel entertainment. There was increase of formal and spiritual beauty, and day by day he waxed more and more friendly and affectionate. How can feasts be described when so great a Shāh was in his own person the caterer? What gold-embroidered velvet and silken [2] canopies there were and what numbers of wrought pavilions and lofty tents there were!

Far as the eye could reach, silken rugs and precious carpets were laid [3] out and thereby were spread pleasure and joy. What account can be given of how in the important matter of the distribution of presents and rareties he gave his personal attention to the subject? How tell of the choice horses of Media with embroidered and golden saddles and the splendid housings and trappings, of the adorned mules of Bardʿa,[4] of the strangely [5] shaped camels, male or female, with valuable coverings, of the many scimitars and daggers set with jewels and the like, of the fine linen, and the robes (*pōstīn*) of the marten (*kesh*) and the red [6] fox, the ermine (*sanjāb*), and

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[1] Ṭahmāsp was about eight years younger than Humāyūn.

[2] *Tāja bāf*, a kind of silk, Blochmann 93.

[3] There is a play on words here. Joy was spread out like a carpet.

[4] Apparently the name of a district in Persia.

[5] *Badīʿ paikar*. In *Āīn*, text I. 146, Blochmann 143, A. F. calls the camel *shigarf paikar*.

[6] *Jalghāwa* in text, and there is

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the squirrel[1] (*tīn*), and also the dresses of gold brocade, velvet, silk (*tāja*), satin, figured silks from Europe (*mushajjar-i-Firingī*), and Yezd, and Kāshān? Many basins, ewers, and candlesticks of gold and silver set with rubies and pearls, many gold and silver dishes, ornamented tents, grand carpets, the marvel of the age for size and beauty, and other regal articles were brought one by one before his Majesty's holy glance. Money and goods were distributed to all the followers, and royal courtesies were interchanged.

His Majesty Jahānbānī on the day of the great festival presented to the Shāh as the gift[2] of a traveller a diamond[3] of great value—worth the revenues of countries and climes, together with 250 Badakhshān rubies. Without a doubt, all the expenditure which the Shāh, whether from his privy purse, or through his officers, incurred on account of his Majesty Jahānbānī from the time of his entering the country to his exit therefrom was hereby repaid more than four times over. From thence they went to Sulṭānīya and there held Cyrus-like festivities. In the intervals between these glorious seasons 218
of fortunate conjunctions a cloudiness of heart was created on both sides through the instigation of sundry strife-mongers,[4] but the turbidity did not last long, and was washed away by the waters of cleansing. His Majesty the Shāh made every day new arrangements for pleasure and joy. Among other things he ordered the amusement of a hunting-drive (*shikār-i-qamargha*), and his army drove the beasts of the plain a ten days' journey up to a spring known as the Sāvūq Bulāq[5] which is the first stage of the Zailāq Bīlāq.[6] His

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the variant *chalghāwa*. P. de Courteille has in his Dict. چلقاوه and translates "renard rouge, pelisse faite avec sa peau."

[1] In Shaw's Turkī Dict. تين tiyin is given as a Kazzāk word for a squirrel.

[2] *Ba rasm-i-armaghānī*. See Burhān-i-Qāṭi'.

[3] No doubt this was Bābar's diamond and probably the Koh-i-nūr. B. M. MS. Or. 153, p. 58*b*, says it was Bābar's diamond, and that it weighed 6½ miṣqāls, and that Shāh Ṭahmāsp afterwards sent it to Niẓām Shāh ruler of the Deccan.

[4] Referring to Bahrām Mīrzā, the Shāh's brother and also to some disloyal servants of Humāyūn. See Niẓāmuddīn, Ferishta, Jauhar and also Badāōnī I. 444.

[5] Bulāq means a spring in Tūrkī. Perhaps the correct name is Sūj Bulāq, *i. e.*, the cold spring. This is near the Takht-i-Sulaimān which is mentioned by Jauhar as the scene of a hunt.

[6] Bīlāq means a garden and also

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Majesty Jahānbānī and the Shāh entered the hunting-ground together and gave new lustre to the arts of horsemanship and game-slaying. After that Bahrām Mīrzā, Sām Mīrzā, and after them Bairām Khān, Ḥājī Muḥammad Kōkī, Shāh Qulī[1] Sulṭān Muhrdār (seal-keeper, or chancellor), Rōshan Kōka, Ḥasan Kōka, and many others of his Majesty Jahānbānī's trusty followers were permitted to enter the *qamargha*. Several of the Shāh's officers were bidden to enter, such as 'Abdālla Khān Istajlū, son-in-law of the great Shāh Isma'īl, Abūl Qāsim Khalfā, Sīūndak[2] Sulṭān, Qūrcī Bāshī Afshār, Badar Khān Istajlū and some others. After a time a general permission to enter was given. Everyone of the soldiers and troopers engaged in seizing and binding[3] the game. Meanwhile Bahrām Mīrzā, who had a grudge against the Khalfā intentionally[4] shot an arrow at him so that he died. Out of consideration for the Mīrzā no one mentioned this to the Shāh. After this troops were sent away in order that a fresh *qamargha* might be made at Sulaimān's[5] Pool (*Ḥauẓ-i-Sulaimān*). When they assembled, hunting, *more majorum*, was resumed, and here they spent some time also in playing[6] polo and in archery.[7] On this day as the archery was keen (lit. the *qabaq-*

an underground building used to avoid the heat.

[1] There seems some mistake here, for this man is mentioned by Bāyazīd as a servant of the Shāh. Blochmann has several Shāh Qulīs, but none of them is entitled Sulṭān. A. F. however later on, I. 266 gives this title to the Shāh Qulī who was Bairām's sister's son and became Khān Jahān. But he can hardly be the Shāh Qulī of the hunt for he had not then come from Qandahar. It would seem from Bāyazīd 176 that the person meant is Ḥusain Qulī brother of the Governor of Sīstān. Bāyazīd states that Humāyūn made him his seal-keeper when at Qandahar.

[2] Bāyazīd calls him Sūndak.

[3] The Lucknow ed. has *kushtan*, "killing."

[4] *Cf.* Elliot V. 219. Considering how easily an accident could occur (*vide* the story of Adrastus in Herodotus), and the dislike of Humāyūn's party for Bahrām, who seems to have given his brother good advice about Humāyūn, one feels inclined to think this charge of murder unfounded. Bāyazīd does not tax the Mīrzā with it. Nor apparently did Ṭahmāsp suspect his brother, and yet he must have heard of the occurrence.

[5] See Reclus ix. 185 and 252.

[6] *Caugānbāzī.* See A. F.'s account of the game in Blochmann 297.

[7] *Qabaqandāzī.* A kind of tilting at the ring, but the weapon used was an arrow. There is an allusion to this game in the Gulistān III. 27. See Vullers II. 710 for a full description of it, and also Dozy's Dict. s. v.

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bāzār was hot) Bairām Beg received the title of Khān and Ḥājī Muḥammad Kōkī that of Sulṭān. At the close of this reunion the list[1] of the 12,000[2] horse who had been designated to march with the Shāh's son Prince Murād as the king's auxiliaries was presented to his Majesty together with the list of supplies which were to be despatched along with his Majesty Jahānbānī. The following is the list of the exalted persons who were appointed to take part in the great expedition :—

List.

1. Mīrzā Murād.
2. Badāgh Khān Qājār,[3] the Mīrzā's tutor.
3. Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Afshār, governor of Kirmān.
4. Aḥmad Sulṭān Shāmlū, son of Muḥammad Khalīfa.
5. Sanjāb Sulṭān Afshār, governor of Farāh.
6. Yār 'Alī Sulṭān Taklū.
7. Sulṭān 'Alī Afshār.
8. Sulṭān Qulī[4] Qūrcībāshī a relation of Muḥammad Khān (governor of Herāt).
9. Ya'qūb Mīrzā, *taghāī* (maternal uncle) of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda (Ṭahmāsp's eldest son).
10. Sulṭān Ḥusain Qulī Shāmlū, brother of Aḥmad Sulṭān governor of Sīstān.
11. Adham Mīrzā, son of Dēō[5] Mīrzā.
12. Tahamtan Mīrzā, son of Dēō Sulṭān. 219
13. Ḥaidar Sulṭān Shaibānī.[6]

14 & 15. His sons 'Alī Qulī and Bahādur.

16. Maqṣūd Mīrzā Ākhta Begī, son of Zainu-d-dīn Sulṭān Shāmlū.

303*a*. *Qabaq*, it seems, properly means a gourd. Humāyūn's servants would be proficient at the game for they played it in India before the days of Sher Khān. See Khwāndamīr's Humāyūnnāma 149*b*, of B. M. MS. Or. 1762 Rieu Cat. 1024*a*.

1 *Ṭūmār*. Possibly it here means review. Bāyazīd says that the *ṭūmār* of the stores was made over to Humāyūn's lieutenants (*wukalā*).

2 10,000 in Bāyazīd.

3 Text *Qācār*.

4 The 'Alī Sulṭān of Bāyazīd.

5 11 and 12 were brothers according to Bāyazīd so that Dēō Sulṭān and Dēō Mīrzā are one and the same person.

6 Several MSS. have Sīstānī.

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17. Muḥammadī Mīrzā, grandson of Jahān Shāh Mīrzā,[1] known as Shāh Yezdī[2] Beg.

18. Kacal Istajlū.

19. 'Alī Sulṭān Culāq,[3] sister's son of Muḥammad Khān.

20. Abū'l-fatḥ Sulṭān Afshār.

21. Ḥasan Sulṭān Shāmlū.[4]

22. Yādgār Sulṭān Mōṣlū (*i. e.*, of Mōṣul).

23. Aḥmad Sulṭān Alāsh Aghlī Istajlū.

24. Ṣāfī Walī Sulṭān, descendant[5] of the Ṣūfīs, Khalīfa of the Rūmlū.

25. 'Alī Beg Zūlfiqārkush.[6]

26. Muḥammadī Beg Kitābdār (librarian) Qājār.

Likewise there were nominated 300 cuirassiers of the Shāh's bodyguard[7] with fitting equipments. After the conclusion of this reunion an order was given that there should be a third hunt[8] in Āq-i-Ziyārat which is the last stage before the summer-quarters of Sūrlīk.[9] Various rejoicings and festivities occurred, and all the paraphernalia of delectation were gathered together. In the charming

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1 Bāyazīd has Bādshāh instead of Mīrzā after Jahān Shāh's name, no doubt because he was the son of Qarā Yūsuf of the Black Sheep. He was killed in 1467. See D'Herbelot art. Jehan Shāh.

2 Apparently Birdī or Bardī is the true reading, Erskine II. 294. If so he was apparently Shāh Birdī Bayāt the brother of Bāyazīd, and the man who renounced the world and became a religious poet under the style of Bahrām Saqqā. See Bāyazīd 19*a*.

3 *Julāq* in text, but *culāq*, which means "one-handed," is probably correct.

4 Rūmlū in Bāyazīd.

5 *Walad-i-Ṣūfīān Khalīfa Rūmlū.* The passage is not clear. Rūmlū seems to mean the people to Rūm or Asia Minor, but the name does not appear among the seven Turkish tribes whom Timūr released at Ṣadru-d-dīn's request.

6 "The slayer of Zūlfiqār." Zūlfiqār was a Kurd who became Sulṭān of Mōṣul and took possession of Bagdad. Ṭahmāsp when about 14 made war upon him in 1527, and during the siege 'Alī Beg murdered him. See Malcolm's Persia I. 566 and B. M. MS. Or. 153, Rieu 110*a* and 40*b*.

7 *Qūrcī-i-khāṣa.* The *Qūrcī* were the Shāh's household cavalry, and were descended from the 2,000 prisoners released by Timūr to Ṣadru-d-dīn. See Denison Ross J. A. S., April '96, p. 292, and Vullers 748*a*.

8 *Shikār-i-qamargha.* See Badāōnī, Lowe's translation, p. 93 for a graphic description of such a hunt.

9 Surlaq in text but clearly the Sūrlīq of p. 215 and of the Ṭabaqāt.

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spot of Miyāna,[1] which is famous for its salubrity, the Shāh came to his Majesty Jahānbānī's quarters, and wished him god-speed and the two sovereigns bade adieu to one another with mutual respect and in an auspicious hour.

His Majesty Jahānbānī proceeded from thence to Ardabīl and Tabrīz in accordance with the precedent[2] set by his Majesty Ṣāḥib Qirānī. The litter of her Majesty Maryam-Makānī, together with her attendants, was sent by the straight road towards Qandahār, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān being put in charge of the troops and sent to wait on the litter of the cupola of chastity. The 12,000 horse who had been appointed to attend on the victorious stirrup were sent away to get their accoutrements, &c., so that when his Majesty Jahānbānī arrived at the Hilmand the Prince (Murād) might join him there with the army. His Majesty Jahānbānī first proceeded to view Tabrīz, and when he came near it the governors and grandees came out to welcome him at a dam[3] which Mīrzā Mīrān Shāh had constructed on the stream which comes to Tabrīz from the slope of the Sahand.[4] In accordance with the Shāh's orders the governor put the city in fête, and decked[5] her for his Majesty's enlightened gaze, and himself performed the rites of hospitality. The games of hockey[6] and wolf running[7] for which Tabrīz was famous, but which had been inter-

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1 Jarrett III. 82. The Mianah of Reclus who gives it a very bad character for salubrity. This is taken partly from Col. Monteith's account in the R. Geo. S. J. for 1833 who speaks of Miana's being infested by a poisonous bug. The famous traveller Thévenot the younger died here in 1667.

2 Alluding to the visit paid by Tīmūr to Ṣadru-d-dīn Ṣāfī, the founder of the Ṣufī dynasty, at Ardabīl.

3 *Saddī.* Mīrān Shāh was a son of Tīmūr. The dam was probably made to supply Tabrīz with water, and the stream either the Māhrūd of Meynard 133*n.* or the Ajī Cai (river).

4 A mountain south of Tabrīz and 11800 feet high. The *iẓāfat* after Sahand in text seems wrong.

5 *Jilwa dād.* Cf. Revelations xxi. 2, "The holy city made ready as a bride adorned for her husband."

6 *Caugān,* but in Tabrīz played on foot, for A. F. adds the word *piyāda.*

7 *Gurg-dawānī.* The dictionaries do not make it clear what this sport was. *Gurg-daw* means trotting or running like a wolf, and *Gurg-bāzī* is explained as a game current in Kāshān, and consisting in letting a wolf loose, &c. Bāyazīd speaks of *Gurg-dawānī* and also of as port called Armanī-Musalmān, apparently Armenians against Muḥammadans. From

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dicted on account of riots, were revived by the Shāh's orders for his Majesty's delectation. His Majesty visited the splendid buildings, the memorials of ancient kings—and the pleasure-parks of the city. Fresh illustrations were thereby brought to his mind of the bypast (*guzashtagān*) monuments of the earth, of the revolutions (*sargashtagān*), of the mansions of the skies, of the passing away (*guzashtagī*) of the inconstant universe, and of the breaches (*gusistāgīhā*)[1] of the
220 unstable earth, and they brought to his lips truthful words about compassing the favour of the Creator. He became wrapt in some old verses, and in ecstacy he recited aloud this quatrain :—

Quatrain.

Alas that substance hath slipped from the palm,
And that many hearts (*lit.* livers) have bled at death's hand;
None cometh[2] from that (other) world that I might inquire
How it fared with the travellers thereto.

Mullā Quṭbu-d-dīn[3] Jalanjū of Bagdad waited upon him in this illustrious city and attended him as far as Holy Mashhad. The exquisite and magical Khwāja 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad[4] shīrīnqalam (sweet pen)

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the following passage in Chardin it appears that the pastime in question was really that of dancing wolves:—

"La place de Tauris est la plus grande place de ville que j'aye vue au monde, elle passe de beaucoup celle d' Ispahan. Les Turcs y ont rangé plusieurs fois trente mille hommes en bataille. Le soir cette place est remplie de menu peuple, qui vient se divertir aux passe-tems qu' on y donne. Ce sont des jeux, des tours d' addresse et des boufonneries, comme en font les Saltimbanques, des luttes, des combats de taureaux, et de beliers; des recits en vers et en prose, et des dances de Loups. Le peuple de Tauris prend son plus grand divertissement a voir cette dance, et l'on y améne de cent lieues voir des loups qui savent bien dancer. Les mieux dressey (?) se vendant jusqu'à cinq cent ecus la pièce. Il arrive souvent pour ces loups de grosses emeutes qu' on a bien de la peine a appaiser. Voyages I. 184, ed. of 1741.

[1] Alluding to the earthquakes by which Tabrīz has been so often shattered.

[2] "That bourne whence no traveller returneth."

[3] We learn from Bāyazīd 24*a* that this Mullā was the father of Qāẓī 'Alī Bakhshī, Blochmann 411 and 528, and that Humāyūn sent him an invitation from Badakhshān, but that he was unable to accept it.

[4] Famous as a painter and calligraphist. Blochmann 107 and 495. He afterwards joined Humāyūn at Kābul. He was a poet and a mem-

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also entered into service in this city, and was much esteemed by that connoisseur of excellence. But from the hindrances of fate he could not accompany him. One of the wonderful good omens was this that when his Majesty came to Tabrīz, as he was very keen about astrolabes, spheres[1] (*kura*) and other instruments of observation, he bade his equerry Paik Muḥammad search diligently in the city for spheres (*kura*). That simpleton brought some colts (*karra*) with their mothers![2] His Majesty was pleased and purchased them as a good omen. After leaving Tabrīz he went to Ardabīl. When he arrived at Shammāsī[3] all the Shāikhzādas and the other grandees and nobles came and paid their respects. He stayed a week in Ardabīl and then went to Khalkhāl[4] and from thence to Ṭāram[5] and from thence to Kharazbīl.[6] As the air and fruits of that place were remarkably excellent, especially the seedless[7] pomegranates, he remained there three days. In Sabzawār he rejoined his camp. Here her Majesty Maryam-Makānī gave birth to a daughter.[8] From the beginning of his march towards Kābul and Qandahār, at every stage that he came to, the rulers and grandees tendered presents and exercised hospitality. At this stage Mīr Shamsu-d-dīn 'Alī Sulṭān performed acceptable service, and on the day of the entertainment rope-dancers exhibited their skill. When he came to Mashhad the

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ber of the Divine Faith. Blochmann 209. There is an account of him in Bāyazīd 24*a et seq.*

1 Apparently celestial globes and not armillary spheres. Jarrett II. 2.

2 *Mādiyānhā, lit.* "mares."

3 *Samāsī* in some MSS., evidently a place in the environs of Ardabīl and occupied by descendants of the Ṣafī saint. See J. R. A. S. for April 1896, p. 262, where Shammāsī is mentioned as a village near Ardabīl.

4 Two days' journey from Ardabīl, Meynard 210.

5 Tārūn in Jauhar, 75. Apparently the Tāram تارم of Yāqūt who describes it as a large district between Qazwīn and Gīlān, Meynard 131.

6 Khardabyl of Jauhar, 75.

7 A. F. notices seedless pomegranates as one of the productions of the Tūmān of Nēknihāl near Jalālābad, Jarrett II. 405. Chardin, speaking of pomegranates, says "Il y en a dont le pepin est si tendre qu'on ne la sent presquepas sous le dentet il y en a. qui n' ont point de membrane ou pellicule entre les grains. Il vient des granades de Yezd qui pesent plus d'une livre. At p. 97 of Vol. II. he says he has never seen pomegranates better than those of Miyāna.

8 I have found no further mention of this child. She was not Bakhshī or Yakhshī Bānū.

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Holy the Governor and nobles strove to do him honour. He waited some time in this city to allow for the gathering of the Shāh's army. From here he sent one 'Abdu-l-fattāḥ Kurkīrāq[1] to demand the subsidy[2] (*sāwarī*) which had been assigned upon Herāt, and the latter died on his way back. From the same place he sent Maulānā Nūru-
221 d-dīn Muḥammad Tarkhān to summon Shaikh Abū'l-qāsīm Jurjānī and Maulānā Ilyās of Ardabīl who were adorned with external and internal excellencies. At Kābul they came into his service. He was greatly pleased by the arrival of these two distinguished men with whom he discussed the Durratu-l-Tāj.[3] And during the time he was in Mashhad he continually held discourses with the learned and eloquent who waited upon him and were benefited by the alchemy of his companionship, Maulānā Jamshīd[4] the enigmatist, who was an aggregate of excellencies, repeatedly had the honour of visiting him. One day Mullā Ḥairatī[5] presented the following to the amending glance of his Majesty :—

Verse.

Whiles my heart, whiles my liver is consumed from love of the fair,
Every moment love makes a fresh scar ;
My state is like that of the moth and the lamp,
For if I approach my wings (*bāl-ū-param*) are burnt away.

His Majesty who was a genuine artist (*khallāq-i-ma'ānī*) and a paragon of acuteness, gave this excellent turn (*taṣarruf*) to it :—

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[1] This is the word which Blochmann was unable to explain satisfactorily, 72*n*. and 616. Here it is used as a title. *Kurk* means fur and *īrāq* accoutrements. A. F. gives few dates in this part of his history. We learn from Bāyazīd that Humāyūn reached Mashhad at the end of Ramaẓān, *i.e.*, 15th December, 1544. From the inscription furnished by the lamented Mr. Ney Elias J. R. A. S. for January 1897, p. 47, it appears that Humāyūn was at Turbat-i-Jāma few days later, *viz.*, on 29th December.

[2] "Present dont en fait homaje." See Vullers and Quatremère, Not. et Extraits XIV. 27.

[3] "Pearl of the diadem." It is an encyclopædia of philosophical sciences by Quṭbu-d-dīn Shīrāzī a disciple of Naṣīru-d-dīn Ṭūsī. Rieu 434*a*. The parenthesis is rather out of place if they did not come till he was in Kābul.

[4] Blochmann 102.

[5] A Persian poet. He died at Kāshān in 961 A.H. 1554. Blochmann, 187*n*. Bāyazīd tells the story

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Verse.

I go forward though my wings be burnt.

The Maulānā sincerely prostrated himself before his Majesty's exquisite emendation. From Mashhad he went to the caravanserai of Ṭarq[1] and from there he went by way of the fort of Gāh[2] to Sīstān. Here the Prince and the Shāh's officers joined him. From thence they went to Garmsīr. Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥai of Garmsīr came out of the fort of Lakī[3] with a quiver bound round his neck and did homage and excused himself for his offences and for his shameful conduct in remaining aloof from service on the occasion of his Majesty's march (into Persia). As his Majesty's disposition was forgiving and benevolent, he accepted his apologies and encompassed him with favours.

Since the narrative has proceeded so far, it is indispensable that something should be said of the officers who served the State during their exile.

The head of the faithful servants was Bairām Khān, who throughout waited on the stirrup of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī as if he were his good Fortune (*cūn sa'ādat*). The second was Khwāja Mu'aẓẓam who was the uterine[4] brother of her Majesty Maryam-Makānī. From the beginning of his career he was not free from turbulence of brain and heat of disposition. Gradually his forwardness (*bībākī*) and bloody-mindedness (*saffākī*) increased beyond bounds. His last action will be described in its proper place. The third was 'Āqil[5] Sulṭān Uzbeg, son of 'Ādil Sulṭān, who by his

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and calls Humāyūn's emendation a *dakhl* which is a technical term for a repartee or antistrophe.

[1] The Raut Ṭarq of Jauhar 76. Yāqūt describes it as 10 *farsakhs* from Ispahan, Meynard 392.

[2] Jauhar 76. The place seems to be Kākh, Reclus IX. 227. It is described by Macgregor I. 155.

[3] On right bank of Helmand, Erskine II. 304.

[4] *Ukhuwwat-i-akhyāfī*, brother by the same mother but by a different father, Lane 832*c*. Other writers apparently regard him as the full brother of Akbar's mother, Maāṣiru-l-Umarā I. 618 and Blochmann 524. One would be glad to think that he was not the full brother.

[5] His mother was Shād Begam, the daughter of Sulṭān Ḥusain of Herāt by Pāyanda Sulṭān Begam. Bābar, 180. 'Ādil Sulṭān was son of Mahdī Sulṭān. Bābar 363. 'Āqil Sulṭān is mentioned by Bāyazīd, 18*a* as one of the officers who marched with Humāyūn from Qandahār to Kābul.

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mother's side was a grandson of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā. Though in the beginning he was among the subsidised officers, in the end he was named among the excluded (*baḫirmān mausūm gasht*).

The 4th was Ḥājī Muḥammad [1] Kōkī, the brother of Kōkī who was
222 one of the great officers of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī. Ḥājī Muḥammad was of singular courage and the Shāh often said that kings stood in need of such a servant. On the day of the *qabaqan-dāzī* he hit the *qabaq* and received a (*jaldū*) present from the Shāh.

5th, Rūshan Kōka, foster-brother of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī. On the journey the jewellery was entrusted to him. As he proved unfaithful in this trust it was necessary to put him in prison for some time. He was pardoned and released.

6th, Ḥasan Beg, brother of Maḥram Kōkī. Though he was foster-brother of Kāmrān Mīrzā he was long in the service of his Majesty Jahānbānī. He was of generous nature, affable, and a confidant. He was drowned at the Causā ferry.

7th, Khwāja Maqṣūd [2] of Herāt—a man of pure disposition and of integrity; he was noted for his trustworthiness and sincerity, and was one of the tried servants of her Majesty Maryam-Makānī. He was ever assiduous in her service. He had two auspicious sons who were foster-brothers of the king of kings. One was Saif [3] Khān, who drank the wholesome cup of martyrdom in the year of the conquest of Gujrāt. The other was Zain [4] Khān Kōka, distinguished for fidelity and intelligence, and who became the object of the favour of the king of kings and one of the great officers.

8th, Khwāja Ghāzī of Tabrīz. He was a skilful accountant and also acquainted with histories and chronicles. When the sublime army left Lahore for Sind he separated from M. Kāmrān and joined his Majesty. He was appointed Mushraf-i-dīwān [5] (accountant).

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[1] In spite of his services, Humāyūn eventually put him to death. Jauhar 109 and A. N. I. 311.

[2] Possibly the Maulāna Maqṣūd the engraver of Blochmann 52, who in index calls him Khwāja.

[3] Blochmann 350.

[4] Blochmann 344.

[5] Blochmann 263, Blochmann VII., describes the office as higher than that of the Dīwān but lower than that of the Vakīl. Jauhar 88 refers to Khwāja Ghāzī as Dīwān. He fell into disgrace on account of his conspiring with Rūshan Kōka to steal Humāyūn's jewels. Jauhar 68 and 72 and Gulbadan's Memoirs.

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After that he was for a long time excluded from the Court. At the end of his life, when the vigour of his understanding was impaired, he was admitted to the Court of the king of kings.

9th, Khwāja Amīnu-d-dīn [1] Maḥmūd of Herāt who surpassed all the world in the science of accounts (*fann-i-sīyāq*) and who also wrote in *shikasta* admirably. He was very subtle (*mūshigāf*, lit. hair-splitting) in matters of business and knowledge of arithmetic.

His Majesty made him for some time Bakhshī to the king of kings. At the time of the latter's sovereignty he attained to high office and was exalted by receiving the title of Khwāja Jahān.

10th, Bābā Dōst Bakhshī. He also was distinguished for his knowledge of accounts and always displayed great aptitude in the affairs of the dīwānī.

11th, Darvesh Maqṣūd Bangālī. He came from the Ziyāratgāh of Herāt and was a man of integrity. He was left behind with Jahāngīr 223
Qulī [2] Beg in Bengal and was the only one who escaped. His Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī was especially gracious to him, and afterwards his Majesty the king of kings showed him great favour. He spent a long life in the ranks of offerers up of prayers (for Akbar).

12th, Ḥasan [3] 'Alī Īshak Āqā. He was distinguished for courage and activity. He had done good service, but one Ya'qūb [4] by name who was a favourite of his Majesty Jahānbānī having used improper language, some evil-disposed Qizilbāshīs (Persians) laid an ambush for the young man in a deserted [5] village near Tabrīz and assassinated him. As there was a coolness between him and Ḥasan 'Alī it was

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[1] Blochmann 424 and 528 and Elliott V. 384. It is curious that A. F. does not mention *shikasta* in his chapter on writing in the *Āīn*. Badāonī calls him *Wazīr-i-mustaqall* (absolute Vizier) and speaks much of his influence. Lowe's trans. 189-90. M. Quatremère has a note about the precise meaning of the word *sīyāq* and refers to this passage in the A. N.

[2] Killed in Bihār when fighting with Sher Khān.

[3] He had a Balūcī wife who was one of the two women who accompanied Humāyūn in his flight to Persia, and she was useful on the desert journey as an interpreter. Jauhar, 52 and 53.

[4] He was Humāyūn's butler. An account of this murder is given by Jauhar 76.

[5] *Mauza'-i-kharāba*. According to Jauhar, Ya'qūb was killed a long way from Tabrīz and between Qazwīn and Sabzawār. Erskine calls the place Kila Ders. II. 296*n*.

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reported that the latter had instigated the murder. On this account he could not accompany the sublime army but remained in Persia. When Kābul became the royal residence he was allowed to kiss the threshold.

13th, 'Alī Dōst Bārbegī,[1] son of the aforesaid Ḥasan 'Alī. He came afterwards and joined in Holy Mashhad. From first to last he was distinguished in Herāt (?) for service and devotion.

14th, Ibrāhīm Īshak Āqā. He was a devoted servant of the Court.

15th, Shaikh Yūsuf[2] Cūlī who called himself a descendant of Shaikh Aḥmad[3] Yasavī. He was a humble-minded man of agreeable qualities.

16th, Shaikh Buhlūl[4] who claimed to be descended from the Turkī Shaikhs. He was a good servant.

17th, Maulānā Nūru-d-din.[5] He was acquainted with mathematics, astronomy and the astrolabe. He had entered into the service of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī along with Qāẓī Burhān[6] of Khāf. He was one of the courtiers of his Majesty Jahānbānī. His Majesty the king of kings exalted him by the title of Tarkhān.

18th, Muḥammad Qāsim Maujī. He enlisted into the service of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī in Badakhshān. He was related to Mīr Muḥammad Jālabān,[7] and in Badakhshān he acted as a raft-conductor (*jālabānī*). In India in the reign of his Majesty

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[1] The 'Alī Dost Khān of the Ṭabaqāt, Blochmann 533 and *n*. The reference to Herāt is not intelligible. Perhaps the word is *harāt* and means in all matters. One MS. has *derustayīn, i.e.*, well-principled. He also served under Akbar.

[2] Perhaps the Shaikh Yūsuf Harkan of Blochmann 539.

[3] Aḥmad Yasavī belonged to the Naqshbandī order and was one of the great saints of Central Asia, Vambéry's Bochara 246*n*. There are short accounts of him in the Khazīnatu-l-Aṣfiyā I, 531 and in the Safīnatu-l-Auliyā, Newal Kishore ed. Lucknow, 76. He was born at Yasī now known as Turkistān, Reclus VI. 553 and which is a town in Turkistān about 150 miles north of Tashkend. He died in 562 A. H. or 1176 A. D. See also A. F.'s account of the Yasavī sect. Jarrett, III. 358.

[4] Perhaps the Buhlūl of Delhi mentioned in the Ṭabaqāt lith. ed. 392.

[5] Blochmann 541, Badāōnī III. 157 and 197.

[6] Qu. The Shaikh Burhān of Blochmann 539?

[7] Bābar, Mem. 395 refers to Mīr Muḥammad Jālabān as deserving great rewards for the skill with which he had constructed a bridge over the Ganges. See also *ibid.* 417.

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the king of kings he was admiral. He had a charming residence on the bank of the Jumna, and there too he brought the ship of his life to the shore of extinction.

19th, Ḥaidar[1] Muḥammad Ākhta Begī, (in charge of the geldings). He was an old servant.

20th, Saiyid Muḥammad Pakna[2] (the stout ?). He was a brave man and good at his hands (*Ṣāḥib-i-qabẓa*). In Herāt he carried off the *qabaq*.

21st, Saiyid Muḥammad[3] Qālī. In Bakkar he was for some time Mīr 'Adl. He had the right to sit in the illustrious assembly.

22nd, Ḥāfiẓ Sulṭān Muḥammad Rakhna. He came to Bakkar in the garb of a faqīr and entered into service. He recited touching verses.[4] Gradually he was numbered among the envoys[5] and obtained honour in the time of his Majesty the king of kings. At Sahrind 224
(Sirhind) he made a charming garden worthy of being celebrated.

23rd, Mīrzā Beg Balūc, whose father had been in Khurāsān hazāra-i-Balūc.

24th, His son Mīr Ḥusain. Both were excellent servants.

25th, Khwāja 'Ambar Nāẓir,[6] a confidential eunuch of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī. From his Majesty the king of kings he got the title of I'tibār Khān (the trusty Khān). He was attached to the litter of her Majesty Maryam-makānī.

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[1] Blochmann 384 and 432*n*. Maujī means whimsical or emotional but was perhaps assumed with reference to his naval duties, *mauj* meaning a wave. Maujī was his poetical name and under it he is described by Badāōnī III. 324 who gives extracts from his poetry and says he died in 979H. or 1572 A. D. See also Maāṣiru-l-Umarā III. 203.

[2] Apparently also known as Shēr Muḥammad because he had killed a leopard. A. N. I. 287. He took part in the blinding of Kāmrān.

[3] Blochmann 438. If so, he was of Amrōha. Possibly هروی (*haravī*) which occurs in one MS. is a mistake for امروی. Badāōnī, Lowe, 214 and 224.

[4] The Lucknow ed. reads *dū bait*, two quatrains. In *Āīn* A. F. speaks of the garden of Ḥāfiẓ Rakhna as the delight of all beholders, Jarrett II. 281.

[5] *Īlciyān*, but the reading is very doubtful. Some MSS. appear to read *yakjihatiyān*, *i.e.*, single-minded or loyal. One MS. has *yakhcakiyān* and another has *dākhil-i-maḥāfil*. Bāyazīd 39*a* mentions him as a *gōyindā* or reciter and as present at the interview between Humāyūn and his brother at Tālīqān.

[6] Blochmann, 403.

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26th, 'Ārif Tūshakcī. He was on the list of purchased (or captured) slaves, but claimed to be a Saiyid. By favour of his Majesty the king of kings he obtained the title of Bahār[1] Khān and rose to high office.

Among the faithful servants and slaves were Mihtar Khān, treasurer (*khazīnadār*), Mihtar Fākhir Tūshakcī, Mullā Balāl, librarian, Mihtar Taimūr in charge of the sharbats (*sharbatcī*), Mihtar Jauharī[2] ewer-bearer, Mihtar Wakīla, treasurer (*khazāncī*), Mihtar Wāṣil, and Mihtar Sumbul Mīr Ātash (Master of Ordnance). Others were Sulṭān Muḥammad Qarāwal-begī (huntsman), 'Abdu-l-wahhāb in charge of the pantry, Jabāī Bahādur, Tūlaq Yātishnavīs.[3]

Bravo! Oh fortunate ones of lucky star who with good intention and firm foot came forward in the paths of testimony and in stations of Divine trial, and served their benefactor.

Verse.

I know not why helpers are backward,
For by service men attain to position.

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[1] Apparently the Bahār Khān Muḥammad Asghar of Blochmann 405. B. M. MS. Add. 6544 calls him Bahādur Khān.

[2] The writer of the memoirs.

[3] Writer who keeps the lists of the night-watch; generally spelt *yātīsh*. See P. de Courteille's Dict.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

Return of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī from Persia, and the coming of his Majesty the Shāhinshāh from Qandahār to Kābul.

When the grateful (*lit.* shade-scattering) [1] report of the approach of his Majesty Jahānbānī became vivid, and the news of his army was spread in Kābul and Qandahār, the blowing of these spring-breezes of victory caused the hope-buds of expectants to open and a current to set in the resolution-stream of the irresolute.

Verse.

Eternal bounty from measureless store
Cast to the city a report of his advent.
The hope-field of the hopeless smiled,
The success-garden of the success-less grew verdant.

The loud reverberation overset M. Kāmrān, and as the season of awakening and of contrition was past, he advanced further in evil ways, and gave way to wicked thoughts. In the first place he sent 225
Khiẓr Khān Hazāra's brother and Qurbān Qarāwalbegī (head of the vanguard) to bring the nursling of light, to wit, the Shāhinshāh from Qandahār to Kābul. When they arrived M. 'Askarī took counsel with his associates about sending his Majesty. All who were of sound sense said it was not right to send him and that when his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī approached the proper thing to do was to send to him with all reverence the child of dominion so that by means of this fair nosegay of fortune's parterre he might obtain for himself forgiveness of his offences. Some others said it was proper to send him to M. Kāmrān so as not to lose his favour, for, as regarded the other suggestion, it was too late now for a reconciliation with his Majesty Jahānbānī. In the end the Mīrzā

[1] There is a play here on Humāyūn's name. He is represented as casting his shadow over Afghānistān like the Humā or phœnix.

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put aside the sound advice and sent his Majesty Shāhinshāh in the depth of winter, and in snow and ice to Kābul. His sister Bakhshī Bānū Begam [1] was sent with him, and also Shamsu-d-dīn of Ghaznīn who had received the title of Atka Khān, Māham Anaga, mother of Adham Khān, Jījī Anaga, mother of M. 'Azīz Kōkaltāsh and a number of other servants. In order that they might not be recognised, the nursling of light was called Mīrak on this journey, and his sister Bīja.[2] When they arrived at Qilāt (*Kelat-i-Ghilzai*) they put up at night in the house of a Hazāra. Owing to the radiance (*far*) and majesty which were manifest on his Majesty's forehead, men recognised him as soon as they saw him, and in the morning there rose to the lips of the master of the house the statement that the prince had been brought there. As soon as Khiẓr Khān's brother heard this remark he set off at once, and hurried on to Ghaznīn. The attendants beheld, hour by hour, and moment by moment, notes of greatness in the prince from his earliest years and marvelled at the Divine Creation while watching the wondrous lights of his development. Among them was this that when they had marched from Ghaznīn and had come to their halting-place, the lamp in the house went out and the place was in darkness. His Majesty, the essence of whose nature had affinity with light, fell a-weeping from horror of the darkness and though *Anagas* and nurses did their best they could not succeed in soothing him. But as soon as they brought a lamp his heart grew pacified, and the lights of joy showed themselves
226 in his cheeks. This was a clear proof of light-augmenting and darkness-dispelling, both internally and externally. When his Majesty the Shāhinshāh came to Kābul from Qandahār, M. Kāmrān brought that nursling of fortune's garden to the house of the cupola of chastity Khānzāda Begam, sister of her Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī. Next day he held a grand assembly in the Shahr-ārā garden and did homage to his Majesty.

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[1] Half sister. She was first married to Ibrāhīm, son of M. Sulaimān, and afterwards her brother gave her in marriage to Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain, Blochmann, 322.

[2] There is a variant, Bīca, but apparently Baca, child, as the true reading. *Mīrak* means princeling.

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CHAPTER XXXV.

Victory of his Majesty the Shāhinshāh in a wrestle with Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, and his felicitous beating of the drum of prestige.

When M. Kāmrān beheld that true cypress of fortune's rosarium in the Shahr-ārā garden he was, from the lucklessness of his fate, confused and astonied at the sight of that lustrous forehead whence streamed the glory of eternal dominion and success. And as God the world-adorner was willing the joy of the lord of dominion and the spiritual and temporal defeat of the Mīrzā, whatever the latter thought to be matters of his joy, proved to be materials of vexation. For instance, on a day when the Mīrzā held a feast and had for his own glorification sent for his Majesty the Shāhinshāh, it chanced that on the occasion of the Shab-i-Barāt[1] they had, according to the custom, brought a decorated kettle-drum for his son Ibrāhīm Mīrzā.[2] His Majesty the Shāhinshāh took a fancy to it, in accordance with the principle that the orchestra of world-conquest must strike up in his name, and the drum of world-rule and universal adornment must give forth a loud sound on the roof of his residence. The uncomprehending Mīrzā did not wish to let him have it, and reflecting that M. Ibrāhīm was the elder of the two, and apparently the stronger, he made the taking of the drum a pretext for a trial of strength and a

[1] The night of record, 14 Sha'bān= for 952, 22nd October, 1545. Apparently the wrestling must have taken place long after Akbar was removed to Kābul for that was in winter and so presumably in end of 1544 or beginning of 1545. But possibly Sha'bān 951 is meant, in which case the wrestling took place on 1st November, 1544. If this be so, however, Akbar must have been removed to Kābul long before Humāyūn had left Persia. There is an account in Herklots of the feasting, &c., on the Shab-i-barāt.

[2] One MS. has Abū'l-qāsim, and Ferishta, lith. ed. p. 264, states that Kāmrān had one son Abū'l-qāsim, and that Akbar imprisoned him in Gwālyār in 964 (1556), and afterwards put him to death at the time of the rebellion of Khān Zamān in 1567.

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wrestling-match. Whoever conquered was to have the drum. His Majesty who was aided by heaven, and sustained from all eternity and who regarded not the pomp of M. Kāmrān nor the superior age of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, rejoiced on hearing the condition, imposed by the Mīrzā for his own enjoyment, and became a means of augmenting the Mīrzā's sorrow. Despite his tender years, which made such actions very surprising, he, by Divine inspiration, and celestial teaching, without hesitation girt up his loins, and rolled up his sleeves, and with strong arm, which was strengthened by eternal power, stepped bravely forward. He grappled with Ibrāhīm Mīrzā according to the canons of the skilful and of the masters of wrestling and
227 putting his hand before his waist so lifted him up and flung him on the ground that a cry burst forth from the assemblage, and that shouts of Bravo arose from far and near. This was the beginning of the beating of that drum of victory and conquest of his Majesty the Shāhinshāh, the Shadow of God, which came to be beaten above the loftiest pinnacles of earth, and beneath the green vault (*sipihr-i-khazrā*) of heaven. M. Kāmrān who had thought of this wrestling bout as a test of the issue of his contest with his Majesty Jahānbānī took a bad omen from the result and became dejected, while the well-wishers and intimates of his Majesty the Shāhinshāh expanded with joy and exulted at the happy omen. His Majesty beat the drum which he had gained by the strength of his arm, and the joyous sound gladdened the hearts of the royal servants. The Mīrzā, as things had turned out adversely,[1] and the throw of the dice revealed an omen contrary to his desire, gave way to evil designs against the altar of fortune (Akbar), one of these being that he ordered his Majesty, who was still sucking,[2] to be weaned. He was oblivious of the fact that he who drew milk from the breasts of the Divine favour and obtained nutriment from a celestial nurse could come to no harm from such acts, and that he who had the True Protector for his guardian could receive no detriment from these evil imaginings.

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[1] *Az baski ṭarīq shuda būd.* For a similar phrase see p. 193 of text, *l.* 14.

[2] Akbar must have been then two, if not three years old, and surely it was time to wean a child who could lift up another child older and bigger than himself and cast him to the earth.

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

Arrival of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī's army at the Garmsīr and the taking of the fort of Bast.

It is not unknown to the observers of facts and contemplators of occurrences whose watchful eyes are open, and have been smeared with the antimony of alertness that when the lofty standards of his Majesty Jahānbānī and his Persian auxiliaries arrived at the Garmsīr, 'Alī Sulṭān Taklū and a number of devoted men were sent to take Bast[1] which belongs to the Garmsīr and appertains to Qandahār. Shāham 'Alī Jalāīr, father of Tīmūr Jalāīr, and Mīr Khalaj who were there as feudatories of M. Kāmrān had strengthened the fort which was now besieged by the royal army. In the course of the siege a musket ball from the fort struck 'Alī Sulṭān and deprived him of life. His soldiers appointed his twelve years old son in his room and pressed forward the siege more and more. These facts were reported to the king of Persia and after some time there arrived a rescript ratifying the arrangement. Gradually the garrison got into straits and no help coming to them they begged for quarter. Owing to the imperial clemency they received this, and delivered up the fort. When it had come into the possession of the royal servants his Majesty Jahānbānī encamped in the neighbourhood, and Shāham 228
'Alī and Mīr Khalaj tied quivers round their necks and came out and did homage. His Majesty in accordance with his innate benignity forgave their offences, and enrolled them among his servants. At the same place a report was spread that M. 'Askarī was about to fly with his treasure to Kābul. A number of the Persians and

[1] Jarrett III. 68*n*. Meynard 100 "Near the confluence of the Arghandāb with the Helmand," Erskine II. 304. It is on the east side of Helmand and is marked on map as Kila Bist, in ruins. Yākūt says Bast belongs to Kābul and Meynard remarks that he and the author of the Lubb-al-lubāb are the only writers who say this. Ibn Ḥaukal (Ouseley 207) places it in Sijistān and A. F. does not put it in Qandahār in the *Āīn*.

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of the king's servants pressed for leave to pursue him. Though his Majesty Jahānbānī had ascertained by truthful scouts that the report was false, and that M. 'Askarī meditated to fight and to defend the fort of Qandahār, and moreover even on the supposition that the report was true his Majesty from his innate kindness was unwilling that 'Askarī should be pursued, yet they brooked[1] not restraint and having obtained a sort of permission to go they hurried off lest the Mīrzā should escape them. When after making great haste they arrived in disorder at the environs of Qandahār, they found that the report of the Mīrzā's departure was false. A large body came out and fought with them, while cannon and muskets were discharged from the fort. A large number of Persians and others were killed, and many were wounded. Khwāja Mu'aẓẓam, Ḥaidar Sulṭān, Ḥājī Muḥammad, son of Bābā Qushqa, 'Alī Qulī, son of Ḥaidar Sulṭān, Shāh Qulī Nāranjī[2] and a number of the Caghatāīs and Persians gave proofs of their courage and drove the enemy back to the Fort. Although Jamīl Beg,[3] one of Mīrzā 'Askarī's trusted servants, sent a message to the Mīrzā to come down in person as but a small force remained and that it would be easy to dispose of those who had once already been defeated, the Mīrzā did not assent, and despatched a message to the effect that "they know the numbers and quality of our men, and will not restrict their troops to the same number as before, on the contrary they probably have a reserve in hiding by whose help they will do for us. We shant let ourselves be gulled, but will make the fort strong, and not give battle till M. Kāmrān arrive." As God befriended the army of his Majesty Jahānbānī, M. Kāmrān did not make his appearance, and some victories were obtained which were the prelude of countless successes. In these days Bābā Sihrindī who was one of M. Kāmrān's distinguished officers, and who belonged to the Qandahār garrison was killed.

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[1] *bē jalūī karda*, not heeding the rein?

[2] Blochmann 480.

[3] Bāyazīd tells us that he was a younger brother of Bāpūs and that he was killed by a musket shot at the second siege of Kābul.

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CHAPTER XXXVII.

Arrival of the army of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī at Qandahār, its siege and capture.

When the heroes had gained such a victory his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī returned thanks to God, and reached Qandahār 229
five days after the joyful event on Saturday, 7th Muḥarram, 952 (21st March, 1545), in an auspicious hour which was compounded of favourable aspect. He halted by the side (*dar zila'*) of the gate Māshūr[1] and encamped in the garden of Shamsu-d-dīn 'Alī the Qāẓī of Qandahār. The batteries were allotted and the captains distributed. There were daily combats between the brave men on both sides. One day Ḥaidar Sulṭān and his two sons 'Alī Qulī Khān[2] and Bahādur Khān, and Khwāja Mu'aẓẓam drove the enemy from the front of Khwāja[3] Khiẓr to the shrines near the old city and the barricade[4] (*kūca band*), and displayed great deeds. Ḥaidar[5] Sulṭān was in advance of all the others and the leader in the attacks. A remarkable circumstance was that Bābū Dōst Yasāwal was standing with a number of men among the shrines and was shooting arrows. Ḥaidar Sulṭān thought to slay him with his lance and raised his arm to do this, and at the same moment an arrow reached his armpit. Isma'īl[6] Sulṭān of Jām, whom M. Kāmrān had sent as an auxiliary, was standing on the white (*āqca*) Tower which faces the tombs, beside M. 'Askarī and was

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[1] Apparently the weavers' gate, *māshūr* or *māsūr* meaning a weaver's reed or spindle.

[2] Afterwards the famous Khān Zamān, Blochmann 319 and 328.

[3] This seems to be the name of a shrine. See Jarrett II. 404. Bāyazīd speaks of the dāman-i-Khwāja Khiẓr.

[4] Perhaps what is meant is that it was a cul de sac.

[5] Apparently he was not severely wounded for we find him taking part in the expedition against Rafī'. He died of the pestilence on the march to Kabūl.

[6] Apparently the Isma'īl Qulī Beg Duldāī of Blochmann 388 and Ma'āṣir I. 64. He deserted to Humāyūn at Qandahār (Bāyazīd).

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watching the fight. Though he was too far off to distinguish the features, he remarked that "the man from whose hand the lance has fallen may be Ḥaidar Sulṭān for once I went with 'Ubaidu-l-lāh Khān[1] to the city of Tūs, and Ḥaidar Sulṭān and I were comrades[2] in an attack and I lost these two fingers. From the mode of fighting I guess that this is he." When they brought in the lance afterwards his (Ḥaidar's) name was found written on it. When they read it, they praised Isma'īl's conjecture. In this engagement many men of rank were wounded, the first of all to be wounded being Khwāja Mu'aẓẓam, but who succeeded in returning. About this time news was brought that Rafī' Kōka, the foster brother of M. Kāmrān, was stationed[3] behind a hill towards Zamīndāwar on the bank of the Arghandāb with a force of Hazāras and Nakodars.[4] Bairām Khān, Muḥammad Mīrzā, Ḥaidar Sulṭān, Maqṣūd Mīrzā Akhtabēgī, the son of Zainu-d-dīn Sulṭān Shāmlū and a number of others were sent against him. By good fortune Rafī' Kōka was made prisoner, and great store of provisions, cattle and weapons was seized and the scarcity in the camp was changed to plenty. Other battles were also fought by the brave warriors with successful results.

230 As M. 'Askarī had from his own backsliding let the thread of performance fall from his hand, and was persistently contumacious it occurred to his Majesty on account of his general benevolence and his fraternal affection that he should send to M. Kāmrān the Shāh's[5] letter together with an admonitory firmān of his own. Perchance he would awake from the sleep of neglect and take the straight road and by dint of good acts make reparation for his offences. In this way many persons might escape from unnecessary

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[1] The great Shaibānī's nephew and Ḥaidar M.'s brother-in-law. See *Tar. Rash.* 283. The battle was probably that fought between the Uzbegs and Persians at Zūrābād near Jām on 25th September, 1528. Bābar, Mem. 390 and 397 and Erskine's Hist. II. 491.

[2] The text has *hamrāh*, but perhaps it should be *hamrū* and the meaning be that Isma'īl encountered Ḥaidar as an opponent. It is hardly likely that Ḥaidar would be on the Uzbeg side. But perhaps the text means that Isma'īl was opposed to 'Ubaidu-l-lāh.

[3] Bāyazīd has *sangar* (in an) entrenchment.

[4] Jarrett II. 401*n*.

[5] It appears from Bāyazīd that Bairām took to Kāmrān letters both from Shāh Ṭahmāsp and Humāyūn.

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destruction, and brotherly concord might result in great deeds which were brooding in his right-thinking soul. Accordingly Bairām Khān was despatched to Kābul as an ambassador. When he reached the pass of Rūghnī [1] and the Āb-Istāda,[2] which is between Qandahār and Ghaznīn a number of Hazāras blocked the way. At the close of the day there was an engagement and the king's servants were victorious and chastised the worthless Hazāras. Many of them were slain. When Bairām Khān arrived near Kābul, Bābūs and many others came and welcomed him and took him with them. M. Kāmrān held a reception in the Cahār Bāgh and sent for Bairām Khān. The latter rightly thought that it would not be proper to give the two rescripts to the Mīrzā when he would doubtless be sitting down, and it was very unlikely that he would stand up and pay respect to them as was proper he should do. Having considered the matter, he took the Koran in his hand and tendered it as an offering. The Mīrzā on seeing the Koran stood up out of reverence towards it, and at this moment Bairām Khān presented the two rescripts. Thus the device procured respect for them. The king's and the Shāh's gifts were duly presented and Bairām sitting down beside the Mīrzā uttered words of truth and sincerity. At the close of the meeting he took leave to pay his respects to the Shāhinshāh. He also obtained permission to see M. Hindāl, M. Sulaimān, Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā and Ulugh Beg Mīrzā. The Mīrzā (Kāmrān) dismissed him and appointed Bābūs to accompany him at the interview. Bairām Khān first went to kiss the threshold of his Majesty the king of kings who was in the bāgh-i-maktab (school-garden) with that cupola of chastity Khānzāda Begam, elder sister of his Majesty Gītī-sitāni Firdūs-makānī. Māham Bega who was his Majesty's nurse (*anaga*) brought out the nursling of Divine light from the inner chambers. The visitors performed [3] their obeisance, and acquitted themselves of their embassy to him. It was a great joy to Bairām Khān and his companions to have the privilege of beholding his auspicious Majesty. The witnessing of the divine lights which were manifest on 231

[1] I cannot find this pass.

[2] *I. e.*, standing or stagnant water. It is a salt-lake south of Ghaznī, I. G. I. 33 and Bābar's Mem. 149. The lake is 7000 feet above the sea.

[3] The account of Bairām's visit to Kābul, &c., seems taken from Bāyazīd. He gives more details, for he was one of the party.

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his Majesty's forehead glorified their vision, and they returned thanks to Providence. Taking leave from them they went and visited M. Hindāl who was in the house of his respected mother Dildār Begam and was under surveillance. They presented to him a gracious *firmān*, a robe of honour and a horse. With like ceremonies they next day visited M. Sulaimān[1] and M. Ibrāhīm who had been imprisoned in the fort in the house of Qāsim[2] Mukhliṣ. On that day they were by M. Kāmrān's orders brought out from there into the garden of Jalālu-d-dīn Beg which is near the Shahr-Ārā[3] garden. Bairām Khān embraced these two grandees in that garden and gladdened them by conveying to them the gifts and favours of the king and the Shāh. Taking leave from them he went to *jalka*[4] Siyāh Sang, where Yādgār Nāṣir had settled, and gave[5] him hopes of the pardon of his offences, and the forgetting of his faults, and of his receiving various royal favours. In like manner he visited and conveyed hopes to Ulugh[6] Mīrzā and other grandees, and gave them, as was proper, soothing messages. M. Kāmrān kept Bairām Khān under surveillance for more than a month, having neither the strength to resist, nor the grace to submit. He remained in these perplexities, until after hundreds of solicitations he let him (Bairām) go after a month and a half. He also by entreaties prevailed upon her Highness Khānzāda Begam to go to Qandahār ostensibly to persuade M. 'Askarī, who, he pretended, was not under his influence, to make over Qandahār to his Majesty Jahānbānī's servants, but in reality in order that if things should go ill with him, who was holding out, and was maintaining the fort under M. Kāmrān's orders, and he should have to give up the fort, that cupola of chastity might

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[1] It appears from Bāyazīd that one reason for visiting Sulaimān was to give him a letter from the king of Persia, and also to explain the fate of the horse which Ṭahmāsp had sent him.

[2] Kāmrān's artillery-officer (Bāyazīd).

[3] Jarrett, II. 404.

[4] See Vullers 525*a*. Siyāh Sang, *i.e.*, Blackstone, is an *ālang* or meadow east of Kābul, Bābar, 139.

[5] Bāyazīd says Bairām was with Yādgār till 3 watches of the night as they were old friends in India. If Bairām spoke soothingly to him with Humāyūn's consent, it seems base and treacherous of the latter to have put Yādgār to death shortly after his submission.

[6] Blochmann, 461, 462. He was a Timuride, a son of M. Sulṭān Mīrzā and grandson of Sulṭān Ḥusain of Herāt.

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be an intercessor for M. 'Askarī and might procure him his liberty. As M. 'Askarī had left the right path and in his devotion to M. Kāmrān had given up the rein of intention to the hand of rebellion and hostility, he applied himself to strengthening the fort, and placed guns and muskets all over it. The fort too was very strong, for it was of mud and so the breaching (*qila' ū qama'*) of it was very difficult. The breadth of the wall was sixty yards[1] (*gaz*). Though the heroes of the victorious army were few in number, yet they strove manfully 232
so that the Turkomans were astonished, and became jealous of them.

One day his Majesty Jahānbānī had a select party, and there his confidential intimates opened the door of recitals and took into their hands the thread of narrative. The assembly became delightsome from the flow of pleasing anecdotes and joyous tales. By the elixir of the words of the brave the coin of the courageous was tested and increased, and a stock of valour accrued to those whose supply was small. On this occasion there came to his mind the loving remembrance of his Majesty the Shāhinshāh. What may be the condition of this young cypress of the stream of the Caliphate, separated now from friends and surrounded by foes? And what are the thoughts of the envious, the foolish and the evil-minded about this auspicious rose-bush? With a heart rent in twain and a soul divided 'twixt hope and fear, he opened the hand of supplication before the great Temple which granteth the desire of the afflicted and distressed and prayed for the happiness and long life of that goodly tree of the Sultanate. In this way he relieved his blistered heart.

Verse.

Lord: keep Thou this royal pearl
Far from the molestation of the wicked,
Grant him water from wisdom's stream,
Grant him heat from perception's sun.

The sun hath trod many circuits in heaven
That this Light might issue from the veil,
Many a star hath displayed benign aspects
That this Moon might put aside his locks.

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[1] So in all MSS. apparently, but perhaps A. F. wrote *shash* (6) and not *shaṣt* (60).

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High Heaven trod many a round
That the horizons might share in this light,
May eternal splendour be his portion
May his lightsome heart ne'er be darkened !

And in order to comfort his capacious soul he called for the horoscope which is the guarded tablet of mysteries of the fortune-favoured one and carefully perused it. In that frontispiece of auspiciousness he read personal safety, long life, ascension of the grades of fortune, ruin of enemies, and failure of the evil and crooked thoughted. Joyfully lifting up his head he exclaimed " God be praised, my heart is wholly at rest from these anxieties. There is hope that bye and bye I shall be made happy by a sight of that divine nursling, and shall, by the star of that auspicious one become victorious over all my foes." Having returned thanks to God he set himself to conquer the fort. M. 'Askarī used all diligence in holding it, and made changes in the garrisons of the batteries every
233 day and every night, lest proffers of reconciliation should be made by the besiegers[1] and there should thus be less vigilance on the part of the defence.

As the siege was protracted, and none of the king's servants came and joined him, the Persian officers relaxed their exertions and meditated a return home. His Majesty Jahānbānī read this design in their demeanour, and redoubled his efforts to take the fort. One night he moved out from his battery, and approaching the gate from the side of old Qandahār—the place is called Cahār Dara—he came within a stone throw of it, and there established a battery. Next morning when the Turkomāns saw this, they felt encouraged to take the fort, and they all moved forward; and narrowed the lines of circumvallation. M. 'Askarī was astonished, and showed signs of despair, and besought with many entreaties that as the cupola of chastity (Khānzāda) was approaching, he might have a respite till her arrival so that he might be reassured by her and might be enabled to serve (Humāyūn). He sent his petition through Mīr

[1] The passage is rather obscure, but I think the word *mūrcal* in the last part of the sentence must refer to the siege-batteries. The expression *ḥar-yakjihatī darmīyān andākhta* may be compared with that at p. 153, l. 8 of text.

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Ṭāhir, brother of Khwāja Dōst Khāwind. His Majesty Jahānbānī, who was a mine of liberality and clemency, accepted his prayer and stayed the siege-operations for some days. The wicked Mīrzā outwardly assumed the airs of a suppliant, but secretly exerted himself to strengthen the fort, and when her Highness and Bairām Khān arrived he renewed his opposition. Though the noble lady endeavoured to restrain M. 'Askarī from evil designs and to induce him to kiss the holy threshold, he from his disordered brain would not accept her counsels, but continued obdurate and would not suffer her to leave the fort and go to his Majesty's camp. Thus the Mīrzā's contumacy and villainy were revealed even to his Majesty Jahānbānī. Relying therefore on the favour of God, who is the surety of those who commend themselves to Him, he strenuously endeavoured to take the fort. Meanwhile Ulugh Mīrzā, son of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, who was descended from Sulṭān Ḥusain through a daughter, Sher-afkan[1] Beg, son of Qūc Beg, and Faẓāil Beg, brother of Mun'im Khān, Mīr Barka and Mīrzā Ḥasan[2] Khān, sons of Mīr 'Abdullāh, who 234
belonged to the Saiyids the Banī-mukhtārs of Sabzawār, and many others came from Kābul by the guidance of a happy star and did homage. The cause of their escaping was this. M. Kāmrān was keeping Ulugh Beg in confinement, and out of precaution he made him to a different custodian every week. When it came to Sher-afkan's turn, it happened that he too was afraid of the Mīrzā. He joined with the others and brought out Ulugh Mīrzā, and enjoyed the blessing of service. His Majesty Jahānbānī received this party with favour and gave them robes of honour, and assigned Zamīn Dāwar to M. Ulugh Beg. Though Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān came out with them, he lost his way one night and fell among the Hazāras. After some days and after being robbed he arrived on foot and with blistered soles. His Majesty remarked to him "There must have been something wanting in your loyalty for you to have lost your way and become involved in such troubles." After that Dawa[3] Beg Hazāra came in with his tribesmen. Petitions too arrived from the Kābul officers. The arrival of this party, and the receipt of petitions from officers and nobles caused great joy in the camp. The Qizilbāshī,

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[1] Blochmann, 455.

[2] Blochmann, 439.

[3] See Erskine, the text has Dada.

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(Persians) who had been uneasy in their minds, became tranquil and displayed alacrity in carrying on the war while the leaders of the garrison began to waver, and the foot of firmness slipped from the battlement of defence. The dwellers in the fort wrote daily accounts of M. 'Askarī and shot[1] them down from the walls. Their purport was that the garrison was in difficulties, and that the besiegers should press on, and not relax their efforts. At last it came to this that the officers of M. 'Askarī's army flung themselves out of the fort one by one, and that the gunners and infantry did the same. First, Khiẓr[2] Khwāja Khān threw himself down from the fort in the vicinity of his Majesty's battery, and seizing the collar of supplication with the hand of contrition fell at the holy feet of his Majesty Jahānbānī. After him Muayyad[3] Beg let himself down by ropes from the fort, and was exalted by doing homage. Then Isma'īl Beg, who was one of Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī's officers and was distinguished for counsel and courage arrived, and Abū'l-Ḥusain Beg, brother's son of Qarāca Khān, and Munawwar Beg, son of Nūr[4] Beg, came with him. One night Khiẓr Khān Hazāra flung himself down from the fort, and two or three Hazāras took him on their backs and went off with him towards Kōt Laka (?). Inasmuch as the work of defence had got out of hand, and M. 'Askarī could neither make up his mind to remain in the fort, nor had he the face to come to the world-protecting Court, Khiẓr Khān Hazāra desired to betake himself to the cell of safety
235 and to come to strive out of these dangers. In the morning news came to the camp that he had left the fort and taken to flight. A number of people hastened to search for him. He had gone some distance and then hidden himself behind a rock. Some reliable persons relate that Khiẓr Khān Hazāra used to tell how the men who had been sent to catch him passed close to him and how once a man touched the skirt of his garment and thought it was an animal, while

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[1] *Bartāftand*, explained by Erskine as meaning the fastening of letters to arrows and then shooting them down.

[2] Also called Khiẓr Khān Sulṭān. He was husband of Gulbadan the daughter of Bābar and authoress of Memoirs.

[3] According to Niẓāmu-d-dīn he was a prisoner in Qandahār. He died shortly after the taking of Kābul to the great joy of everybody, says Bāyazīd, as they regarded him as a Satan and the cause of Humāyūn's losing India.

[4] One of Bābar's officers. Mem. 424, 425.

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Khiẓr Khān held his breath from fear. When night came on he emerged from under the rock and reached a place of safety.

As the daily increasing success of his Majesty Jahānbānī was patent, and it became clear to the garrison that owing to the good fortune of his Majesty Jahānbānī and the zeal of his devoted servants it would be impossible to maintain the defence, M. 'Askarī awoke from the sleep of carelessness and became disturbed in his mind, and could neither advance nor stay where he was. At first he asked to be allowed to surrender Qandahār and to proceed to Kabul, but his Majesty Jahānbānī did not agree to this, and the Mīrzā's crude idea came to nought. Out of necessity he had to send her Highness Khānzāda Begam to his Majesty to beg forgiveness of his offences. At the request of that cream of chastity's family the writing of forgiveness was drawn over the register of his offences, and on Thursday, 25th Jumāda-l-ākhir (3rd September, 1545), of that year (952) he came out of the fort, contrite and repentant, and in the train of the cupola of chastity. His Majesty Jahānbānī had formed an assemblage in the dīwānkhāna and the Caghatāī and Persian officers were drawn up in line according to their rank. In accordance with the royal orders Bairām Khān hung the sword round M. 'Askarī's neck and introduced him. His Majesty Jahānbānī, in spite of all the mortal injuries which he had received from him, put aside the canons of sovereignty and with native kindness and excessive clemency accepted the intercession of the cupola of chastity and drawing the pen of forgiveness over the schedule of his deeds, he encompassed him with the curtains of favour and with exceeding affection. After returning thanks to God for this beginning of success, he gave orders for the removal of the sword from the Mīrzā's neck, and after he had paid his respects bade him be seated. After that Muḥammad Khān Jalāir, Shāham Khān, Muqīm Khān, Shāh Qulī Sīstānī, Tūlak Khān Qūrcī and others to the number of thirty persons were brought forward with swords and quivers round their necks[1] to make their obeisance. Out of these 236
Muqīm Khān and Shāh Qulī Sīstānī were ordered into confinement with fetters[2] on their legs and wooden boards on their necks.

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[1] Niẓāmu-d-dīn says they carried their shrouds in their hands.

[2] *Zūlāna* i. q., zāwalāna. See Burhān-i-Qāṭi' under Zūlāna and Vullers under zāwalāna.

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From the close of day up to early dawn, which is the time of the arrival of the glory of heaven, there was a delightful assembly. Instructive events were described, and Mīr Qalandar and other reciters and players discoursed excellent music, thereby removing the rust from his Majesty's world-adorning soul. During the assembly they in accordance with his Majesty's orders presented M. 'Askarī with an exact copy of the letter which he had written to his Balūcī followers at the time when his Majesty was proceeding to a strange land by way of the desert. The Mīrzā's life was embittered, and mirth became melancholy. At last, out of necessity an order was given that he should be kept under surveillance, and that he should be brought from time to time to make his obeisance so that while his offences had, out of innate kindness, been forgiven, he might for some days take counsel with himself in bondage. Next day the night-illumining crescent of victory lighted up those who sat darkling in the citadel. Muḥammad Murād Mīrzā and the Cagh̲atāi and Persian officers came to the city in attendance on his Majesty. For three nights and days the city was brightened by the light of his Majesty's august advent, and was in peace and tranquillity. On the fourth day it was, in accordance with the secret workings of his Majesty's comprehensive mind, presented to Muḥammad Murād Mīrzā, and his Majesty took up his quarters in the Cār Bāg̲h of his Majesty Firdūs-makānī, which is on the bank of the Arg̲h̲andāb, and was refreshed by its pleasant groves. In that charming spot the official accountant laid before him a detailed list of the properties of M. 'Askarī, which had been brought together from all quarters, but his Majesty did not regard them as worthy of consideration and distributed them among those of his brave soldiers who were in want.

When M. Kāmrān heard of the conquest of Qandahār and of his Majesty Jahānbānī's coming against Kābul, he was agitated and troubled, and had his Majesty the Sh̲āhinsh̲āh brought from the house of the cupola of chastity Kh̲ānzāda Begam to his own, and made him over to his chief wife Kh̲ānam Begam. He also confined Sh̲amsu-d-dīn Muḥammad G̲h̲aznavī, commonly called Atka Kh̲ān, in an unworthy place, and took counsel with his officers as to what he should do with M. Sulaimān. Mullā 'Abdu-l-Kh̲āliq, who was Kāmrān's teacher, and Bābūs, who had charge of political affairs, advised that the Mīrzā should be dealt gently with and be allowed

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to go to Badakhshān so that he might be useful in time of need. Fortunately for M. Sulaimān it happened that Mīr Naẓar 'Alī, Mīr Hazār Teshkānī, Mīr 'Alī Balūc, and others had combined a few days before and had seized Fort Ẕafar, and put Qāsim Barlās and 237
other officers into confinement. They sent a message to M. Kāmrān that if he sent M. Sulaimān, they would make over Badakhshān to him, otherwise they would put their prisoners to death and hand over the country to the Uzbegs. Accordingly Mīrzās Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm and Ḥaram[1] Begam were sent off to Badakhshān. When they had got as far as Pāī Minār and Ma'mūra village, M. Kāmrān repented of having let M. Sulaimān go and sent persons to recall him, alleging that he had something to say to him. M. Sulaimān suspected this message and wrote a letter of excuse in reply to the effect that as he had taken leave in an auspicious hour, it was not proper to return, and that he trusted M. Kamrān would be so kind as to write to him what he wished to confer about and to send the letter by a confidential servant when he would act in accordance therewith. Meanwhile he hastened on to Badakhshān. As soon as he reached Badakhshān he broke his agreement. At this time too Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā fled from Kābul towards Badakhshān. And as fate desired that M. Kāmrān should receive the recompense of his deeds, the materials for this were being prepared daily. Of the Mīrzās no one remained with him except Hindāl. Him he flattered and appointed to pursue and capture Yādgār Nāṣir, promising him that he would give him one-third of all he now possessed or should afterwards acquire, on condition that he should not deviate in any way from loyalty and fraternal feeling. Having made this compact he sent off the Mīrzā whom he had kept under surveillance. M. Hindāl, who had been brought into difficulties by Kāmrān's ill treatment verbally agreed for he regarded his escape from his claws as a great relief. But when he came to Pāī Minār, he under a wise guidance proceeded towards his Majesty Jahānbānī. M. Kāmrān was astonished on hearing of this affair, and lost the thread of his counsel. He had no servants or companions who would consult his welfare or tell him the truth.

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1 According to Bāyazīd, p. 16*a*, Sulaimān was released before the fall of Qandahār. He also says that his wife Ḥaram or Khurram Begam bribed the officers with her jewels to advise his release.

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Most of his servants had their eyes veiled, and the vision of their intelligence was troubled by the ophthalmia of neglect. They beheld not the way of salvation nor the straight path. Those who did see what was proper, had not the power to express their sentiments. This was due to two circumstances:—(1) Some had not the courage to make representations. (2) Some were of such a nature that they studied the temper of the Mīrzā, and did not consider truthful representations advisable, for they were certain that from
238 his self-sufficiency he would not accept good advice, but would be displeased on the mere mention of it. And his displeasure would cause injury to the influence and position of the speaker. The condition of fidelity is that in such matters one should not delay or have regard to one's language, nor spend one's time in negligence or delay. For the evil of this falls in the end upon all, and is as ruinous to the general prosperity. And the results of treacherous counsel, which is the greatest and worst of treacheries, come forth. And the mole of untrustworthiness and flattery, which is the blackness[1] of disloyalty and unpropitiousness, reveals itself on the cheek of their procedure. It behoves such men, if they feel afraid of not suppressing the truth or of uttering honest but disagreeable remonstrances to recognise the fact that such opportunities are part of their good fortune, and to rejoice thereat, and not to let the wrinkle of contraction form in the forehead of frankness. For though in appearance the great may be disgusted, yet in reality the noble mind approves of hearing both sides. And though such advisers may appear to run counter to the opinion of their masters, yet in fact they will at once be relieved from responsibility and have discharged the duty of good service, and also be lauded in word and deed by those who consider the end and regard the final termination. M. Kāmrān, in fact, went from blunder to blunder from want of warning wisdom, and the absence of sound counsellors.

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[1] *Nīl. lit.* blueness, blue being the colour of mourning and misfortune.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

March of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī's army from Qandahār to conquer Kābul, and victory over that territory.

When his Majesty was freed from anxiety about Qandahār he placed before himself the conquest of Kābul, and with this intention left his Majesty Firdūs-makānī's garden and halted at the Gumbaz Safēd (the white dome) above the shrine of Ḥasan Abdāl. The thought of the expedition continually occupied his mind, and he was perpetually holding conferences about it with far-sighted loyalists and devoted friends. Many of the Persians were wearied of their long expatriation and went off without leave, while some departed after obtaining leave by importunity. Budāgh Khān and the others who were in attendance on the Shāh's son opened, from want of consideration, the hand of tyranny and oppression over the subject population, and thought of increasing their own substance by such unhallowed proceedings. High and low used to come from the city, imploring justice, and his Majesty Jahānbānī was in a difficulty for if he were to rebuke the oppressors, the Shāh would be vexed, 239
while, if he did not execute justice, the hand of the unjust would not be withdrawn from the subjugated, and this would call down the Divine displeasure. As the time was not convenient, he remained perturbed, and put off remedying the evil till another season.

When the expedition to Kābul had been determined upon he was compelled to ask Budāgh Khān [1] for accommodation for some of his ladies and for his goods and chattels. He candidly acknowledged that in accordance with his promise he had made over Qandahār to the Persians, but said that he could not set the foot of resolve

[1] The name seems Turkish and is also spelt Būdāq. See Blochmann 371, but the person there mentioned is probably not the Budāgh Khān of the text.

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in the stirrup of toil until he had disposed of his people,[1] and his mind were at ease concerning them. Budāgh Khān in his ignorance of affairs made objections and unlike a wise man was neither alert in carrying out the Shāh's orders, nor in obeying the king's mandate, which was the root of the matter. The chief officers represented that they had a great enterprise in hand, and that there was nothing for it but to seize Qandahār. They would thus undertake whatever was before them with a light heart. His Majesty referred to the kindnesses of the Shāh and declined to vex the latter's servants, and thought they must submit to their unreasonable conduct. He began to consider if he should go to Badakhshān and should join M. Sulaimān to himself before attacking Kābul. But as a strong motive for haste in conquering Kābul was his desire to behold the Shāhinshāh and to share to the full in that light of the garden of the Khilāfat, knowing that by heaven's decree all providential victories depended on the auspicious existence of that splendour, his eager desire to attain that object revealed itself from time to time. Just then the Shāh's son became a beholder of the gardens (*riyāẓ*) of mercy, and a visitor of the pools (*ḥiyāẓ*) of pardon (*i.e.*, he died). The confidential officers represented that winter was at hand, and that it was impossible for them to convey the women and children and the baggage (*partāl*) along with them into the hill-country.[2] The Shāh's son was dead, and it was not right to leave Qandahār to the Turkamāns, especially when they were so headstrong and were by their tyranny ruining the country and casting down the pillars of peace. Moreover, though they had been commissioned to bind constantly the girdle of service on their souls' waist, and to serve continually the sublime expedition they had been perverse and been drunken with the wine of negligence, and had not shown zeal in submitting to orders. On the contrary they had transgressed the supreme commands, and had openly and secretly gone into opposition and had suspended over their countenances the veil of
240 shamelessness. It behoved his Majesty to shorten their oppressive

[1] *Mardān-i-khud*, meaning his harem.

[2] Perhaps referring to Humāyūn's project of marching into Badakhshān, but more probably to the hills north of Qandahār through which they would have to march to Kābul as Ghaznīn was still in the hands of the enemy.

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arms so that they should not reach the skirt of the poor and needy in this city which was the first fruit of the Divine favour. God forbid that such a proper design should produce a cloud in the mind of the Shāh. Inasmuch as it was a long march to Kābul and the Hazāra and Afghāns were more numerous than ants or locusts, and as they (the Persians) were stumbling-blocks in their path, and above all, as they were intriguing[1] with M. Kāmrān, the first thing to do was to get hold of a refuge so that their minds should be at rest. At this moment there was no place better for this purpose than Qandahār. It was therefore in accordance both with reason and justice that Budāgh Khān be told that he must, *nolens volens,* give up Qandahār. If he did not comply, the city must be besieged and taken possession of; and let a loving letter be written to the Shāh, explanatory of the facts of the case and the necessities of the position, and replete with candour and friendship. As the noble Shāh was a mine of wisdom and justice he would regard the transaction as one to be approved of. The leading spirit in this matter was Ḥājī Muḥammad, the son of Bābā Qushqa. His Majesty Jahānbānī said "I admit it all, but 'twere base to lay siege to the place, to unsheath the sword of battle, and to put a whole party to death. Though they 've left the path of moderation (*i'tidāl*), I do not approve of immoderation (*bē-i'tidāl*) on the part of my servants. If this course be taken Budāgh Khān's men will perish, and such a result will look ill in the eyes of good men. It is much better that you devise some plan whereby we may get possession of the fort without war or tumult." Accordingly he sent a messenger to Budāgh Khān, with the request that as they were marching against Kābul he would keep M. 'Askarī in prison in Qandahār so that his Majesty's mind might be at rest. Budāgh Khān thought the proposal advantageous to himself and agreed to it. It was arranged that the courageous heroes of the battlefield should proceed to the environs of Qandahār and lie in ambush there and then suddenly, when they got an opportunity, should enter the fort. Bairām Khān and a body of troops were told off for the Gandigān[2] Gate,

[1] I think these two clauses must refer to the Persians though there does not appear to be any evidence that they were plotting with Kāmrān.

[2] The text has Kandikān but probably the gate was named after the village of Gandigān W. of the modern city of Qandahār, and the battle-field

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while Ulugh Mīrzā, Ḥājī Muḥammad and another body of troops were deputed to the Māshūr Gate, and Muayyad Beg and others were stationed near the New Gate. Those tigers of the jungle of courage made a rapid night-march and lay in ambush near Qandahār. When the "true dawn" appeared Ḥājī Muḥammad presented himself before all the others at the Māshūr Gate. By chance[1] some forage-camels were going in; he advanced under their cover, and tiger-like[2] suddenly entered the gate. The warder saw him and challenged him. He said that he was bringing M. 'Askarī by Budāgh Khān's orders so that he might be confined in the Fort. This pretext
241 did not avail, and the warder was about to shut the gate when Ḥājī Muḥammad severed his arm with a blow of his sword. Some others came up from behind, and all the Persians who were there, and offered battle, were killed. Bairām Khān entered by the Gandigān Gate, and the Fort came into the possession of the King's servants. The Persians fled and took refuge in the citadel. At midday his Majesty Jahānbānī arrived and having entered by the Gandigān Gate took post at the Āqca (white) bastion. Thus that fortunate city became by the glory of his arrival an alighting stage of peace and tranquillity and a station of justice and beneficence. All, small and great, raised pæans of joy at this happy advent. Budāgh Khān came forward, through the intervention of Ḥaidar Sulṭān, and paid the homage of ashamedness and apologised for his offence. His Majesty encompassed him with princely favours and dismissed him. He made over the city to Bairām Khān and wrote to the Shāh that as Budāgh Khān had acted contrary to the Shāh's orders, and been slack in his duty, he had taken Qandahār[3] from

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of 1st September, 1880. Lord Roberts' 41 years in India II. 368, Map.

[1] Khāfī Khān, I. 130, has a more detailed account of the stratagem.

[2] A. F. compares Ḥājī Muḥammad to a tiger stalking his prey.

[3] Elphinstone has some just remarks on Humāyūn's treachery and A. F.'s canting defence thereof. But he is not correct in saying that the people of Qandahār had never been subject to Humāyūn. He was certainly their suzerain through his brothers, and he was justified in regarding all Afghānistān as belonging to his family from the day of his father's conquest. Bādāonī I. 447 gives four reasons for taking Qandahār from the Persians, and as may be supposed, he is more vigorous and more to the point than the lumbering A. F.

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him and made it over to Bairām Khān who was a dependant[1] of the Shāh.

Meanwhile M. 'Askarī, unmindful of the royal clemency, and of his life's having been spared made his escape. After some days an Afghān came and reported that the Mīrzā was in his house, and asked that some one might be sent to seize him, but without letting it be known from whom the information came. His Majesty Jahānbānī appointed Shāh Mīrzā and Khwāja 'Ambar Nāẓir and they brought him out of the Afghān's house from under a woolen carpet (*palās*), and conducted him to the Presence. His Majesty from his innate clemency, and his observance of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdausmakānī's testament[2] which was made for all mankind and especially for the brothers, forgave anew his crimes and faults and made him over to Nadīm[3] Kokaltāsh who was one of his Majesty's special confidants. He divided the territory of Qandahār among his officers. Tīrī[4] he gave to Ulugh Mīrzā, and the parganas of Lahū he assigned to Ḥājī Muḥammad for his maintenance. Zamīn Dāwar was given to Isma'īl Beg, Qilāt[5] to Sherafkan,[6] Shāl to Ḥaidar Sulṭān. In this manner all the officers got jāgīrs appropriate to their positions. Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, who had committed extortion[7] in the city on M. 'Askarī's men and on others, was delivered over to Mīr Muḥammad[8] 'Alī.

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[1] *Ta'alluq bashāh dārad.* Bairām was a Turkoman and a *persona grata* with Ṭahmāsp. But perhaps the meaning is "the city remains dependent on the Shāh."

[2] The reference as to Bābar's dying request that Humāyūn would always forgive his brothers.

[3] The author of a MS. life of Akbar in the possession of Colonel Hanna, and who, as a grandson of 'Azīz Kōka and great-grandson of Jījī Anaga, was likely to know, states that Nadīm was the husband of the famous Māham Anaga.

[4] N. Qandahār, on the Helmand, the Tarīn of the *Ā'īn*, Jarrett, II. 398. The text has Tiprī.

[5] Probably Qilāt Banjārah, Jarrett, II. 397.

[6] Bāyazīd, 17*b*, says it was given to Qāsim Ḥusain Khān Shaibānī.

[7] *Ṭama' karda būd, lit.*, had behaved avariciously. The allusion to Jalālu-d-dīn is puzzling for he was in Humāyūn's service. But he had once been 'Askarī's servant and perhaps he abused his opportunities when the troops entered Qandahār. Erskine's paraphrase of the passage in his history hardly agrees with the text.

[8] No doubt Muḥammad 'Alī Ṭaghāī, the maternal uncle of Humāyūn, and who afterwards was governor of Kābul.

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When the holy heart was relieved of the affairs of Qandahār, and when, by the blessing of Divine aid, and by the royal efforts, destiny and deliberation had come into accord (*taqdīr muāfiq-i-tadbīr āmad*), he in an auspicious hour left her Majesty Maryam-makānī in Qandahār and addressed himself to the subduing of Kābul. One
242 of the endless bounties and unexpected favours was that a large caravan had come from Hindustān and the merchants had made good bargains by purchasing 'Irāq horses from the Turkomans (the Persian auxiliaries of Humāyūn). As the lights of prestige were streaming from the cheek of circumstance, the leaders of the caravan came and represented that if their horses were taken into the service of the grand army and an order be given for payment after the conquest of Hindustān they would be greatly pleased and would feel that they were fortunate. "Glorious will be our fortune," they said, "if by giving this aid we may come to be numbered among the loyalists of the sublime dynasty." His Majesty Jahānbānī regarded the proposition as a heavenly aid, and a providential contribution, and having acceded to their request, he ordered that purchase-bonds for the horses should be written out at the rates desired by the vendors and be given to them. He himself came to the ridge near Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl and ordered Ulugh Mīrzā, Bairām Khān, Sherafkan and Ḥaidar Muḥammad Ākhta Begī (master of the horse), to set apart the horses for the royal stables, and then to select those for the officers and others according to their rank. One thousand horses purchased by the privy purse (*sarkār-i-khāṣṣa*) were given away in accordance with each one's requirements. The hearts, both of the merchants[1] and the soldiers, were soothed and gladdened. Dawa Beg Hazāra, wishing to be distinguished for serving both in person and property, led[2] the way by night to the fort of Tīrī, where his clan was. When the army arrived there, the headmen brought according to their ability horses and sheep as presents. They did good service, and as the place had pleasant pastures (*alanghā*) his Majesty remained there for several days to recruit and to enjoy himself. Her Highness Khānzāda Begam fell ill here,

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[1] Jauhar gives another and more probable account of this affair.

[2] *Rāh sarkarda burd*, perhaps the meaning is that he went by night in advance of the army.

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and the illness lasted, and she died.[1] His Majesty performed the rites of mourning, and grasping the strong rope of patience, the glory of the awakened of hearts and the mark of the intelligent, he engaged in charities and works of beneficence such as befitted a princely family and might be a sweet savour to the soul of that generous matron. He then marched under the guidance of a lofty fortune towards Kābul. Near Qandahār M. Hindāl did homage and was received with unbounded kindness. His Majesty was much delighted at his coming, which was the preface to the advent of many others. Officers hastened from Kābul in troops. But by reason of contrariety and mingling of air-currents a sickness and pestilence broke out on the march in the camp, and there were many travellers 243
to the city of annihilation. Among them was Ḥaidar Sulṭān. As the untowardness of the atmosphere was great, and the force became small M. Hindāl represented that they ought to return to Qandahār for the winter and march against Kābul in the beginning of spring and after making the army efficient. His Majesty said nothing to his face, but when the meeting was over he sent him this verbal message by Mīr Saiyid Barka: "When I did not know that you would come, or that Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā would leave[2] (Kāmrān) I proceeded towards Kābul in reliance on the Divine favours, why should I delay now because an unforeseen circumstance (the pestilence) has occurred? If this thought has come into your mind on account of the fatigues and pains of your men you can go and repose this winter in Zamīn Dāwar which I have given to you, and when

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1 Gulbadan Begam says she died after three days' illness. She calls the place Qabalḥak (?) and says the body was buried there but removed three months afterwards to Khānzāda's brother's (Bābar) sepulchre. In all probability Qabalḥak is a copyist's error for Ghilcak (غلچک) in Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl. Bāyazīd, p. 69, says that there was a garden there which Humāyūn visited several times.

2 It would seem from Jauhar, Stewart 81 and Erskine II. 322 that it was only at Tīrī that Hindāl joined Humāyūn. Erskine says Yādgār Nāṣir also joined here, but from the text and also from A. N. I. 248 and Bāyazīd 21*b* it would appear that Yādgār though he left Kāmrān did not immediately join Humāyūn. He went to Badakhshān, and then to Qandahār (after Humāyūn had marched) and did not join Humāyūn till at Kābul when he came along with Humāyūn's *harem*. No doubt he went to Qandahār because his old friend (see Bāyazīd) Bairām was there.

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the knot of Kābul has been untied you can rejoin our service." The Mīrzā was greatly ashamed on getting this message and begged forgiveness. His Majesty advanced with good intent and a confident hope, and braced up his heart to carrying through the business. On the march Jamīl Beg, brother (younger) of Bābūs, whom M. Kāmrān had made guardian of Āq[1] Sulṭān his son-in-law and had placed in Ghaznīn, came and kissed the threshold, and begged the forgiveness of Bābūs' offences. His request was granted.

When the army halted at the station (*yurt*) of Shaikh 'Alī, which is in the neighbourhood of Paghmān (*na'mān* in text) and Arqandī, M. Kāmrān became disturbed at the approach of the world-conquering standards and sent forth Qāsim Barlās with a body of troops. He ordered his artillery-officer, Qāsim Mukhliṣ Tarbatī to take his arsenal to Jalka Daurī near Bābūs Beg's house, and to draw it up there. He also brought inside the fort all the men's families who were living outside. When he had strengthened the fort he came out from Kābul with pomp and insouciance and encamped near the quarters (*yurt*) of Bābūs Beg. He employed himself in reviewing and marshalling the troops. Qāsim Barlās had proceeded with a body of troops to Takīya Khimār[2] when Khwāja Mu'aẓẓam, Ḥājī Muḥammad and Sherafkan hastened from the royal camp and displayed their superiority. By the Divine aid—which was the vanguard of conquering fortune—Qāsim Barlās could not withstand them and turned to flee. When only a small space remained between the two forces M. Hindāl was at his own request appointed to the vanguard. The army had passed the defile of the "Khwāja's ridge" and had halted in the neighbourhood of Arqandī
244 when Bābūs and Jamīl Beg and a number of their men, and with Shāh Bardī[3] Khān who held Gardēz, Bangash and Naghz came

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[1] Younger brother of Khiẓr Khwāja the husband of Gulbadan Begam. Āq Sulṭān, the White Prince, is his sobriquet, his name, according to Bāyazīd 19*b*, being Ḥasan Daulat Sulṭān. He was married to Ḥabība one of Kāmrān's daughters. But he afterwards offended his father-in-law who had his wife taken away from him. See Gulbadan's Mem.

[2] *Camār* in text. *Khimār* means vintner. Stewart read *ḥimār*, an ass, and this is a more likely name.

[3] This is the man who afterwards became a saint and water-carrier and wrote poetry under the style of Bahrām Saqqā. He was elder brother

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and submitted. They were received with unbounded favours. After that, Muṣāḥib Beg, son of Khwāja Kalān Beg, came with many men and enjoyed the fortune of service, and was exalted by princely favours. Meanwhile Bābūs represented that it was no time for dallying and that his Majesty should mount his horse as all the men were coming over. His Majesty Jahānbānī mounted the swift steed of fortune. On this occasion he sent for 'Alī Qulī Safarcī and Bahādur the sons of Ḥaidar Sulṭān who were in mourning for their father and loaded them with favours and kindnesses. After a time Qarāca Khān came and did homage. M. Kāmrān read his own downfall in the pages of the royal fortunes and sent Khwāja Khāwand Maḥmūd and Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Khāliq to apologise for his offences. He made sundry requests through the Khwājas, who arrived when the two armies were less than a mile apart. His Majesty accepted [1] his homage and postponed decision on his petitions. He promised further favours to the Khwājas and dismissed them with honour. Out of humanity and kindness he ordered a suspension of hostilities. The object of the Mīrzā in sending the Khwājas was to cause delay and make the king's soldiers slacken their march and to get time for himself, and he was waiting for the darkness of night so that he might by making a long night-march remove himself to a distance. When then the veil of nocturnal gloom had darkened the earth he from an obscured understanding and a benighted soul could not resolve upon experiencing the pleasure of doing homage and withdrew in all haste into the citadel. Then he took his son M. Ibrāhīm and his wives and went off to Ghaznīn by Bīnī [2] Hiṣār. When his

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of Bāyazīd the memoirs-writer. His proper name was Shāh Bardī Biyāt. M. Kāmrān had by this time taken his districts from him, and given them to Khiẓr Khwāja Hazāra. Kāmrān gave him in exchange Ghōrband, &c., Bāyazīd 19*b*.

[1] I think the meaning is that he postponed decision on Kāmrān's requests until he came forward and did homage in person. According to Bāyazīd Humāyūn rejected all Kāmrān's proposals. Gulbadan Begam says Humāyūn made presents of food and clothes to the Khwājas.

[2] See Jarrett II. 404*n*. and *Āīn* text I. 592. The words in Bāyazīd 21*a* appear to be Bīnī-Kōhī. Lord Roberts in his "Forty-one years in India," II. 223 says "Beni Hissar, a considerable village, surrounded by orchards and gardens, and only two miles south of the far-famed citadel of the Bala Hissar." The name means "nose (or ridge) of the fortress."

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Majesty Jahānbānī heard of his flight he sent Bābūs with a number of trusty men to Kābul to prevent any molestation of the inhabitants or sepoys, and to make them all hopeful of the royal favour. He appointed M. Hindāl and a body of troops to pursue the Mīrzā and proceeded himself to Kābul with victory at his foot and fortune as his stirrup-companion. In an auspicious moment the drummers of dominion beat high the great drum (*kūrāka*) of prestige and the standard-bearers of victory advanced the stelliform[1] standards of glory to the starry sphere. On the night of the 13th of the Jalālī month of Āẕar corresponding to the night of Wednesday, 12th[2] Ramaẓān, 952 (18th November, 1545), the conquest of Kābul, the beginning of countless victories, was accomplished by heavenly aid, and the gates of joy and success opened to the hearts of mankind. Two

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[1] *Kaukaba.* This is a play on the double meaning of the word *kaukab*, meaning both a star and the globe surmounting the standard, and this is all the neater from the fact that the march was at night.

[2] There is a good deal of confusion about the year. See Erskine II. 325*n.* Niẓāmu-d-dīn prefers 953, though some, he says, give it as 952. As pointed out by the *Bib. Ind.* editors the first chronogram given by A. F. yields 954, and the second, or metrical one, 952. I am of opinion that 952 is right. 12th Ramaẓān, 952, appears to be a Wednesday and corresponds to 18th November, 1545. Other authorities give the date as 10th Ramaẓān. A. F. gives the date of the commencement of the siege of Qandahār, 7th Muḥarram, 952, or 21st March, 1545, but does not give its termination. The omission is supplied by the Bādshāhnāma I. 64, which says that Qandahār was taken on Thursday, 25th Jumāda-l-ākhir, 952, or 4th September, 1545, and that Kābul was taken on Wednesday, 12th Ramaẓān, of the same year. The idea that the year was 953 seems to have arisen from supposing that Akbar was over four when Kābul was taken. Bāyazīd and Ferishta say this, but he was just over three if the capture was in 952. We know that Humāyūn was at Mashhad on the day after the Ramaẓān of 951 and at Jām on 21st Shawāl (see inscription in R.A.S.J. for 1897). He was then on his way to join the Persian army and so he might arrive at Qandahār in the beginning of 952 and take Kābul about 9 months later. The difference between the authorities as to the day of the month of the capture of Kābul may be due to some reckoning the day of Kāmrān's flight as that of the capture, while others have taken the date of Humāyūn's triumphal entry. Gulbadan Begam who was in Kābul at the time gives the night of 12th Ramaẓān as that of Humāyūn's entry. Perhaps A. F. copied this.

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hours of the night had passed when his Majesty exalted the plain of Kābul by the radiance of his advent. Navīdī[1] found the chrono- 245
gram of this victory to be *Kābulrā girift*, He took Kābul. Another is the hemistich "*bē jang girift mulk-i-Kābul az we*," "without a battle he took the country of Kābul from him."

When the gates of joy and gladness opened at the glorious indications of the personality of his Majesty the Shāhinshāh, and the foundations of dominion were thereby renewed, his Majesty Jahānbānī regarded not the defeat of M. Kāmrān, nor the conquest of Kābul, but abode in expectation of the blissful footsteps of his Majesty the Shāhinshāh until they brought to him, in an auspicious moment, that world-intelligence who at that time was, so far as regarded the existence of his bodily elements aged three years[2] two months and eight days. His Majesty obtained spiritual and temporal felicity by beholding that blisful nursling of light divine, and prostrated himself in thanksgiving for the safety of the young shoot of fortune's garden, and for the glorious acquisition of the lamp of the family. In the presence of this glorious fortune, and before this abundant bliss he opened the gates of liberality and beneficence for all mankind. On the morning after that world-illuminating day his Majesty Jahānbānī sat on the throne of fortune and attainment, and received the homage (*kōrnish*) of the pillars of the state and of the soldiery and servants, while at the same time the nations were made fortunate by kissing the threshold, and raising the hands of supplication implored from God the enduring glory of the Khilāfat, and the uprearing of the standards of empire. His Majesty threw open the gates of justice and beneficence before all people and tranquilly spent the winter aloft in the citadel in serving the Creator and in

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[1] Apparently this is the *nom-de-plume* of Khwāja Zain-al-'Ābidīn, a Persian poet. Rieu Supplement No. 307. He afterwards called himself 'Abdī and died in Ardabīl 988. Perhaps he is the Bābā 'Abdī mentioned in the Haft Iqlīm as having settled at Qandahār. See Ethé's Cat. 470, art. No. 1222.

[2] The text has 2 years but this is clearly wrong. Akbar was born on 5th Rajab, 949, or 15th October, 1542, and Kābul was entered on 12th Ramazān, 952, so that according to the Muḥammadan calendar Akbar was then 3 years 2 months 8 days old, or 3 years 1 month according to the solar calendar. Bāyazīd says he was then between 4 and 5 which would make the year of the capture 953.

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comforting His creatures. Of the events which happened about this time there were the deaths of Yūnus 'Alī and Mūyīd[1] Beg who were leading officers of the Court. At the same time it came to the ears of his Majesty that Khwāja Mu'azzam was plotting to run away in company with Muqaddam Beg,[2] and to convey themselves to M. Kāmrān. This vexed greatly his noble heart. He exiled Muqaddam Beg to Kashmīr and discarded Khwāja Mu'azzam. By the felicity of his Majesty's presence and his bounteous shade the country of Kābul became an abode of security and peace and a resting-place of Divine mercy.

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[1] Bāyazīd 21*b* says that the death of this man caused universal joy.

[2] He did good service by facilitating Humāyūn's escape after the battle of Qanauj, and probably for this reason he was only punished by banishment. He was a Kōka or foster-brother and had been one of Kāmrān's officers. He seems to have afterwards come back to Humāyūn. Text I. 296 and 300.

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CHAPTER XXXIX.

Celebration of the Shāhinshāh's circumcision, illuminations; and manifestation of marvels by the tender plant of glory's garden. 246

'Tis ever the way of noble grantors of desires and auspicious-minded lords to seize opportunities for liberality, and to fulfil a choice worship, whose acmè is the conquest of affections, under the guise of Use and Wont—a course whereby they are protected from the dulled vision of blear-eyed mortals. Accordingly now that fortune's breeze was blowing afresh, and the rose-garden of attainment had bloomed anew, the custom of circumcision, as applied to the new growth of fortune's garden, and fresh offshoot of the palm of glory and grandeur, was made an occasion for the contentment and enrichment[1] of mankind. In the prime of spring, when the spirit of plants was in motion and the nightingale of delight was on the wing—

Verse.

"Violets raised their head from the stream's lip
Earth was ambergris-perfumed from the fragrance of flowers,
The fragrant breeze of morn, let us say
Carried a thousand musk-bags in her bosom."

He ordered that an encampment should be made in the Urta[2] Bāgh, a most delightful spot, and that affection might all the more be won—and this in truth is the giving of thanks to the Almighty, he threw open the gates of joy and pleasance, and in renewal of the splendours of Kaikāūs and of Kaiqubād it was directed that their

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[1] Gulbadan Begam describes Humāyūn's bounties on this occasion to the widows and orphans of those who had fallen at Causa, &c.

[2] اُرتہ. The word is Tūrkī and more commonly written اورتہ. It means middle so that Urta Bāgh might mean the middle or inner garden.

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Highnesses the Begams should grace the entrancing garden with their presence, according[1] to their ranks and conditions, while the Amīrs and the city-magnates should occupy the Cār Bāgh. All the Amīrs bound the girdle of endeavour on the waist of joy and undertook these arrangements. The city magistrates, and leading men exerted themselves in an admirable fashion, while the artists and craftsmen vied with one another in decorating the shops, and in promoting the briskness of the bazar. Soon there was such ornamentation as exceeds description. Every day his Majesty Jahānbānī came and adorned the banquet, and he distinguished everyone by sympathetic expressions suitable to their rank and condition. Before the festival (of the circumcision) took place Qarāca Khān, Muṣāḥib Beg, and other familiars of the Court, who had been sent to convey her Majesty Mariam-Makānī, arrived from Qandahār, and her blissful advent increased the rejoicings.

247 It occurred to his Majesty Jahānbānī that he should make manifest to great and small the touchstone-capability (*'iyār-i-dānish*) of the Shāhinshāh, from whose brow there streamed while yet of tender years, thousands of rays of light divine. He therefore arranged a princely festival in the pavilions of chastity. All the great ladies attended in the gynaeceum.[2] For the instruction of the spectators his Majesty the Shāhinshāh was brought in on the shoulder of respect and placed on the auspicious Divan, and in conformity with orders her Majesty Mariam-Makānī entered in the train of the other ladies, and without being distinguished in any way. The design of the king was that the prince (*lit.* the light of the eye-pupil of the Sulṭānate) should single out his honoured mother from the crowd of ladies. By light divine his Majesty, without difficulty, hesitation, or mistake, and in virtue of his abiding intelligence and innate discernment took refuge with his saintly mother, and put himself into her arms. On beholding this glorious act—surprising to the minds of the superficial and to persons who

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[1] The meaning seems to be that the ladies' tents were arranged in order according to their ranks.

[2] *Bārgāh-i-ḥarīm*, which, perhaps, only means private audience-hall. It is not clear to me from A.F.'s language whether the ladies were veiled or not, but presumably this would make little difference to Akbar who had not seen his mother since he was an infant.

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are swayed by what is usual—a shout arose among the spectators, and they recognised the power of the eternally-nourished one, and prodigy of fate's worship. All perceived that this was not the work of the bodily senses which put a difference between childhood and adolescence. Rather it was nought but spiritual intuition and Divine teaching. 'Twas holy light breaking forth from its ambushes by the instrumentality of this nursling of Fortune's garden.

Of a truth, the veil of distance can be no hindrance to what is eternally conjoined, nor apparent remoteness any impediment to spiritual propinquity. And when we consider the matter what room is there for remoteness? For, in this firstling of Life's rosebush there is perfect contact with the Primæval, and the diffusive lights of being, the perfecting (*takmīl*) of the bodily frame, and the burnishing (*taṣqīl*) of the senses assume form *pari passu* (*darja ba darja*). And there is close relation with the glorious world of the Holy and the Absolute to whose verge there is no entrance for the darkness of ignorance, or the plethora of heedlessness. Nor is it hidden from those who can look far into the world of mystery that though this sublime Master seemeth to have been engendered amid bodily elements and from protoplasm (*mawadd-i-hayyūlānī*) yet as regards the source of his nature and the root of his being his forefathers and foremothers have been procreated from him so that spiritually and in an esoteric sense he is the Father of Fathers. And to his Majesty Jahānbānī—that curtain-raiser of celestial mysteries—it was manifest that the Cosmoplast of the outer world had brought this nursling of Creation's Spring into the field of actuality in order, firstly, that he might experience the stages of mortal life, and secondly, that he might bring together and compose the distractions of the world. In short he (Humāyūn) under the guise of the rite of circumcision offered thanksgiving to the Bestower of spiritual and temporal blessings. Each day there 248
was a novel, royal feast, and thanks were returned to the world-adorning Creator. The great ones of realm and religion came from all parts, and were made happy by royal gifts. Among these, Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā had the honour of performing obeisance. The brief account of him is that on the first[1] uprearing of fortune's

[1] If this means that Yādgār Nāṣir deserted Kāmrān on Humāyūn's first appearance before Qandahār, it is wrong, for we know from Bāyazīd,

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standards on the borders of Qandahār he separated from M. Kāmrān, as has already been described, and proceeded to Badakhshān. As he could not succeed there, he set off in order to enter his Majesty Jahānbānī's service. At the time that the sublime army proceeded from Qandahār to conquer Kābul, the Mīrzā after experiencing the world's hardships arrived at Qandahār. Bairām Khān showed him every hospitality there, and then in accordance with orders he had the felicity of paying his respects to his Majesty Jahānbānī at that joyous time (the circumcision festival). He had the good fortune also to do homage to the Shāhinshāh and to be made fortunate by the glances of favour.

During this joyful season, which was the time of the adorning of pleasure's springtide, and the period of decking the garden of dominion and prestige, at a moment when the constellations were shedding light from favourable aspects upon mortals the meeting for the decorating of the young plant of the Divine rose garden, to wit, for the circumcision of his Majesty the Shāhinshāh, was held with thousands of rejoicings. The materials (*asbāb*) for the joy of mankind were brought together, the gates (*abwāb*) of joy were opened for mortals. Small and great shared in the princely gifts, and high and low experienced the royal favour. The world's pains (*kulfathā*) ended in pleasure (*ulfat*) and the world's differences changed into unison. The captains presented their gifts, and were exalted by grand favours. In the midst of these celebrations his Majesty for the cheering of hearts, which is a great buttress of sovereignty, proceeded towards Khwāja Reg Rawān,[1] and ordered festivities. A world-obeyed order was issued that the amīrs should wrestle[2] with one another. His Majesty himself by means of the balance of inspection picked out equally-matched antagonists. His Majesty wrestled with Imām[3] Qulī Qūrcī and M. Hindāl did so with

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whose statement A.F. has elsewhere copied, that Yādgār was at Kābul when Bairām went there on a mission.

[1] Moving sand. See Bābar 146 and Jarrett II. 409 and especially Wood's Journey to the source of the Oxus, p. 115. The moving sand is in the upper end of the Kōh Dāman, and on its eastern side.

[2] The account of the wrestling is taken from Bāyazīd 216.

[3] Perhaps the Imām Qulī Shighālī of Blochmann, 512. The word Shighālī is probably derived from Shighāwal. Shaw's Tūrkī Dict. 134.

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Yādgār Nāṣir M. After that he went to Khwāja Se[1] Yār to visit the *arghawān* groves. Then he returned and bade preparations be made for a great feast. He distributed fiefs, presents, and robes of 249
honour to the servants of the threshold in accordance with their deserts. M. Hindāl obtained Ghāznīn and its dependencies while Zamīn Dāwar and Tīrī were given to Ulugh Mīrzā. All those connected with the Court received gifts in proportion to their conditions, and the tribes of mankind abode with tranquillity and ease of heart in the shade of abundance, and the light of favour.

Among the events which occurred during the festivities was the arrival of the ambassadors of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. They brought congratulations on the victory and delivered suitable gifts. At their head was Walad Beg whom his Majesty welcomed with princely favours. Another was the arrival of Shāh[2] Qāsim Taghāī who brought a petition and gifts from M. Sulaimān. But the Mīrzā's excuses for not coming in person had not the honour of being accepted by his Majesty, and a peremptory order was issued for his attendance and he was informed that his reputation for sincerity and loyalty depended upon his appearing in person[3] to do homage. Another thing which happened about this time was the arrival of Mīr Saiyid 'Alī who was eminent in Afghānistān and Balūcistān for his possessions and for his honesty. He resided near Dūkī which is an appurtenance of Sind.[4] He greeted the threshold with the foot of integrity and the head of sincerity, and became a recipient of royal favours. Dūkī was awarded to him. About the same time Lavang Balūc, who was a leader among his people, came along with his brethren and did homage. His Majesty received him likewise with favour and granted him Shāl and Mastang. These visitors were granted their desires and dismissed rapidly lest the wild nature

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1 The fountain of the Three friends, Bābar 147 and Jarrett II. 409*n*.

2 Sulaimān's maternal uncle, Bāyazīd 22*a*.

3 Jauhar, Stewart, 83.

4 The text has Hind but I adopt the variant of Sind as Dūkī is used by Bābar, 152 and 3, for the south-eastern hills of Afghanistan which is near Sind. In the *Āīn*, Jarrett II. 397, Dūkī is given as the eastern division of Qandahār. Erskine, Hist. II. 327, accepts the Hind of the text and remarks in a note that Dūkī was probably dependent on Multan.

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of such dwellers in clachans (*rūstā parwardān*) should prove too strong for them, and delay be inimical to their constitutions.

Among the things which happened about this time there was this, that Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā from an ill-fatedness and an inward wickedness made a confused jumble of all favours, past and subsequent, and placed them in the alcove of oblivion and contumaciously took his stand on the path of wickedness and perversity. He gave ear to wretches of whom Muẓaffar the foster-brother of M. 'Askarī was the ringleader, and continually harboured evil thoughts. When these facts came, one after the other, to the knowledge of his Majesty,
250 and were confirmed by honest intelligencers, especially when 'Abdul Jabbār Shaikh, who was a most trustworthy person, and was intimate with one of the plotters and shared his counsels, came and detailed the circumstances after inquiry, the holy heart of his Majesty Jahānbānī Janna-t-āshiyānī became disgusted and he had Muẓaffar Kōka seized and put to death. Then he sent for Yādgār Nāṣir M. and reproached him by the mouth of Qarāca Khān. The substance of the rebuke was as follows: "We thought that when we had passed over your grievous offences, and had bestowed boundless favours on you, you would take warning and atone for your transgressions, past and present, and that even the ungrateful might have a limit and some discretion." The Mīrzā cast aside shame, and sometimes was silent and sometimes denied or feigned ignorance. His Majesty, after making categorical[1] statements (of his offences) and after royal reproofs, directed Ibrāhīm Isḥāk Āqā and others to confine him in the Kābul citadel (the Bālā Ḥiṣar) near the room where M. 'Askarī was imprisoned.

One of the things that happened at this time was the death of Caghatāī Sulṭān, who was a young Mogul prince and the unique of the age for beauty and character. His Majesty Jahānbānī regarded him with affection and distinguished him by favours. He felt his loss deeply, but reflecting on the Divine decree which hath assigned existence absolute to the other world, and to this world

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[1] This expression (*ḥisābī*) seems to refer to the statement in Bāyazīd 22*a*, that nearly 30 charges were formulated against Yādgar, one being an act of disrespect committed by him so long ago as at the taking of Cāmpānīr.

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only contingent existence, he wisely took refuge in submission and self-surrender. Mīr Amānī uttered this chronogram.

Verse.

Sulṭān Cagh̲atāī was the rose of Beauty's rosarium,
Of a sudden, Death led him to paradise,
In the rose-season he designed leaving this garden,
Hearts were ingulphed in blood from grief for this likeness of a rosebud,
I sought his date from the bereaved nightingale,
Sighing he said "The rose hath left the garden."[1]

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[1] *Gul az bāgh̲ bīrūn sh̲ud.* Bāgh̲=1003 and gul=50 so that 1003 — 50=953, which is the date of the death. Amānī composed an equally ingenious chronogram on the death of Hindāl. See *infra.* According to Rieu, Tūrki Cat. 301, there were five poets of this name. The one in question is probably the second on Rieu's list, Mīr Amānī of Herāt who according to the Bodleian Cat. of Persian MSS. p. 219, used to live at Kābul and was killed at Jaunpūr by a fall from his horse in 981 A.H. A.F. his apparently taken the lines from Bāyazīd 22*a*, but the third line there is

دل غنچه صفت در غم او غرقه بخون شد

Badāonī has a similar chronogram about Bairām Kh̲ān's death. Lowe, 14 and text I. 46.

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CHAPTER XL.

March of his Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī's army for the conquest of Badakhshān, the victory over that country, and what happened during that time.

When the disaffection of M. Sulaimān became confirmed, and it was made certain that he had twisted away his head from the burden of commands, and that the idea of sovereignty was paining it, and that he was inwardly troubled by this vain imagination, his Majesty
251 Jahānbānī, in the beginning of 953 (March 1546), turned the rein of intention towards Badakhshān. One of the Mīrzā's rebellious acts was that after the taking of Kābul he laid hold of Khūst and Andarāb, which were in the possession of M. Kāmrān,[1] and had been assigned to one of the royal servants. As moreover, by theory and practice the whole of Badakhshān did not belong to M. Sulaimān, his Majesty desired also to take away Qandūz and its dependencies and to make them over in fief to one of his followers, and bade him be contented with what his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdaus-makānī had given to his father. When his Majesty's dominions should be enlarged, his fief too would be increased. In consideration, however, of the Mīrzā's circumstances Qandūz was left as it was. The Mīrzā ignorantly averted his face from his benefactor, and openly smote the door of opposition, and had the *khuṭba* read in his own name. His Majesty resolved to extinguish the flames of disaffection. He left his Majesty the Shāhinshāh under God's protection and set out in a propitious hour, and halted at Yurat Cālāk.[2] He took M. 'Askarī along with him. He had anxieties about Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā, and when the army reached the Ulang of Qarā Bāgh[3] he determined

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[1] Kāmrān is not mentioned, but I think he must be meant. All the MSS. however have only the word Mīrzā so that perhaps A.F. really meant Sulaimān.

[2] Bāyazīd seems to make Khwāja Rīwāz the first stage.

[3] There is a Qarā Bāgh west of Ghaznīn called by A.F. in the *Āīn* the Qandahār Qarā Bāgh, but the

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that he would relieve him of the pangs of existence and thereby give peace and security to the State. For the match of his strife, and the spark of his contentiousness were like to consume all the families. An order to this effect was sent to Muḥammad 'Alī Tagh̲āī who had charge of Kābul. He out of complete simplicity and want of perspicuity returned for answer, "I have never killed a sparrow, how can I achieve the killing of the Mīrzā." His Majesty passed over his simplicity and charged Muḥammad Qāsim Maujī with this most proper service and he in the night-time sped the arrow of death by a bowstring.[1] When the holy heart was at rest from the malevolence of the Mīrzā, his Majesty marched under the Divine guidance towards the Badakh̲sh̲āns (*Badakh̲sh̲ānāt*). When he arrived at Andarāb and had encamped at the garden of 'Alī Qulī Andarābī, M. Sulaimān owing to his evil fortune advanced to offer battle and drew up at the village of Tīrgirān[2] which is a dependency of Andarāb. When his Majesty heard this, he sent forward M. Hindāl, Qarāca Kh̲ān, Ḥājī Muḥammad Kh̲ān and a number of other brave men. A great battle ensued between the royal army and the 252
Mīrzā. The latter protected himself by a trench and stood firm, while Mīrzā Beg Barlās and a body of archers discharged their arrows from behind it. M. Hindāl, Qarāca Kh̲ān and Ḥājī Muḥammad Kh̲ān displayed their valour and Kh̲wāja Mu'azzam and Bahādur Kh̲ān were wounded by arrows, and had to dismount. Walad[3] Qāsim Beg, Ja'far Beg and the bodyguards, and Aḥmad Beg, and Dūgh̲ān[4] Beg who belonged to the Sh̲āh's special bodyguard and who in company with the ambassador served his Majesty in this fight, came to the ground in consequence of their horses falling. The result hung in

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Qarā Bāgh̲ of the text must be the place about 25 miles north of Kābul and near Istālāf.

[1] In plain language the unfortunate Mīrzā was strangled. A.F.'s account seems taken from Bāyazīd who gives specimens of the charges brought against the Mīrzā. He says Mun'im Kh̲ān suggested the employment of Muḥammad Qāsim. Bāyazīd represents the execution as taking place before Humāyūn left Kābul and this seems probable. The Mīrzā's body was buried is a high ground opposite the citadel-gate and near a pond, but was afterwards removed to Gh̲aznīn, to his father's sepulchre.

[2] Bāyazīd 25*b*.

[3] Bāyazīd has Dalū Qāsim, brother of Walad Beg.

[4] Tūgh̲ān in Bāyazīd.

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the balance till a body of devoted servants such as Shaikh Buhlūl, Sulṭān Muḥammad Fawrāq, Laṭīfī of Sahrind, Sulṭān Ḥusain Khān, Muḥammad Khān[1] Jalāīr, Muḥammad Khān Turkamān, M. Qulī Jalāīr, M. Qulī,[2] brother of Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān, and Shāh Qulī Nāranjī[3] relying on the invisible Opener attacked M. Beg. And having by God's help crossed the trench, they raised their swords and briskly attacked the foe. The latter could not maintain themselves or abide the onset and fled, reckoning dispersion and route as a gain. On every side the braves of the field of action and lions of battle's jungle advanced on the plains of victory. Ere his Majesty had mounted his swift steed the reverberation of victory sounded in his ears. The voice of exaltation burst forth. M. Sulaimān did not remain firm but went off towards the defiles of Khōst by way of Nārīn[4] and Ishkamish. Tūlak of Ṭālīqan, M. Beg Barlās,[5] and Avīs Sulṭān who was a scion of the kings of Moghulistān separated themselves from M. Sulaimān and did homage. M. Hindāl and a body of heroes were ordered to seize the fugitives and his Majesty himself took part in the pursuit. Many Badakhshānī horses fell into the hands of the brave warriors, and his Majesty arrived by the Pass of Shāshān[6] at the valley of Khōst. M. Sulaimān fled miserably with a few followers to Kūlāb.[7] The Badakhshān nobles and soldiers came in crowds and did homage and everyone of them was treated with consideration and with favours suitable to their position. On account of the abundance of fruits his Majesty remained several days in Khōst[8] and was the accom-
253 plisher of the wishes of the people. For the purpose of hunting waterfowl and partridges and for fishing he proceeded to Warask.[9]

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[1] Blochmann 411.

[2] Blochmann 385.

[3] Blochmann 480.

[4] Nārī in text.

[5] Bāyazīd calls him the ruler of Ghōrī (*qn.* Ghōr).

[6] Sāsān in text, but the variant is right. It was north of Tīrgirān and Andarāb.

[7] Beyond the Oxus.

[8] It would seem that Māham, the mother of Humāyūn, came from Khōst, for Bāyazīd, 26*a* says that Humāyūn stayed in Khōst for several days in the society of his maternal grandparents. The Khwāja Muḥammad 'Alī mentioned in Bābar's Mem. as the ruler of Khōst, is probably either Māham's father, or her brother. If the latter he must be the Mīr Muḥammad 'Alī whom Humāyūn put in charge of Kābul.

[9] So in Bāyazīd. Text has Darask. The place has already been

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There he practised the netting[1] of birds (*ganjishk*) which is a speciality of that place. From thence he went to Kalāōgān[2] and from there to Kishm.[3] M. Sulaimān did not think it advisable to remain in that neighbourhood and so had crossed the Āmū and was there in perturbation with a few followers. One thing that happened at Kishm was that a servant of Shāh Ṭahmāsp named Khusrū[4] had fled and entered his Majesty Jahānbānī's service. He had used some improper language about the Shāh, and Dūghān Beg, Ḥusain Beg and Ja'far Beg of the Shāh's bodyguard and who were in attendance on his Majesty, on hearing of this met Khasrū in the Kishm bazaar and killed him. His Majesty disapproved of this lawlessness and imprisoned them, but after some days he, at the intercession of Ḥusain Qulī Sulṭān Muhrdār, drew the line of forgiveness over their offence.

When the affairs of Badakhshān had been settled, Qandūz and its dependencies were given to M. Hindāl, and much of Badakhshān was divided in fiefs among the officers. Mun'im Khān was made taḥṣīldār of Khōst, and Bābūs was sent to collect the revenues of Ṭālīqān.[5] His Majesty resolved that for the better management of the affairs of Badakhshān and for the comfort of the subjects and soldiery he would make Qil'a Ẓafar his winter-quarters. He therefore proceeded in that direction; but when he came to Shākhdān, between Kishm and Qil'a Ẓafar, he fell ill and so had to halt there for nearly two months. At the beginning of this illness he lay unconscious for four days, and on this account unpleasing rumours became rife, and men left their fiefs and came in. M. Hindāl left his post with improper ideas and in concert with other officers came as far as the bank of the Kōkca, and the partizans of M. Sulaimān raised their heads here and there. But Qarāca Khān came with a number of loyalists and pitched his tent in the royal courtyard and

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mentioned as Warask in text I. p. 99 near foot. It is probably the Varsack of Wood, 160*n.*, and if so, is the river on which Kishm stands.

[1] See Bāyazīd, 26*a* & *b*, and Bābar, Mem. 153.

[2] The Kalagān of the maps. It is west of Kishm.

[3] Bāyazīd says Humāyūn stayed 3 or 4 months in Kishm.

[4] Bāyazīd calls him Khusrū Pādshāh and says Qāsim Jangī was his slave.

[5] Ṭāīqān in text, but see Bāyazīd 27*a*.

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confined M. 'Askarī who was likely to be seditious, bringing him into his own tent. Qarāca acted as a personal attendant, and waited on his Majesty during his sickness. No one entered the Presence except Khwāja Khāwand Maḥmūd[1] and Khwāja Mu'īn.[1] On the fifth day, which was the beginning of the convalescence, his Majesty showed signs of improvement, and Mīr Barka entered and paid his respects. When his Majesty's glance fell upon him, the Mīr became agitated and showed a desire[2] to sacrifice himself as a thanksgiving
254 for his Majesty's recovery. His Majesty said "Mīr,[3] God hath spared (*bakhshīd*) me." The Mīr gave some hints of the confusion of affairs and of the rectitude of Qarāca Khān. His Majesty had him called, and spoke benignantly to him, and expressed his sense of his services. At the same moment he sent a rescript of favour to the ornament of dominion, the tender plant of the stream of sovereignty, the head and trunk of fortune's springtide, to wit, his Majesty the Shāhinshāh, by the hands of Faẓīl Beg, lest any evil tidings should have reached there and have dimmed the radiant heart of that nursling of Divine light, or should have caused commotions in that country. By a happy coincidence Faẓīl Beg arrived with the *firmān* of favour on the morning after the night on which the distressing news of his Majesty's illness had reached Kābul. The coming of the glad tidings dispelled grief and was productive of universal order and steadfastness. The flames of discord died down, and M. Hindāl hastened back to his place, and everyone else went back to his *jāīgīr*.

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[1] They were father and son. There is an account of Mu'īn, the son, in Blochmann. He is perhaps the same as the Mu'īn who was Qāẓī of Lahor, Blochmann, 545. Mu'īn's son was Sharafu-d-dīn who married Bakhshī Bānū, Akbar's sister, and became afterwards a rebel. The family was descended from Khwāja Aḥrār the famous saint of Samarkand.

[2] Perhaps the meaning is: Changed his intention of devoting himself into thanksgiving for Humāyūn's recovery.

[3] Mīr Barka was the son of Mīr 'Abdullāh and is several times referred to in the Akbarnāma. According to Jauhar it was Cūcak Begam who waited on Humāyūn during his illness and was rewarded by seeing him open his eyes when she squeezed some pomegranate juice into his lips. Bāyazīd praises the attention of Fāṭima Begam the Urdū Begī whose daughter married Khwāja Mu'aẓẓam and was killed by him. Perhaps it was the same Fāṭima who married Bāqī Khān. Badāonī, II. 61.

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Among the occurrences of this year was the killing of Khwāja Sulṭān Muḥammad Rashīdī[1] who held the office of Vizier. The short history of this event is as follows: Khwāja Muʿaẓẓam in conjunction with sundry vagabonds, whose brains were ruined, adopted some bigoted[2] phrases of the religious views of some heretical, worthless fools who had no power of reflection in their natures, and were entangled in wordy wranglings, whose nostrils took in naught of the fragrance of truth and justice and in the tree of whose understanding there was no fruit produced by the flowers of knowledge, and having conceived faithless bigotry to be faith he came into the quarters of the Khwāja on the night of 21st Ramaẓān, 16th November, 1546, just as the day's fasting was over, and broke his fast by giving him of the water[3] of the sword of ignorance for his final draught. Then fearing the wrath of the king, which is typical of Divine chastisement, he took to flight. When this news came to the ears of his Majesty he sent men to seize him and his companions, and a strict order was despatched to the authorities in Kābul, which was the residence of those ill-starred ones. Muḥammad ʿAlī Taghāī, Faẓīl Beg and others, who were in the service of his Majesty the Shāhinshāh, and were managing the affairs of Kābul, on receiving the command seized Khwāja Muʿaẓẓam and his companions and imprisoned them.

When there appeared at Shākhdān signs of convalescence in 255
the burning frame (*mizāj-i-wahhāj*) of his Majesty Jahānbānī he seated himself in the guarded litter of the Divine favour and proceeded towards Qilʿa Ẓafar. Maulānā Bāyazīd who was an eminent physician and had been nominated as tutor to his Majesty

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[1] Bāyazīd calls him in his list "Dīwān," and there spells his name as Rashīd.

[2] Bāyazīd 27*b*, describes the murder, but says nothing of bigotry's having been the motive. It was committed by sundry Persians in concert with Muʿaẓẓam and apparently cupidity had to do with it for when they fled they carried off some of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's presents from Takht-i-Sulaimān (*qu.* the place mentioned by Wood 160). Niẓāmu-d-dīn mentions that the Khwāja came with Humāyūn from Persia. Probably therefore he was a Shīʿa and this may have made him obnoxious to Khwāja Muʿaẓẓam.

[3] *Āb* meaning both water and glitter and applied to the wave-markings on a sword.

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the Shāhinshāh, and whose grandfather had been in the service of that Alexander[1] and Aristotle (Sikandar-Makānī Aristō-Nishānī) Mīrzā Ulugh Beg, and had been distinguished among all the mathematical observers, performed excellent service during this illness. When his Majesty reached Qil'a Ẓafar he soon recovered his health, and his equilibrium was restored. By the completion of the recovery of his Majesty Jahānbānī joy and delight came into the hands of the desires of mortals. In accordance with orders a grass[2] house was built and he often distributed justice and happiness therefrom. From it Sherafkan, the son of Kūc Beg, received investiture of Kahmard, Ẓuḥāk and Bāmīān. And from excess of kindness his Majesty announced that when the army arrived at Kābul he would add Ghōrband to his fiefs. His Majesty took the pleasure of *tasqāwal*[3] —hunting which in the Badakhshān language is called *shikār-i-nihilam*.

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[1] The epithet Sikandar-Makānī may serve to illustrate that of Mariam-Makānī applied to Abkar's mother. Ulugh Beg's real name was Muḥammad Ṭurghāī according to Vambery. The two astronomers who helped him in the composition of his tables were Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Jamshīd and the Qāẓīzāda (Salāḥu-d-dīn). One of them was perhaps Bāyazīd's grandfather (see D'Herbelot's articles, Ulugh Beg and Zig, and Jarrett II. 12, No. 85). The person meant may however be 'Alī Koshjī, said by D'Herbelot to be the Qāẓīzāda's son. See Erskine's Bābar 51*n.* 4.

[2] *Khāna-i-kān*, the khāna-i-kānī of Bāyazīd. Bāyazīd, from whom A.F. borrows, tells us that the house was built by Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd who was then Mīr Buyūtāt or Barrack-master. The time was winter. Bāyazīd tells a story in connection with this house, of Humāyūn and some intimate courtiers (*ahl-i-nishast*) having cooked *bughrā* (macaroni?) there. He also tells of Sherafkan's visit. When he first came he was drunk and Humāyūn seeing his state from behind the screen (*cīgh*), ordered him off. When he came again some days afterwards, Humāyūn behaved with great delicacy towards him and granted him certain districts. Kān means a mine and also a sheath, and so may mean a screen, but I incline to think that the کانی kānī of Bāyazīd is a copyists' error for کاهی *kāhī*, made of thatch or straw.

[3] Neither *tasqāwal* nor *nihilam* occurs in the dictionaries. A.F. here copies Bāyazīd who describes, p. 28*b*, an expedition to the mountains on the other side of the Kōkca. They arrived at the hills, which were excessively steep, at midnight, and hunted the deer next morning. They passed so near and so quickly that they could not be shot with arrows and had to be caught by the hand. The word *nihilam* is used by Bābar,

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The dread residence of his Majesty in Badakhshān wrought dismay in all Tūrān. The Usbeks gathered together and were full of apprehension, and could find no suitable remedy for their fears.

Mem. 28, and Erskine (or Leydon) says that he does not know what animal it is. In reality *nihilam* is not the name of an animal, but of a method of hunting, *viz.*, driving. Its synonym *tasqāwal* is Tūrkī and the last part is perhaps اول awal, meaning an enclosure. (Redhouse).

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CHAPTER XLI.

Unveiling the mysteries of Design in the strife-stirrings of M. Kāmrān, and account of his rule over Kābul.

'Tis an ancient canon and an established ordinance that when God the Creator of the world wills to set an elect one on the throne of sway over mortals and by establishing him on a kingdom-adorning seat to place in his mighty hand the bridle of men's hearts, He maketh him in the beginning of his course the alighting-place of divers difficulties and the receptacle of sundry afflictions to the end that he may the more fully appreciate the force of the unending favours which stand ready for him in the hidden world; so that by becoming conversant with the varied stages of existence he may come to know personally Grace and Wrath, expansion and contraction, joy and sorrow. All this is clear to those who are familiar with ancient records, and are cognisant of old stories. But inasmuch as the personality of the holy product of the meeting[1] of the two seas of the Divine Power (*Jalāl*) and the Divine Beauty (*Jamāl*), his Majesty the Shāhinshāh, to wit, is by virtue of the Eternal Decree designated for all the stages of knowledge, and as the world-
256 adorning Deity created him a wise-hearted[2] Teacher and an illuminated, farseeing soul needing not the instruction of any of the sons of men, the apparition of those calamities was not to acquaint him with Grace and Wrath, nor to burn away carnalities and mortalities. Rather did the order of the manifestations of the glories of opposing qualities and the notes of conflicting attributes unveil themselves as of course and in their full perfection. And there was an illustration[3]

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[1] *Mujma'-i-baḥrain.* Explained as meaning the meeting of salt and fresh water. It was the title given by the ill-fated Dārā Shikōh to his book which was intended to reconcile the Hindū and Muḥammadan religions.

[2] *Cf.* Faiẓī's verses, Badāōnī, II. 261 and Lowe, 277.

[3] Referring to Akbar's refusal, when a child, to learn his lessons. See *infra*, p. 519.

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of this in his early years, for at that time his holy soul kept aloof from inappropriate teaching. These truthful remarks will make it clear to the wise and the admonished that it is in the eyes of the superficial that such facts[1] are regarded as arising from abundance of instruction and a surplus of knowledge, while in the eyes of those who see the truth they are but the inevitable refulgence of a personality imbued with wisdom from of old. And whenever the bitter[2] waters of affliction are to be poured into the lips of one who stands afar off from the courts of Unity, and is a bewildered wanderer in the desert of astoniedness, there is in the first place a curve (*lit.* a fold or wrinkle) of magnificence cast into his forehead[3] of acceptance and he is made the originator of divers act of ingratitude, and the shower-forth of varieties of injustice and tyranny, till he be flung into eternal wrath and everlasting punishment. This is a figure of the condition of M. Kāmrān who fell out with his benefactor and elder brother, his eternal superior, chosen one of God, king of the age, and just ruler, and wrought the destruction in life, estate and honour, of many a servant of God.

In fine, a strange disaster occurred during this time of enjoyment, when the capacious soul of his Majesty was a palatial garden of mirth and rejoicing. A desolating report came that M. Kāmrān was strife-mongering and that he had suddenly fallen upon the city of Kābul and brought it into his possession, and that Sherafkan had, heedless of the end of things, gone over to the Mīrzā. His Majesty Jahānbānī's sanctified heart was troubled, firstly, by the fate of his Majesty the Shāhinshāh; secondly, by sympathy for the citizens and subjects, who are a trust from the Creator, and who should be tended not less carefully than the children; thirdly, by the rebellious proceedings of the Mīrzā and the results thereof. He addressed himself with celestial genius to the remedying of these disturbances, and displayed suitable solicitude for putting an end to the outbreak.

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1 Apparently the fact referred to in Note 3.

2 Referring to the bitter lakes met with in a desert, the Marah of the Hebrews.

3 *Nāṣiya-i-qabūlash.* Meaning, I suppose, that Kāmrān was offered the choice of greatness, and that his wickedness was enhanced by his misuse of his opportunities for well-doing.

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And Abūl Faẓl, the writer of this noble record, turns away from amplitude of language, in order that he may give an account of events, and hastens towards narration, and gives a brief and parenthetical account of the circumstances so that the lips of those athirst for the waters of words may be satiated.

257 The description of the occurrence is as follows. When the army of fortune took Qandahār and came to the environs of Kābul, and all the Kābul army and all the people of that country were delighted at the good tidings of his Majesty Jahānbānī's advent, and separated from the Mīrzā and came in crowds and did homage, the Mīrzā turned away from the path of advice and the road of obedience and loyalty and becoming a bewildered wanderer in the desert of perturbation and want took the road to Ghaznīn. He forsook the blessing of service and absconded. M. Hindāl, Muṣāḥib Beg and a number of others were sent after him, as has been related in the account of the taking of Kābul. But when no trace of him could be found, and it was not known which way he had gone (*lit.* no dust rose up from his path) the pursuers returned in obedience to the royal commands and came to Kābul. This Mīrzā brought himself in all haste to Ghaznīn. The rulers and inhabitants of that place were favoured by fortune, they strengthened the fort and did not open the gate of inclination for him. The Mīrzā's false representations were unsuccessful; so he hastened from these to the house of Khiẓr Khān Hazāra. He treated the Mīrzā with hospitality and brought him to Tīrī, and from thence to Zamīn Dāwar. Ḥisāmu-d-dīn 'Alī, the son of Mīr Khalīfa, was in Zamīn Dāwar. He strengthened the fort and fought bravely, and courageously guarded the fort. When this news was brought to his Majesty he made over Ghaznīn to M. Hindāl and Zamān Dāwar and its appurtenances to M. Ulugh, giving him also a standard, a kettle-drum and a *tuman tūgh*. He also sent an order to Bairām Khān to join Yādgār Naṣir M., who had come there (Qandahār) to act loyally, to M. Ulugh and to send them against M. Kāmrān. He also sent a rescript to Yādgār Nāṣir M. to act in concert with M. Ulugh in putting down M. Kāmrān and by means of this service to move upwards on the steps of amendment of his past crimes. The Mīrzās went together from Qandahār to Zamīn Dāwar, and when the news of their approach reached the Mīrzā's camp, the Hazāras dispersed into the wilds and M. Kāmrān withdrew. He

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hurried off to Bhakkar and took refuge with Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn. M. Ulugh Beg took firm possession of his fief; and Yādgār Nāṣir M. made as it were, a pilgrimage to the service of his Majesty. In Kābul he learnt the bliss of service as has already been stated. M. Kāmrān came to a halt in Sind and married the daughter of the Ruler of Tatta, who had already been betrothed to him. He had stayed there for some time devising mischief when the news came of his Majesty Jahānbānī's illness, which had occurred in Badakh- 258
shān. After that there came other bad news. The Mīrzā asked help from the Ruler of Tatta and resolved to go to Kābul. The ruler of Tatta thought this a great opportunity and sent a body of troops with the Mīrzā. Some were of opinion that he should first seize Qandahār, and then go to Kābul. But as Qandahār was secure under the control of Bairām Khān, Kāmrān set before himself the capture of Kābul and boldly hastened there. Near Qilāt he fell in with a number of Afghān merchants who were bringing horses. He arbitrarily took the horses from them and gave them to his men. From thence he hastened to Ghaznīn, and arrived there unexpectedly. Zāhid Beg was holding the fort for M. Hindāl and was spending his time in drunkenness and negligence. He was completely intoxicated on the night when the Mīrzā arrived. By the help of the butcher 'Abdu-r-raḥmān, the Mīrzā's men secretly ascended, and got possession of the fort. Zāhid Beg was brought drunk before the Mīrzā, and the wretches cast him in his drunkenness from the pinnacle of life into the abyss of annihilation. The Mīrzā left his son-in-law Daulat Sulṭān in Ghaznīn, and leaving there also a number of men from Bhakkar under the leadership of Mulk Muḥammad, who was a confidential servant of the Ruler of Tatta he went as rapidly to Kābul. He arrived there at dawn without warning. He first went to the headdress-maker's gate. He learnt that Muḥammad Taghāī was in the hot bath, and it would appear that there too (referring to what occurred at Ghaznīn) drunkenness had brought him into the stupor of cropsickness. 'Alī Qulī Ūghlī, one of the Mīrzā's bodyguard, entered the bath and brought out Muḥammad 'Alī naked. The Mīrzā gave him his ablution with the water of the sword, and entered the fort. Pahlwān Ashtar, who had charge of the Iron Gate, opened it in accordance with a compact, and the Mīrzā entered the city, which now came into his possession. On the morning when

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this occurrence took place, Ḥājī Muḥammad 'Asas[1] came and saluted the Mīrzā. The latter said 'How have I gone and how have I come back.'! 'Asas replied "You went in the evening and you came in the morning." The Mīrzā went up to the citadel and took up his quarters there. Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka brought his Majesty the Shāhinshāh with all reverence before M. Kāmrān. The Mīrzā, on beholding that theatre of miracles involuntarily became gracious and gentle. He shewed him various favours, but from short-sightedness put his Majesty, who was under the shadow of the protection of God, into the charge of his own men.

When M. Kāmrān had brought Kābul into his possession, he practised various kinds of cruelty and opened his hands to shed people's blood and to seize their property. He caused Mihtar Wāṣil
259 and Mihtar Wakīl, who were special royal slaves, to be blinded. Ḥisāmu-d-dīn 'Alī, son of Mīr Khalīfa, whom his Majesty had summoned to his personal service, and whose fief he had transferred to Ulugh Mīrzā, had come about this time to Kābul and Kāmrān in revenge for his firmness at Zamān Dāwar had him castrated and put to death in a most horrible manner. Cūli Bahādur too, who was a loyal and approved servant, was put to death, and Khwāja Mu'azzam, Bahādur Khān, Atka Khān, Nadīm Kōka and many other household servants were put into prison. The Mīrzā thus prepared for himself spiritual and temporal ruin, and an evil name in realm and religion, He was continually tempting and ruining men by deceitful letters.[2] Among such was Sherafkan who was induced to desert; and Ḥasan Beg Kōka and Sulṭān Muḥammad Bakhshī were by lies brought to separate themselves (from Humāyūn). Insincere, low dispositioned ones of narrow capacity for the idea of a small advantage put the dust of the world into the cup of their avarice and trod the path of disloyalty. And it appears that the main cause of the capture of Kābul was the discord of men and their negligence and want of vigilance and circumspection. For at that time Muḥammad 'Alī Taghāi was Dārōgha of the city for his Majesty Jahānbānī, but he continually took the path of carelessness, and did not apply the

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[1] Ferishta says that 'Asas was Bābar's jester. He adds that 'Asas went on to quote a verse in Kāmrān's honour.

[2] *Cf.* Gulbadan's Memoirs. She mentions that Kāmrān tried to make her write a letter to her husband, inviting him to join him.

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rules of wariness. Faẓīl Beg too set up for himself a separate scheme (*lit.* a separate shop) in the city and had ideas of becoming independent (of Muḥammad 'Alī). From smallness of capacity and inefficiency they opposed one another and struck an axe on their own foot. When Kābul fell into the hands of the Mīrzā he set about collecting troops and in arranging for sedition. A large number collected round him. One day he was seated on the top of the citadel, and Walad Beg, Abūl Qāsim and many others of the Shāh's bodyguard, who had got leave and were proceeding towards Persia came to pay their respects to the Mīrzā. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh was also adorning the Mīrzā's banquet with the light of his presence. All the Mīrzā's confidential servants were set upon rapacity (*darpai akhz ū jar*), and the men round about, who were like flies at the stall of a sweetmeat-seller, were falling upon one another. A good service presented itself to Abūl Qāsim, and he whispered to Walad Beg that it would be a loyal act if they who were thirty active men should do a brave deed in unison, finish off the Mīrzā, and glorify this young plant of the springtide of dominion and fortune, to wit, his Majesty the Shāhinshāh. Walad Beg, who was not a man of war, showed backwardness towards this proposal and said "We are travellers, why should we intermeddle"? As the top-thread of every act is bound to some special point of time what possibility was there of its appearing before that?

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CHAPTER XLII.

260 MARCH OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHIYĀNĪ FROM BADAKHSHĀN TO KĀBUL, AND THE SIEGE THEREOF.

When the news of M. Kāmrān's strife and sedition reached the ears of his Majesty Jahānbānī he resolved, in spite of the extreme cold, and the abundance of ice and snow, to hasten by the defile of Ābdara,[1] and to extinguish the flames of sedition. His first step was to send a gracious missive to M. Sulaimān, pardoning his offences and restoring that dismayed desert-wanderer to house and home, and exalting him by conferring on him the territories which his Majesty Gīti-sitānī Firdaus-makānī had bestowed on his father. He confirmed M. Hindāl in possession of Qandūz, Andarāb, Khōst, Kahmard and Ghōrī and its neighbourhood, and thereupon he, under the guidance of God, and in a most auspicious hour, turned the reins of intent towards Kābul. On account of the protracted continuance of the ice and snow he stayed for some days in Ṭālīqān.[2] The Uzbegs looked upon his Majesty's return as a great gain and a grand escape, and one and all abode in peace and tranquillity. In fact the whole of Tūrān was relieved from the dread of the grand army. When the snow had abated his Majesty moved from Tālīqān towards Qandūz. M. Hindāl showed him hospitality there, and in order to gratify the Mīrzā his Majesty took up his quarters near the town in the garden of Khusrū Shāh. After the 'Īd-i-Qurbān[3] he marched by the pass of Shibartū[4] to the pass of Rēgak,[5] and halted at Khwāja Seh Yārān

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[1] A pass in the Hindu Kush leading from Badakhshān to Kābul, and according to Babār, Mem. 139, the only one open in the winter. It was by it that Babār went to Qundūz in the winter of 1510 when he heard of the death of Shairbānī. Tār. Rash. 237 and note. Apparently the name is not known now. See also Jarrett II. 499 and note.

[2] Ṭāīqān in text which agrees with Marco Polo's spelling.

[3] This festival takes place on 10th Zi'lḥajja the last month of the Muḥammadan year, so if the year in question was 953, the date of the festival was 1st February, 1547.

[4] "Usually called Shibr or Shaber nowadays," Tār. Rash. 76*n*.

[5] Bayazīd has, 296, Kotal Rekak

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(Three Friends). Sher 'Alī, who posed as one of the trusty and sincere followers of the Mīrzā, had strongly fortified the Ābdara defile; but what can outward force do against inward (*i.e.*, Divine) aid? or human strength against the Divine support? He fled before M. Hindāl and Qarāca Khān, but when the victorious cortége had passed through he came up from the rear and fell upon the baggage and the tents. When his Majesty had encamped at Cārīkārān, a large number, heedless of favours and of promises and covenants, deserted and joining M. Kāmrān obtained dignities (*darajāt*, lit. ascendings) which in reality were degradations (*darakāt*, lit. descendings). Among these were Iskandar Sulṭān and M. Sanjar Barlās son of Sulṭān Junaid[1] Barlās, sister's son of his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdaus-makānī. His Majesty stayed in the borders of Zamzama, and exerted 261
himself to strengthen the weak-hearted and the wavering. By compacts and covenants he knit up the hearts of the disheartened and convened a council. Those who received permission to speak represented that as M. Kāmrān had enclosed the city and made himself strong the proper course for them was to leave Kābul and to encamp at Būrī and Khwāja Pushta, so that they might be able to provision the troops. All agreed to this, and they marched from Zamzama. When they had gone a little way it came into the inspired mind of his Majesty that it was not advisable to go to Khwāja Pushta for many of the men had their families in the city, and would desert in consequence. And many perhaps would think that the army was going to proceed to Qandahār. The proper thing to do was to summon up one's courage and take possession of the enclosing lines (*shahrband*). If the Mīrzā came out to fight, so much the better; and if he did not, the men would not desert, and also they would be sheltered to some degree from the inconveniences of the rainy season. He sent for Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān and communicated to him this secret inspiration. He approved of the plan and it was settled accordingly. Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān with a body of troops proceeded by the way of the Minār pass while his Majesty set out

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and says it is above Cārīkār. Perhaps it is the Khawak pass, which is at the top of the Pangshīr valley, and the pass by which Wood entered Afghanistan. See his Journey to the Source of the Oxus, 272.

[1] Junaid was married to Shahrbānū, a younger sister of Bābar and is often mentioned in the Memoirs.

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by the Payān pass to conquer the city. The victorious troops had, under the leadership of M. Hindāl, reached the neighbourhood of Dēh-Afghānān and were near the shrine of Bābā Shashpar when Sherafkan came out at the head of a large body of M. Kāmrān's best men, and a hand to hand fight took place. Many of the imperial troops did not stand their ground. But M. Hindāl remained firm, and gave proof of courage and devotion. When this state of things became apparent to his Majesty he directed Qarāca Khān, Mīr Barka, and many others of the stamp of Shāh Qulī Nāranjī[1] and the like to advance and give a lesson to the rebels. They went forward, Mīr Barka being ahead of them all, and meanwhile Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān, and the body of men who had been dispatched in the direction above mentioned, came up, and the enemy was defeated. Sherafkan was made prisoner and brought before his Majesty. He being a mine of grace and gentleness was willing to confine him for some days so that he might get a lesson while in chains and return to his duty. But at the request of Qarāca Khān, and the urgency of all the loyalists who were enraged at his ingratitude and insincerity, he was put to death. His Majesty then proceeded towards Kābul by the way of the khiyābān[2] (avenue) while the im-
262 perial braves pursued the fugitives and arrived at the Iron Gate. Mīrzā Khiẓr Khān and a number of the Arghūnīān troops went off to the Hazārajāt. The wall (*shahrband*) fell into the possession of the imperialists, and his Majesty halted that day in the garden of Qarāca Khān. Many of the evil-disposed rebels, who had been made prisoners on the field of battle, were executed and Sher 'Alī was disconcerted[3] and took refuge in the citadel. Those who were distracted[4] there obtained repose.

His Majesty Jahānbānī visited afterwards the Dīwānkhāna and Urta Bāgh gardens, and took up his quarters on the hill of 'Aqābīn[5]

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[1] Blochmann 480 and 596. He was from Kurdistan, near Bagdad. He was a wrestler, Blochmann 253.

[2] Ouseley, Persian Travels III. 389 renders this word by "paved causeway."

[3] *Sarāsīma*, but there is the variant *berāha*, *i.e.*, the erring or the vagabond.

[4] Perhaps this refers to the ladies of Humāyūn's family who were shut up in the fort, but most probably it only means that the garrison were relieved by seeing Sher 'Alī re-enter.

[5] A.F. says, Jarrett II. 404, that it overlooked the fort.

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which is over against the fort. Guns and culverins (*zarbzanhā*) were placed in position and discharged. Every day M. Kāmrān's men came out and had hand to hand conflicts. Mahdī Khān, his relation Calma Beg,[1] Bābā S'aīd Qibcāq, Ism'aīl Kūz,[2] Mullā Mabtalāī Aujī, and some other ill-fated ones fled from the victorious army, and joined the Mīrzā. His Majesty Jahānbānī ordered Qarāca Khān, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān, and a number of others to seek for an encamping ground in front of the Yārak gate[3] for that was the proper place for taking post. He also directed that the siege-operations should be brought nearer to the fort, and that the charge of the batteries should be distributed, and the Mīrzā be pressed more closely. The persons deputed were searching for a site when 30 or 40 men came suddenly out from the Yārak gate. Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān attacked them and as they were not able to keep their ground they fled towards the fort. Meanwhile Sher 'Alī came from inside the fort and engaged Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān, and inflicted a severe wound on his right arm. During this conflict the imperialists pressed forward and drove Sher 'Alī inside the fort. They lifted up Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān, who was faint and powerless, and carried him to his quarters. He was ill for a long time, and it was reported that he was dead. His Majesty sent a messenger to him requesting that he would get on horse-back and come to the batteries. He mounted his horse in obedience to the request, and the market of the foes-joy fell flat. One day M. Sanjar son of Sulṭān Junaid who had gone off with the brand of faithlessness on his brow came out and attacked. His horse became unmanageable[4] and carried him as far as the Violet-Garden. He was made prisoner and brought before his Majesty who granted him his life, but sent him to prison. Muḥammad Qāsim[5] and Muḥammad Ḥusain who were sisters' sons of 263

[1] Apparently this is the man who afterwards behaved so nobly. Blochmann 378.

[2] Text, *kūr*, but the variant *kūz* is probably right for it is a synonym for *khars*, wine-jar, which we know from text p. 273 l. 7 was Humāyūn's nickname for Ism'aīl.

[3] There is the variant Bārak.

[4] *Sikh jalū*. B.M. MSS. Add. 27, 247 and 17926 and No. 564 I.V. have *shakh jalū*, hard-bridled, *i.e.*, hard-mouthed, and doubtless this is the true reading. It is *shakh jalū* in Bāyazīd from whom A.F. probably took the expression.

[5] Blochmann 380 and 485. It was Qāsim who built the Agra Fort.

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Pahlwān Dōst Mīr Barr[1] and who are now among the great officers, and have attained to high rank, threw themselves down from a bastion between the Iron Gate and the bastion of Qāsim Birlās, and in the 'Aqābīn received the blessing of doing homage and like a brace of eagles[2] (*'aqābīn*) clutched the prey of everlasting good fortune.

While this fighting was going on a large caravan arrived from abroad (*wilāyat*)[3] at Cārīkārān. There were many horses in it and other goods. M. Kāmrān sent Sher 'Alī with a body of trusty adherents to take possession of those goods, though Tardī Muḥammad Jang Jang, who was one of the Mīrzā's trusted followers, protested, and plainly said that if his Majesty Jahānbānī should hear of it and send his men and block their way so that they should not be able to rejoin the Mīrzā, they would be lost, and at the same time the Mīrzā's purpose would not be affected. The Mīrzā had his eyes fixed on the goods and would not receive this warning, and sent his men under the leadership of Sher 'Alī. As soon as the news reached his Majesty Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān was appointed to the service of restraining those tyrants from their plunder. Ḥājī Muḥammad represented that the force had gone off at night and had done their work, and that if they followed them and failed to meet with them, they would escape. He suggested that the points commanding the roads and fords should be seized so that they should not be able to get inside the fort. His Majesty Jahānbānī agreed and himself came down from the hill and gave directions for occupying the stations and places of access. Sher 'Alī and Tardī Muḥammad Jang Jang and the others who had reached the merchants forcibly took possession of their goods, and much thereof was plundered. On returning they wanted to enter the fort, but found the roads and fords closed against them. Tardī Muḥammad and Sher 'Alī had an altercation and Tardī Muḥammad Jang Jang said "See, my words have come true"! Though they looked right and left, they could find no way of re-entering. They were dumbfounded and withdrew, and waited for an opportunity of getting in by stratagem.

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[1] Blochmann 485 and VI where it is stated that the title means superintendent of the Imperial Forests.

[2] A.F. puns on the name of the ridge where Humāyūn was.

[3] Bāyazīd says the horses came from Balkh.

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One day Bāqī Ṣāliḥ, who was one of the valiant men of the garrison, eagerly brought M. Kāmrān near the Iron Gate, and boastingly said that by one sally he would bring Sher 'Alī in by this gate. When they opened the gate a number of the Mīrzā's braves came out. The men of the battery, such as Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Maujī, Qāsim Mukhliṣ, and Jamīl Beg came forward and showed alacrity and courage. Sumbul Khān and 60 or 70 slaves did good execution with their muskets. Jamīl Beg was martyred, and Bāqī Ṣāliḥ, who was the cause of this disturbance, was killed[1] 264
by a bullet, and Jalālu-d-dīn Beg, who was one of the Mīrzā's confidants, was severely wounded. Many others also were wounded. They failed in their object and closed the gate of the fort. Sher 'Alī despaired of entering the fort and hurried off to Ghaznīn. His Majesty Jahānbānī despatched after him Khiẓr Khwāja Khān, Muṣāḥib Beg, Ismāil Beg Dūldāī, and a large body of troops in order that they might by dint of courage make those luckless ones prisoners. They came up with Sher 'Alī at the Sajāwand pass, and an engagement took place. The imperialists were victorious, and many horses and goods fell into their hands. Many prisoners were also made. Sher 'Alī escaped with a few men to the Hazārajāt and took refuge in the house of Khiẓr Khān.[2] The imperialists returned victorious with much booty and were rewarded by boundless favours. The plundered merchants, who had taken protection at the holy court, were told to take whatever goods and horses they recognised, and thus many horses and goods were restored to their owners. This occurrence was a revival of fortune. The rebel prisoners were brought in front of the batteries and publicly put to death with varied punishments so that those who were slumbering on the bed of error might be aroused.

When there was no entrance or egress by any gate, and by no door could he obtain victory[3] for his designs, and no road was open save that of failure, M. Kāmrān set himself in his evil mind to punish

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[1] According to Niẓāmu-d-dīn, he deserted to Humāyūn along with Jalālu-d-dīn Beg, Elliot, V. 225. The lit. translation of A.F. is a musket-arrow fell as fire on the harvest of his life.

[2] This must be Khiẓr Khān Hazāra.

[3] *Bar Kāmrānī.* A.F. plays upon Kāmrān's name and his recent failure to get Sher 'Alī re-admitted.

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sheltered striplings and innocent children and to defile pure-skirted ones. He made over[1] the wife of Bābūs to the people of the bazaar, and spilled upon the ground, with cruel tortures, the blood of his three boys, one of whom was seven, the other five, and the third three years old, and flung them down from the top of the fort to near the batteries of Qarāca Khān and Muṣāḥib Beg. He also hung upon the battlements Sirdār Beg the son of Qarāca Beg and Khudā Dōst the son of Muṣāḥib Beg, and sent a message to them to come and see him, or to let him depart, or to withdraw the king from the siege. Otherwise he would kill their sons as he had done those of Bābūs. Qarāca Khān, who was then prime minister, cried out with a loud voice, "God save His Majesty the king. Our houses and homes and our children must one day perish, and their non-existence cannot be avoided. What better thing can there be than their coming to an end in the path of their master and benefactor. What are children when our lives are a sacrifice for His Majesty. Depart from those vain thoughts, and come and humbly submit, which will prove your salvation and be the ornamentation of your life, so that as your well-wishers we may do for you the utmost in our power. Why do
265 you frighten us by killing our children? If our children be really put to death, revenge for that is at hand." His Majesty sent for Qarāca Khān and Muṣāḥib Beg and soothed them by sympathetic words and favours. The Mīrzā struck at men's honour and reputation by most unseemly conduct towards their women and children. He suspended the wife of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Maujī by the breasts[2] (*pistān basta*). And inasmuch as the Mīrzā was sick with vexation and envy, every opposition which he in appearance made against His Majesty Jahānbānī was really resistance and opposition to the Almighty Creator. Every act of such a tyrant must inevitably fail of success, and in the end becomes the cause of his temporal and spiritual ruin.

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[1] Bāyazīd says he made her over to an improper man (or men), *ba mardum-i-nā-munāsib sipurd*, and killed the two sons, aged 10 and 12.

[2] Bāyazīd says she was hung up over the Iron Gate.

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CHAPTER XLIII.

Display of Great Marvels on the part of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, and the taking of Kābul.

M. Kāmrān in his folly and want of wisdom brought, for the sake of his own protection, that nursling of the garden of sovereignty and that new fruit of the springtide of the Khilāfat—*viz.*, his Majesty the Shāhinshāh—in front of the guns, and kept him in a place where it was difficult, on account of the marksmen (*qadr-andāzān*) of the victorious army, for an ant or a grasshopper to pass. What humanity was this? Or what beast of prey or demon has such principles? Why did the tongue of him who gave such an order not grow dumb, and the arm of him who executed it not refuse its office when it encompassed that tree of fortune and planted it for such a purpose? The eye which could not see the manifest claims of his Majesty Jahānbānī—an elder brother, a venerated father's representative and a benefactor—; how could it perceive the world-adorning beauty of his Majesty the Shāhinshāh when concealed within the veil of honour, and when it was immature and in the dawn? How shall a heart which from the anguish of envy is trodden under foot of sorrow and is at enmity with Almighty God, perceive the rays of Divine light when enclosed in a human form? How shall he who cannot see the right path for himself divine the proper course for another? And inasmuch as the Divine Wisdom watched over that exhibition of hidden lights and kept him in the shelter of guardianship and the shadow of protection from evils and perils, and was surety for the safety of that Unique of the Age, it did not bring those wicked tyrants in a moment to the punishment of their deeds. Rather the design and intent of Providence with regard to those regardless ones had predetermined that they should be tossed about in the world and cast into the ashes of calamity and contempt, and by the revolutions of Time, degree by degree, and step by step, be brought[1] into

[1] There is the variant *guzārish*, payment or retribution, and this is

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dissolution (*gudāzish*), and that the wicked actions of that oppressor should be flung gradually into the bosom of retribution, so that
266 by beholding the final retribution other wrong-doers might take warning. Assuredly, when such things are looked upon with a purged vision, the recompense and retribution which comes into evidence by degrees and step by step is severer and more fatal in its exhaustive torments!

When the evil act (the exposure of Akbar) of this unspeakable crew was executed, the hands of the marksmen trembled, the arrows flew crooked, and the lintstocks congealed. Sumbul Khān, the master fireworker, felt his ardent soul grow cold, and thought within himself, "What can have happened"? God be praised! What evil-thoughted ones imagine to be failure and so press on in their wickedness becomes a means of perfection and an adminicle of security! This was instanced here. Firstly, that by being protected in so perilous a place by God from the strokes of seldom-missing marksmen, and of wondrous musketeers, shame was wrought for the wicked and blackhearted, and the beauty of instruction was conferred on the seekers after righteousness; and, secondly, that the miracle of fires displaying coldness and of lintstocks not becoming alight was manifested. When Sumbul Khān's eyes fell on the object-spot (*masqaṭ-i-tīr*, the lighting-place of the arrow), his powers of vision were quickened and he recognised his Majesty the Shāhinshāh. The horror of the sight almost drove the souls out of the bodies of the spectators, and the gunners became as dead men (*qālab tahī kunand*, emptied their bodies). The mystery became revealed to Sumbul Khān, and he understood why the fires had gone out. In a moment he withdrew his hand from the battery, and the dejected crew of traitors (*firqa-i mutafarriqa-i bāghīa*) were respited for a time from the severity of the royal artillery. Wherever God's protection stands sentinel o'er His Chosen One, what power have human stratagems to do him wrong? Though fools exhibited the unbecoming act, yet the Divine plan required the revelation of the mystery and was the exponent of this truth, so that mortals might have an explanation of the miracle and that every one might, in proportion to his intellect and capacity, reflect upon its nature and might, according

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supported by B.M. MSS. and is probably right. But I.O., No. 564, has *gudāzish*.

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to the measure of his understanding, comprehend good and evil. In short, wicked men compassed this event in order to lighten their sufferings and the pressure which was upon them, but the far-seeing and discriminating reckoned the move as causing the speedy downfall of those workers of iniquity.

In the meantime, M. Ulugh Beg came from Zamīn Dāwar and Qāsim Ḥusain Shaibānī[1] from Qilāt, and Khwāja Ghāzī, who had remained in the Shāh's camp, and Shāh Qulī Sulṭān,[2] who was related to Bairam Khān, came from Qandahār, and a number came in from Badakhshān. H.M. assigned them a battery by the Yārak Gate. Those right-minded men girt up their loins for service and the valiant heroes displayed more and more alacrity and energy and 267
pressed the Mīrzā more and more closely. When all his schemes failed, he turned like a fox to fawning and to feline hypocrisy and came forward with protestations of shame and repentance and with blandishments. He represented through Qarāca Khān that he regretted the past and was desirous of entering into service and of making amends for the past, so that he might win over his Majesty's appreciative heart by acceptable services. Might now his life and estate be under the o'ershadowing protection of his Majesty's clemency as the offering of his shame and penitence. His Majesty by virtue of his noble nature accepted his statements and ordered the siege-operations to be slackened. As M. Hindāl, Qarāca Khān, Muṣāḥib Beg and many of the other officers had not freely quaffed the sweet waters of loyalty they, from regard to their own interests, which is a note of old, discord-loving service, did not wish the Mīrzā to make his submission. Why should I mention sincerity and loyalty? These are priceless jewels and rarely-found gems. If they be scarce among Turanians, in whose country they have long ceased to be procurable, what marvel is it? But they had not even the practical sense, which is the surety for one's own loss and gain, to do good in return for good. Those blind-hearted ones returned evil for good. Worse than this; they perpetually prepared the element of bloodshed and trouble for mankind, with the evil

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1 Bāyazīd says he was brother of Ḥaidar Sulṭān.

2 Apparently the No. 45 of Blochmann 359. The Maāṣir-i-Raḥīmī 288*b*, calls him Shāh M. Qandahārī and says he held Qandahār for Bairam.

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idea that thereby their own greatness and affluence would be increased. How were their thoughts linked together, or what consistent ideas did they possess? If they had understood even the lowest stages of loyalty, which carries with it so many blessings, they had never approved of thus endamaging themselves. If they were unacquainted with the sanctuary of loyalty, what had become of the bazaar of common sense that this faction did not come to know of it? If the ear of their understandings did not tell them of this, would that they had known the depression of sorrow and so not have struck so sharp a hatchet into their own feet.

At length that faction for their own evil designs terrified the Mīrzā, and sent a message to him saying, "with what hope do you remain in the fort, or with what hope will you come to the Presence. Day by day the siege-operations are becoming more and more complete, you should get out quickly by a certain battery;" and they referred him to the battery of Ḥasan Qulī Āqā. The Mīrzā, in accordance with this advice, came out by the Delhi Gate at the place which they had pointed out to him, on the night of Thursday, the 7th Rabī' al-awwal 954, 27th April, 1547, and absconded. He went towards Badakhshān, thinking that he might perhaps do something
268 with the help of M. Sulaimān, or, failing that, might be helped by the Uzbegs. His Majesty Jahānbānī appointed Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān and a body of troops to pursue him, and entered the city of Kābul, which had been a wilderness of rebellion, and made it by his advent a pleasant home of friendliness. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, a station of endless marvels, went forth to meet him and was made fortunate by entering the Presence. The chaste ladies also did homage. His Majesty Jahānbānī on beholding his Majesty the Shāhinshāh, displayed in heart and countenance fresh light and glory. What greater blessing could there be than this, that the eyes of a Jacob should be brightened by the beauty of a Joseph? Or what sublimer repose could there be than that the heart of such a sage (*ṣāḥib dil*) should be comforted by union with such a darling? In thanksgiving for the safety of the holy personality (Akbar), and for his well-being, he made vows, prayers, and alms, and applied fresh balm to the wounded hearts of mankind which were bleeding from the oppression of circumstances. Each one was soothed and comforted by manifold sympathies and consolations, and the distractions

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of pained hearts were changed into concords.[1] His Majesty Jahānbānī and his Majesty the Shāhinshāh took their seat with the lustre of dominion and the magnificence of prestige on the throne of victory and the *masnad* of honour. Though Ḥājī Muḥammad and the others who had been sent in pursuit of M. Kāmrān came up with him, they out of the glamour and fascination of old and disloyal service, let him[2] go as if they had not seen him. The Mīrzā slipped away but Āq Sulṭān[3] and a number of other followers were made prisoners. They were subjected to a just scrutiny and each received a punishment suitable to his offences. Among them, Sulṭān Qulī Atka, Tarsūn Mīrzā, a relation of 'Abdullāh Mīrzā, Ḥāfiẓ Maqṣūd, Maulānā Bāqī Īrghū,[4] Maulānā Qadam Arbāb, and many others who were the ringleaders of strife and sedition were punished capitally. M. Kāmrān resolved upon flight, and arranged with his men that he would take refuge at the hill of Istālif, and that he would collect troops and prepare war. At the end of the night he went secretly towards Badakhshān along with 'Alī Qulī Qūrcī by the way of Sanjad Dara. After a thousand (*hazār*) distresses he passed on from the Hazārajāt with thousands of disgraces and ignominies towards Badakhshān. M. Beg, who was one of his confidents, and Sher 'Alī joined him with a few men near Ẓuḥḥāk. When they got to Ghōrī he sent a message to M. Beg Birlās the ruler of that place and summoned him to his presence. He replied that disloyalty, the note of the wicked, would not come from him. The Mīrzā wished to pass by Ghōrī but one of his servants (*qalaqcīān qu. qalūqcīān*) 269
abused him and said, "Why do you go with this fellow, (meaning

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[1] This seems to be taken from Gulbadan Begam's Memoirs.

[2] According to Jauhar it was Hindāl who came up with Kāmrān as he was escaping on a man's back and who out of brotherly compassion let him go and supplied him with a horse. Niẓāmu-d-dīn says Ḥajī Muḥammad turned back on account of some Turkī words used by Kāmrān. What they meant is rather obscure, but apparently he ironically asked Ḥājī if he had killed his father that he should be so keen in pursuing him. See Elliot V., 227, and Badāonī, Ranking's translation, p. 581.

[3] Kāmrān's son-in-law and Gulbadan Begam's brother-in-law. Her account is that he afterwards left Kāmrān and retired to Mecca.

[4] Or *yārghū*. It is a Turkish or Mongolian word, and one of its meanings is prefect. See Vullers s.v.

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the Mīrzā), who if he was the son of his Majesty Gītī Sitānī and had a drop of his spirit would never have let off the governor of Ghōrī so tamely or have left him scatheless." The Mīrzā was stung by his taunts and said, "Why do you talk so idly and why don't you reflect? I am acting in this way because of your want of preparation; would I have let the thing pass in this way if you were equipped for war"? The madman again spoke roughly to the Mīrzā, and he turned back and fought with the governor of Ghōrī. The latter was defeated and Ghōrī fell into the Mīrzā's hands. Thus he got possession of some munitions of war. He left Sher 'Alī there and went on to Badakhshān. He sent a messenger to M. Sulaimān and M. Ibrāhīm, inviting them to assist him, but they wisely did not give up their loyalty to the king, and were on their guard against helping the Mīrzā.

M. Kāmrān, being led away by his vain thoughts, went on towards Balkh in order that he might take refuge with Pīr Muḥammad Khān and with his help get possession of Badakhshān. His Majesty Jahānbānī appointed Qarāca Khān to the Badakhshānāt, so that he might in concert with M. Sulaiman and M. Hindāl and the other officers get possession of M. Kāmrān or drive him away. Qarāca Khān came to Badakhshān and went to Ghōrī along with the Mīrzās. Sher 'Alī and some of M. Kāmrān's men were garrisoned there. Brave fightings took place and gallant men on both sides were killed. Among them was Khwāja Nūr, who was one of M. Hindāl's great men. Mullā Mīr Kitābdār, who was a favourite of M. Hindāl, also obtained martyrdom. At last the besieged could resist no longer and fled, and the fort fell into the hands of the king's servants. Meanwhile news came that M. Kāmrān and Pīr Muḥammad Khān had arrived from Balkh. The Mīrzās did not engage, but turned back into the defiles while Qarāca Khān proceeded towards Kābul. His Majesty Jahānbānī on hearing of the confusion in Badakhshān turned his rein in that direction. When he reached Ghūrband, Qarāca Khan came and did homage. But as Qarāca Khān's baggage had been plundered on the way[1] back (to Ghūrband?) by the Aimāqs, he was permitted to go to Kābul in order that he might collect materials and quickly join. His Majesty, on his account

[1] *Dar murāja'at*, on the return journey, from Badakhshān and Ghōrī, I presume.

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marched from Ghōrband and halted at the village of Gulbihār and occupied himself in making excursions and in hunting till Qarāca Khān arrived. After Qarāca Khān came, though the season was over, his Majesty adhered to his first resolve and proceeded towards 270
Badakhshān. As the designs of Providence were not in accordance with this expedition, the passes of the Hindu Kōh were made difficult by snow, and a strange confusion occurred in the pass so that it was difficult to cross. In accordance with expediency, he returned to Kābul, resolving that in spring he would turn towards Badakhshān.

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CHAPTER XLIV.

THE PUTTING[1] HIS MAJESTY THE SHĀHINSHĀH TO SCHOOL, AND OTHER EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED AT THIS TIME.

As it is fixed and recorded in the Academy of Divine knowledge, which is the "guarded tablet" of sempiternal writings—and all the arts and sciences in that sanctuary of the presence are the offspring of instruction's school—that the possessors of the new

[1] There is a reference later on, text I. 316, to Akbar's teachers. We are told of them that 'Aṣāmu-d-dīn the first teacher was removed for his addiction to pigeon-flying. This was a taste which he communicated to his pupil, if indeed the boy did not inherit it from his great-grandfather 'Umar Shaikh, and did not lead astray his luckless preceptor, for we are told, Blochmann 299, that when Akbar was very young he was fond of pigeon-flying and that he took up the pursuit again in mature life. There is also in the Maāṣir-i-Raḥīmī MS. A.S.B., p. 808*b*, *et seq*, a long letter about pigeons from Akbar to the Khān-khānān. Akbar's second teacher was Maulānā Bāyazīd, a physician and a descendant of one of Ulugh Beg's astronomers, but he too was objected to, and finally Humāyūn drew lots as to which of three persons should be his son's tutor. The result was that Maulānā 'Abdu-l-Qādir was appointed. He belonged to Tabrīz and was brother of Abul Qāsim who became Dīwān of Gujrāt, Blochmann 485 and 545. But 'Abdu-l-Qādir seems to have been superseded in his turn for we find that in the second year of his reign, that is, when he was 15, Akbar made Mīr 'Abdu-l-laṭīf his tutor. Niẓāmu-d-dīn mentions in his list of the learned men a Mullā 'Alā'ūd-dīn as Akbar's tutor. He also mentions that Mullā 'Abdu-l-Qādir retired to Mecca after having for years discharged with credit the duties of Akbar's teacher. The truth, as far as it can be seen through the maze of A.F.'s rhetoric, seems to be that Akbar was an idle boy, fond of animals and out-door amusements, and that he would not learn his lessons. This is corroborated by Jahāngīr's description of him as an unlettered man, and one who in his youth was fond of the pleasures of the table. It seems probable too that Akbar never knew how to read and write. This seems extraordinary in the son of so learned a man as Humāyūn, but apparently the latter was not to blame for this. See text I. 316.

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possess of the new material

material of reason are to be brought, on the emergence of articulate speech, to learn the combinations of letters (*ḥurūf-i-murakkaba*) and to acquire general knowledge, *viz.*, that which has been put together by united cares and intellectual essays, and by special progressions and classifications to walk in the beaten paths of reason, so this scholar of the Divine Academy and graduate of God's college was, in compliance with use and wont, taken to man's school on 7th Shawwāl of this year, 20th November, 1547, being the fourth[1] year, fourth month and fourth day of the eternity-conjoined life of his Majesty the Shāhinshāh. The weighty office was conferred on the Mullāzāda Mullā (teacher the son of a teacher) 'Aṣāmu-d-dīn Ibrāhīm. Though in the eyes of the superficial his Majesty was taken to be taught, yet according to the view of the far-seeing he was carried to the lofty position of teacher. A strange thing was that his Majesty Jahānbānī, who was acquainted with celestial sciences and versed in the mysteries of the stars, had fixed, in consultation with acute astrologers and time-knowing astrolabe-conners, a special hour for the initiative of his Majesty's instruction, such as might happen once during cycles and lifetimes, but when the master-moment arrived that scholar of God's school had attired himself for sport and had disappeared! In spite of all endeavours and of sedulous search on the part of royalty, no trace of him could be found. The enlightened-hearted perceived from this wondrous mystery that the design was that this lord of lofty wisdom and special pupil of God should not be implicated and commingled with ordinary human learning, so that at the time of the revelation of this *Khedive* of subtlety it might be apparent to mankind that the knowledge of this king of knowers was of the nature of a gift, and not of an acquirement. In spite of this truth, however, letters and the current sciences manifest themselves gloriously in his Majesty's sanctified mind, whether they be those committed to writing by scientists, or such niceties and secrets as come from Wisdom's source without the intervention of teaching and being

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1 The year must have been 954 for we are told in a previous chapter that Humāyūn left Qandūz in the last month of 953, and Akbar was at this time 5 years, 3 months, and 2 days old, for he was born on 5th Rajab, 949, or if we take the Gregorian calendar he was 5 years, 1 month, 5 days old, *viz.*, from 15th October, 1542—20th November, 1547.

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taught (*ta'līm ū ta'allum*). Accordingly when masters of wisdom, lords of the mathematics, those possessed of exoteric sciences, and the inheritors of all the arts, whether general or specific, reach the carpet of the holy Presence, they from a consciousness of their own ignorance sink the head of ashamedness in the collar of hesitancy, and abide in amazement. The inspired nature of his Majesty is strongly drawn to the composing of Hindī and Persian poetry and is critical and hair-splitting in the niceties of poetic diction. Among books of poetry, he recites off-hand the Maulavī's[1] Maṡnavī and the Dīwān of the "mystic-tongue," and takes delight in their verities and beauties. The following weighty verse is a product of his Majesty's meditations.

Verse.

'Tis not the chain of insanity on the neck of the afflicted Majnūn;
Love hath laid a loving hand on his neck.

He has also strung glorious thoughts in the Hindī language, which may be regarded as masterpieces in this kind.

Verse.

Oh Thou congeries of excellencies, how may I express thee!

In fine, after they had kept him for some time with that meritorious teacher, engaged in recitations which were worse that none, those who only regarded externals dwelt upon the inefficiency of the tutor and set themselves to get rid of him. That helpless one was superseded, and Maulānā Bāyazīd was appointed. They did not know that the taskmasters of creation were taking care that the inspired mind of this nursling of Divine light should not become

[1] This is Jalālu-d-dīn Rūmī, and the mystic-tongue is Ḥāfiẓ. The passage about the Hindī and Persian poetry is omitted in the Lucknow edition. It seems discrepant from Blochmann, 548, where A.F. tells us that Akbar did not care for poets. But see also *id.* 103, 104. Nor does the passage occur in B.M. MSS. 27, 247, 17, 926, 5610 and 6544. It is also absent from the I.O. MSS. Nos. 4 and 564, and is, I think, undoubtedly spurious. The passage to be omitted begins on last line of p. 270 of Bib. Ind. ed. at *ū ṭaba'* and goes down to *alqiṣṣa* on 7th line of 271.

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the reception chamber of inky impressions or the alighting-stage of the sooty types of the exoteric sciences.

During this auspicious time his Majesty Jahānbānī was in Kābul arranging for the distribution of provinces and for an expedition to Badakhshān, and for bringing to an end the affair of M. Kāmrān. M. Kāmrān came to despair of help from M. Sulaimān and M. Ibrāhīm, and went off with evil thoughts to Balkh in order that he might with Pīr Muḥammad[1] Khān's help obtain possession of Badakhshān. When he arrived at the village of Aibak[2] the Governor thereof received him courteously, but kept him under surveillance, and reported the circumstance to Pīr Muḥammad Khān. The latter regarded the Mīrzā's advent as a boon and sent trusty persons to welcome him. He conveyed the Mīrzā with all respect to his own house, and showed him hospitality. He also accompanied him to Badakhshān. The Mīrzās, in accordance with their resolve, retired to the mountainous borders of Badakhshān, and much of that country came into the possession of M. Kāmrān. Pīr Muḥammad Khān left a body of troops for M. Kāmrān's assistance and returned to his own country. The Mīrzā came to Kishm and Tālīqān, and sent Rafīq Kōka, and Khāliq Bardī with a body of Caghatāī and Uzbeg troops to Rūstāq. M. Sulaimān and M. Ibrāhīm collected the people of Kūlāb and came against Rūstāq. They came from Qil'a Ẓafar and Khamalinkān[3] and fought bravely against Rafīq Kōka and the others, but by heaven's decree they were defeated and had to withdraw to the hill country. His Majesty Jahānbānī was pleasing his enlightened heart in Kābul, and his determination was that he would go to Badakhshān. As his servants' hearts were not sincere, this design abode under the veil of dilatoriness and delay (*ta'awwuq ū tawaqquf*), and meanwhile Qarāca Khān, who had rendered good service and had become a station for endless favours, let the goblet of his understanding brim over, for the vessel was tiny and the wine plenteous, and without reflecting on his performances, rank, and condition, and on the lofty position of his master, set his foot outside

[1] He was the son of Jānī Beg and uncle of the famous 'Abdullāh Khān. He died in 974 (1566). See Vambéry's Bokhara and Howorth, Part II. pp. 724, 726 and 729.

[2] The Hiibak of the maps. Perhaps it is named after Quṭbu-d-dīn Aibak.

[3] Bābar's Mem. 167, where it is spelt Khamalingān.

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of the path of moderation. So at length out of the stupidity which is natural to the immoderately exalted he uttered words which even the drunk and mad do not use. Among them was the expression of his wish that Khwāja Ghāzī, who as a reward for his abilities and good service had been appointed to the office of Dīwān, should be sent to him bound in order that he might put him to death,[1] and that his office should be given to Khwāja Qāsim Tūla.[2] As such a measure did not commend itself to his Majesty Jahānbānī, who was a spring of justice and compassion, Qarāca Khān, who in his vain thoughts imagined himself to be the pillar of the victorious dominion, seduced, in the blackness of his fortune, and inversion of his horoscope, a large body of men from the path, and went off towards Badakhshān. Bābūs, Muṣāḥib Beg, Ismāīl Beg Duldāī, 'Alī Qulī[3] of Andarāb, Ḥaidar Dōst Moghal, Shaikham Khwāja Khiẓrī and Qurbān Qarāwal with nearly 3000 veteran horsemen, all of whom had been enticed by him, went off by Kotal Minār *en route* for Badakhshān and so trod the wilderness of error.

When his Majesty heard of this he wished to go off at once in person after those ill-fated ones who had turned away from the altar of auspiciousness. From observance of the favourable hour (for starting), he delayed setting out himself and despatched some of his followers to pursue the wretches. According as each of his loyal servants came up he was sent off, and so Tardī Beg Khān, Mun'im Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Barlās, 'Abdullāh Sulṭān and other loyalists hastened off, one after the other. Near midday, when the auspicious moment had arrived, his Majesty Jahānbānī mounted the horse of victory. A number of gallant youths pressed forward, and coming up with the rearguard of those headstrong ones, engaged them and overcame them. At the end of the day they came to close quarters with Qarāca Khān at the river;[4] night interposed to save the lives of those black-hearted ones, and they fled under its protection. They crossed by the Ghorband bridge, breaking it down

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[1] Jauhar and Bāyazīd give the reason for Qarāca's animosity. He had issued an order to Khwāja Ghāzī for the payment of 10 tūmāns, and the latter, who was treasurer, or finance-minister refused to honour the draft.

[2] Tūla may mean weighman. Bāyazīd calls him Khwāja Qāsim Buyūtāt.

[3] Blochmann 432.

[4] Presumably the Ghorband river.

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afterwards. Those who had followed them returned, and did homage at Qarā Bāgh. His Majesty Jahānbānī's world-adorning mind decided to return to Kābul, and there to make preparations and to proceed 273
against Badakhshān. The short-sighted fugitives left Tamar 'Alī Shighālī, who was Qarāca Khān's vakil, in Panjshīr, that he might collect news there of affairs in Kābul, and having crossed a pass in the Hindū Kōh joined M. Kāmrān in Kishm. His Majesty Jahānbānī returned next day and refreshed the Urta Bāgh by the sunshine of his presence. He gave appropriate nicknames to all those sordid ones who had not recognised their duties to their king, and had been unfaithful to their salt. Thus he styled Qarāca Qarā Bakht (black fortune), Ismāīl Khirs (bear), Muṣāḥib Munāfiq (hypocrite), and Bābūs Daiyūs [1] (wittol). And he sent orders to M. Hindāl, M. Sulaimān, and M. Ibrāhīm to make preparations and to await the coming of the grand army. An order was also issued for Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān's coming from Ghaznīn to the Presence.

During this time when the preparations for an expedition against Badakhshān were engaging his mind, he was continually consulting prudent old men and wise young men, in whose foreheads there shone the jewel of sincerity. All those who had neither stout hearts nor clear vision urged the marching to Qandahār in order that preparations might be made there, and that thereafter they might proceed to quell the sedition of M. Kāmrān. Those who held in their hands the diploma of wisdom with the emblazonment of valour supported the royal idea of proceeding to Badakhshān. One day he said to Muḥammad Sulṭān,[2] "What do you say"? He replied, "M. Kāmrān is uplifted by the desertion of those ingrates. It seems likely that he will anticipate us and come into these territories. It appears to me that if the imperial army cross the Hindū Kōh first it will be victorious, otherwise—God forbid it—the dice will fall in another fashion." His Majesty Jahānbānī said "The downfall of

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[1] Perhaps a bitter allusion to the fact that Bābūs was rejoining a man (Kāmrān) who had given over Bābūs' wife to the people of the bazar. See *supra*. Probably *khars*, a winejar, was the nickname of Ism'aīl, rather than *khirs*, for A.F. has previously called him *kūz*, *i.e.*, flagon.

[2] A grandson of Sulṭān Ḥusain of Herāt. Blochmann 462.

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the uplifted has been repeatedly witnessed. "If he be uplifted, we are supplicants at God's Court." He also repeated this verse.

Verse.

Let no one exult in his own strength,
For pride casts the cap from the head;

and he concluded, "What sense is there in delaying, God willing, we'll at this very[1] moment cross the pass."

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[1] This story is told by Jauhar, and with more point. Humāyūn is represented there as saying "God willing, we shall cross the hills first."

[illegible] to nurse the [illegible]tches. According as each of his

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CHAPTER XLV.

Departure of His Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshiyānī's World-Conquering Army for Badakhshān, and its Victorious Return to Kābul.

When the expedition had been determined upon—and the measure was a most necessary one, they set off at an auspicious hour 274
on Monday, 5th Jumādā-al-awal, 955, 12th June, 1548, and encamped at Alang Cālāk.[1] After two or three days, they moved from there to Qarā Bāgh, where they remained ten or twelve days on account of some state-affairs. In spite of some rumours about his disloyalty, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān came as a well-wisher, and Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān, who was in Bangash, also came and did homage, and was favourably received. At the same stage, M. Ibrāhīm under the guidance of an auspicious star came post-haste and paid his respects. The lights of special favour were shed on the forehead of his fortune. One of the wonderful things which were the heralds of countless victories was that when he was about to proceed to Badakhshān, his Majesty was standing in the ewer-room. Suddenly it occurred to his sanctified mind that "if this white bird (referring to a cock which was always in the room) come upon my shoulder and crow, it will be a sign of victory." As soon as he had this thought, the auspicious bird came flying and flapping its wings like a *humā*, perched on his shoulder, and cast an auspicious shadow over the head of fortune. His Majesty returned thanks, and ordered that a silver ring be put on the bird's foot.[2]

Among the occurrences which were suitable preludes to victory was this that when M. Ibrāhīm arrived at Panjshīr[3] Tamar Shighālī

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[1] The *alang* or meadow of Cālāk is mentioned by Bābar, Mem. 138 as being one *kos* from Kābul. He says it is extensive, but that the mosquitoes greatly annoy the horses.

[2] This story is told by Jauhar who adds that Humāyūn used to feed the bird with raisins.

[3] Jarrett II, 399 n. and 411, and Bābar 145.

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intercepted him. Malik 'Alī of Panjshīr joined the Mīrzā with his clan, and M. Ibrāhīm bravely engaged Tamar 'Alī Shighālī, and routed him. He brought Malik 'Alī of Panjshīr along with him as a precautionary measure, and introduced him to his Majesty Jahānbānī. This simple-minded well-wisher of the State was incommoded by having to travel with M. Ibrāhīm, on account of groundless anxieties about his lands,[1] and after a quarrel it came to fighting. Though the Mīrzā had but few men with him he displayed great superiority and conducted his own party to the Presence. Next day Malik 'Alī sent his brother and preferred excuses for his offence, and he also sent the head of Tamar 'Alī. His Majesty rewarded the messenger with a robe of honour and other presents, and sent a soothing letter to his brother. He wrote that the Mīrzā had not
275 understood him, that his hereditary[2] loyalty was patent to his Majesty's heart, and that when his Majesty came to his territory he would treat him with royal favours; his Majesty also treated M. Ibrāhīm with much favour and called him his son. After bestowing royal benignities on him he gave him leave to depart in order that he might go and get M. Sulaimān ready with his army, and the munitions of war. He was to await the arrival of the royal army near Badakhshān. When it reached Tālīqān, they were to come and join. The noble lady Miriam-Makānī and his Majesty the Shāhinshāh, the light of the eyes of the Sulṭānate and the rose tree (*gulbun*) of the rose garden of the spring of the Khilāfat, were sent off from the village of Gulbihār[3] to Kābul. Muḥammad Qāsim Maujī was appointed governor of Kābul and sent with them. He was to continually serve his Majesty the Shāhinshāh, and also to manage thoroughly the district. When his Majesty had halted at the village of Bāzārak[4] in the Tūmān of Panjshīr, Ḥājī Muḥammad (son of)

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[1] *Bafiqr-i-nāqiṣ-i-zamīndārāna.* I presume that this is the meaning, but it may mean that Malik 'Alī was too independent to go with another man, and that too one who was only an heir-apparent.

[2] Perhaps he was a Yusufzai and a relative of Shāh Manṣūr, son of Malik Sulaimān, whose daughter Bābar married. Mem. 250.

[3] Gulbān in text, but it is Gulbihār in Lucknow ed., and this is probably correct as it agrees with Bābar 154. See also 219, where Bābar has some verses about Gulbihār. It lies N. of Kābul, and as usual A.F. puns on the name.

[4] Jarrett, 399 and 400 n. 1.

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Bāba Qushqa, Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān, Tardī Beg, Muḥammad Qulī Barlās, 'Ali Qulī Sulṭān, Mīr Laṭīf, and Ḥaidar Muḥammad Cūlī were sent as an advance-guard.[1] As soon as they had crossed the Hindū Kōh, Mahdī Sulṭān,[2] Tardī Muḥammad Jang Jang, and the party who were in the fort of Andarāb, fled. In accordance with the royal orders, Tardī Beg and Muḥammad Qulī Barlās hastened to Khōst in order to seize the families of the fugitives which were there. M. Kāmrān, being drunk with the wine of arrogance, was in Qil'a Ẓafar. Though the runaway officers in Tālīqān requested the Mīrzā to guard the roads, and to block the route from Kābul, they were not successful. Mullā Khirad Zargar, who was then in close contact with M. Kāmrān, and was a constant sedition-monger, made great efforts in this respect, but could not attain his object. At last Qarāca Khān and his party took the precaution to send Muṣāḥib Beg to bring the families from Khōst, lest a force should come from Kābul and make them prisoners. Just at this time Tardī Beg and Muḥammad Qulī arrived at Khōst, and Muṣāḥib Beg took off the families to Tālīqān. Apparently this was done by the connivance which is the result of long service.

When the royal standards approached Andarāb, M. Hindāl arrived from Qandūz, and brought in Sher 'Alī as a prisoner. His Majesty Jahānbānī honoured the Mīrzā with various favours. Among these was that he should pay his respects on horseback.[3] The short account of the affair of Sher 'Alī is that before the arrival 276
of the imperial troops in the Badakhshānāt, and when M. Kāmrān was in power there, Sher 'Alī in his arrogance always behaved disrespectfully to the Mīrzā, and urged the taking of Qandūz and the bringing in of M. Hindāl. At last the Mīrzā appointed him to Qandūz, and M. Hindāl by the royal good fortune succeeded in making him prisoner. The thing happened thus. One night many of the infantry soldiers of Qandūz surrounded his house (tent?).

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[1] *Ba rasm-i-manqulā.* But the meaning is that they were sent on in advance of the main army, and the word is properly *manghulāī* and is Mongolian.

[2] Apparently this was a brother of Gulbadan's husband Khiẓr Khwāja. Tār. Rash., 401.

[3] Jauhar states that Hindāl arrived a watch after nightfall. He saw Humāyūn afar off, and wanted to alight from his horse, but Humāyūn made him keep his seat.

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He fled and flung himself into the river, and broke his arm, and was caught in his own snare. When the Mīrzā brought him before his Majesty Jahānbānī, the latter did not regard his improper actions, and drew the pen of forgiveness over his offences, and having given him a robe of honour nominated him to Ghōrī. For his far-seeing mind looked to his nature and his capabilities, and as he found in him manliness and administrative ability, he passed over so many great crimes, each of which was deserving of condign punishment, and distinguished him by favours. For in the scales of appreciation he found that the subjects of reward were more than those of retribution.[1]

After M. Hindāl had been honoured by royal favours, an order was issued that Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān and a number of others should advance as a vanguard (*manqulā*), and that the Mīrzā should head them. All were to obey the Mīrzā—who would always be a supporter of dominion—and not to fail in good service, so that each might be rewarded in proportion thereto. In the middle of Jumādā-al-ākhir 955, 22nd May, 1548, the camp reached the Qāẓī's Alang, which is a village of Andarāb. The Qāzī of Andarāb and the men of the Tūqbāī[2] and Sālqāncī tribes, and the Balūcīs and a number of soldiers and of the Aimaqs of Badakhshān, and of the servants of Muṣāḥib Beg did homage, and received royal favours. From thence the army proceeded, march after march, to Tālīqān. Most of the fugitive officers, as well as Mīrza 'Abdullāh and a number of M. Kāmrān's men, were in garrison there. An order was issued to M. Hindāl and the officers with him to cross the Bangī[3] river and engage. Just then M. Kāmrān[4] hastily brought his men from

[1] Bāyazīd tells us that Sher 'Alī had been a servant of the unfortunate Yādgār Nāṣīr.

[2] This is an Afghān tribe, Jarrett, II. 403. I have not found the name Sālqāncī mentioned.

[3] The text has Tangī, but the variant Bangī is right. The Bangī or Bungī is a tributary of the Khairābād river, which again is a tributary of the Oxus. The Bangī flows south of Tālīqān. See Wood's Journey to the source of the Oxus, p. 152.

[4] Jauhar says Kāmrān marched 25 *kos* from Qil'a Ẓafar (Kāmrān seems to have been famous for his rapid movements), and that it was not till after sunrise that he was recognised. He drove back Ḥājī Muḥammad, but when he heard Humāyūn's drums he cried, "I've lost the game," and retreated into Tālīqān.

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Qila' Ẕaffar and Kishm and joined the unholy crew. On Saturday, 15th Jamāda-al-ākhirī[1] an engagement took place on a rising ground which they call khalsān (?) The royal army had not yet crossed 277
the river and there was some distance between the advance-guard and the main body. In accordance with the Divine Will, the imperial vanguard was turned back and had to recross the river. The enemy proceeded to plunder.[2] M. Kāmrān was stationed on the same rising ground with a few men. Meanwhile his Majesty Jahānbānī arrived on the river bank and wished to cross in front of the enemy. Sundry faithful informants represented that the river was in a pool[3] there, and that a mile higher up there was a mill, and that as the place was stony, it would be easy to cross there. They went there, and when they got nigh the mill, Shaikham[4] Khwāja Khiẓrī, the kalantar (headman) of the Khwāja[5] Khiẓrīs was brought in a prisoner. The *tinqatārs* who were by his Majesty's rein were bidden to strike the faithless runagate. They so fisted and kicked him that the spectators felt certain that his black soul could no longer have connection with his body. In that place they captured Ismāīl Beg Dūldai and brought him to the presence. His Majesty granted him his life, forgave him his offences at the intercession of Mun'am Khān, and made him over to him. His Majesty then proceeded to the height where M. Kāmrān was. He appointed Fatah Ullah Beg, brother of Rūshan Kōka to the vanguard, and sent forward with him a number of

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[1] As the army arrived at Andarāb in the middle of the month and then made several marches there is probably a mistake in this date.

[2] Jauhar mentions that after the plundering was over, and the enemy had retreated to Tālīqān, it was reported to Humāyūn that the library was safe. He was much pleased, saying, "God be praised that things which cannot be replaced are safe! As for other things, they were a small matter."

[3] *Āb jamjama ast, jamjama* means a skull in Arabic. Perhaps all that is meant here is that the waters of the river were collected together in the place.

[4] He had deserted along with Qarāca Khān. Bayāzīd says the millers took him up and cared for him and that he became kalāntar again and lived for several years. He was beaten with the stocks of muskets, &c. According to Jauhar, Humāyūn ordered him to be split into nine strips; 42 wounds were inflicted on him, but at night he went off to his own house.

[5] This is mentioned as a clan in Bābar, 277.

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devoted heroes. A gallant engagement took place, and Fataḥ Ullah was unhorsed. Just then the royal standard (*kaukab*), which is the preface of conquest and the advance-guard of victory, made its appearance; the Mīrzā gave up heart and had no power to resist. He fled to the fort of Tālīqān, and set himself to strengthen it. The imperial army proceeded to plunder. A dispute arose among the attendants (*qalaqcīān*) about the goods, and his Majesty gave orders for *haral*,[1] *i.e.*, that every one should keep what came into his hands, and others had no claim to it. In that victory no one had even a hair of his head injured, excepting 'Alī Qulī Khān. Isaḥaq[2] (Isaac) Sulṭān, Tardī Beg, the son of Beg Mīrak, Bābī Jūjak, and a number of others who had boldly followed the victorious were made prisoners. M. Hindāl and Ḥājī Muḥammad brought their prisoners to the Presence, and his Majesty treated them according to the laws of justice and equity, and distributed favour and chastisement suitable to their deservings. And he returned thanks to the Court of the True Disposer, who is liberal without stint and bounteous without solicitation.

Next day he commenced the siege and distributed the batteries.
278 One day a shot from the battery which was in charge of Mun'am Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Barlas and Ḥusain Qulī Sulṭān Muhrdār, struck Mubāriz Beg and killed him. His Majesty, who was a mine of compassion, lamented[3] greatly and exclaimed, "Would that his brother Muṣāḥib Beg had been killed in his stead." With brotherly feeling, or rather out of general amiability, he, in spite of M. Kāmrān's many crimes, became kindly disposed to him and sent him an admonitory *firmān* which might be an armlet of dominion and fortune and

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[1] Bayāzīd writes *hūral* and says the result of the order was that some lost Rs. 2000 and did get one back, and that others who had not ten rupees got 10,000.

[2] Tār. Rash. 451. He was son of Shāh Muḥammad Sulṭān, who was grandson of Bābar's maternal uncle Muḥammad Khān, and his mother (Khadīja Sulṭān) was a daughter of Bābar's younger maternal uncle Aḥmad Khān. Isaḥaq's sister Muhtarīm was married to Kāmrān and afterwards to Ibrāhīm, the son of M. Sulaīmān, Blochmann 312. She was Ḥaidar M.'s wife's sister, and was married to Kāmrān through his influence.

[3] According to Jauhar, Humāyūn was affected, not so much by the death of Mubāriz, as by his having felt it necessary to put a number of prisoners to death.

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a neck-charm of grace and favour. After various high-thoughted counsels this was written, "O evil brother and beloved war-seeker, refrain from courses which are productive of conflict and cause the affliction and destruction of countless men. Have compassion on the men of the city and of the army. To-day they are all killed; to-morrow is the judgment.

Verse.

The blood of that race is on thy neck,
The hand of that crowd upon thy skirt,
'Twere[1] far better to think on peace
And bring to pass the ways of gentleness.

He sent this auspicious rescript along with Naṣib Rammāl.[2] As the Mīrzā, being drunk with folly, had turned away from fortune and put dominion behind his back, the sage advices were of no avail. In reply to that roll of grace and preamble of knowledge, he uttered[3] the following verse—

Verse.[4]

Who'd to his bosom strain dominion's bride
Must kiss the gleaming falchion's lip.

Naṣīb Rammāl conveyed to the royal hearing the account of the Mīrzā's recalcitrance and an order was given for strengthening the batteries. Meanwhile, Mīrzās Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm arrived with all their forces and were made partakers of royal favours. Cākar Khān, son of Wais Qibcāq also arrived with the men of Kūlāb and formed a supplement to the army of fortune. During this period of one[5] month of the siege the gates of victory opened more and more for the imperialists, while the knot of affairs grew tighter for M. Kāmrān, and he became more and more straitened. At last he became hopeless of the success of tricks and stratagems, and also

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1 These last two lines are not in Jauhar and would be better away.

2 *I.e.*, a diviner or soothsayer.

3 Jauhar says that when Kāmrān received Humāyūn's letter he read it and was silent for a while, and then quoted the verse.

4 This couplet is said by Ḥaidar Mīrzā to have been sent by Shaibānī to Shāh Ism'aīl. Tār. Rash. 233.

5 Jauhar has two months, but if A.F.'s other dates are right the siege did not last even one month.

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came to despair of the help from Pīr Muḥammad Khān Uzbeg, which he in his short-sightedness looked for. Involuntarily he put his hands to the saddle strips (*fitrāk*)[1] of obedience and submission. By means of this device he saved himself this time from the whirlpool of danger and brought the ship of safety from out the tumult of the waves to the shore of salvation. With this design, he made various supplications and cries for help. One day he fastened a letter to an arrow and shot it into the camp. Its purport was that he had not recognised the claims of his Majesty to reverence. "I have seen what I have seen, and now I repent of the past and wish that leave may be granted to me to circumambulate the Holy K'aba so that I may be cleansed from the sin of rebellion and the
279 anguish of ingratitude, and may become fit for proper service. My hope is that this boon may be granted to me through the intervention of Mīr 'Arab[2] of Mecca." The Mīr was distinguished among all. the devotees of the age for honesty and transparency and had applied himself to alchemy. His Majesty Jahānbānī Jinnatāshiyānī had a regard for him, and on this expedition he kept close to the royal stirrup and was adorning the army of prayer (*lashkar-i-du'ā*). When the petition of supplication reached the royal hearing, he sent for the Mīr and spoke to him about it. The Mīr said that he would write an answer and send it into the fort. He wrote as follows.[3] "Know, O men of the fort, that salvation is in sincerity and safety in submission, and peace be upon whoever followeth the right path." When M. Kāmrān had understood the purport of this writing, he wrote back by the same method that he would submit to whatever the Mīr should order. His Majesty Jahānbānī, inasmuch as kindness and benevolence were of his nature's essence, sent off the Mīr, who proceeded to the fort and expounded the doctrines of verity which in reason's reservoir are more sweet than limpid streams, but more bitter to the sensual taste than the juice of the colocynth. In his exposition and application he did not leave out a single point, and at every sentence of reproof the Mīrzā, as he had received a lesson from

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[1] Explained by the Lucknow edition by the word shikārband. The *fitrāk* are the cords attached to the saddle and used for tying game to.

[2] Can this be the Muḥammad 'Arab mentioned by Bayāzīd 11*b*, and who was Ṭahmāsp's Imām?

[3] It was in Arabic and A.F. gives the original and also a translation.

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the crapulous headaches following on his debauches, held down the head of submission and cried, "I've sinned, I've sinned, I'll do whatever you order." The Mīr said, "The atonement is that you arise and with a sincere soul and contrite heart come with me and do homage." The Mīrzā, either from sincerity or deceit set off, but when they got near the gate, the Mīr, who could perceive the temporary nature of the feelings, became aware that they were without root.[1] He stopped, and said to the Mīrzā, "As you have set out to kiss the threshold and have emerged from the circle of sedition, and have escaped from a state of rebellion, the proper thing for auspiciousness and repentance is that you send the runaway officers to the Court with their necks bound, that you yourself recite the khuṭba in his Majesty's name, and that you secretly depart and go off to the Ḥijāz." The Mīrzā accepted the advice and agreed to everything, but added,[2] "Entreat his Majesty to suffer Bābūs to depart along with me, for he is an old servant, and I am desirous of atoning to him on this journey for what I have done to him." When the Mīr returned and reported the circumstances to his Majesty, he asked pardon for the Mīrzā's offences, and his Majesty, on account of his constitutional kindness, forgave him and ratified all that the Mīr had arranged.

On Friday, 12th Rajab, 955, 12th August, 1548, Maulānā 'Abdul Bāqī the Ṣadr recited the khuṭba in his Majesty Jahānbānī's name,

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[1] These words are followed by the clause, "and this amount of submission is sufficient in the outer world," and this is put as if it were part of the Mīr's reflections. But I believe it is a parenthesis of A.F.'s own.

[2] This and much else is taken from Bayāzīd. It is strange that Kāmrān should have thought it possible for him to atone to Bābūs, but perhaps Bābūs' return to him shewed that he had condoned the outrages. Kāmrān's begging that Bābūs might be allowed to go with him was a sign of grace, for it saved him from the probable fate of the other officers. Nizāmū-d-dīn says distinctly that he begged forgiveness for Bābūs. Bayāzīd says that Kāmrān begged off Bābūs saying he had killed his sons and that by taking him to Mecca he would obtain absolution (*baḥilī ḥasil karam*), and that Humāyūn agreed, saying that he did not want cuckolds (*dewūs*) in his camp. According to Firishta, Humāyūn was so elated by his victory that he broken out into poetry in the fataḥnāmā, or proclamation which he sent to Bairām Khān. Firishta gives the verses and also Bairām's quatrain in reply.

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280 and his Majesty went off from there to a garden[1] in the neighbourhood. The batteries were dismantled, and an order was given that Ḥājī Muḥammad should be present with a body of troops, that the Mīrzā was departing with a few men, as had been arranged, and that until his exit from the dominions they should guard the borders. 'Alī Dōst Khān Bārgbegī, 'Abdal Wahhāb, Sayid Muḥammad Pakna, Muḥammad Quli Shaikh Kamān, Laṭīfī Sahrindī and a number of others were appointed to guard the gate of the fort and to bring in the runaway officers and to let the Mīrzā pass with the sanctioned companions. The Mīrzā came out in accordance with the compact. On the way, one of M. Ibrāhīm's servants recognised as his own a horse which one[2] of M. Kāmrān's servants was riding, and told this to M. Ibrāhim, who sent people to bring away the horse. When this was brought to his Majesty's ears, he, in his courtesy, disapproved of the proceeding and censured M. Ibrāhīm, and he, out of shame and narrowness of disposition went off without leave to Kishm. Ḥājī Muḥammad, too, was blamed as the insult to the Mīrzā had been committed with his knowledge. A gracious firmān containing apologies, with a robe of honour and a horse were sent along with Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd the Mīr Bīyūtāt (to Kāmrān). When the night was somewhat advanced, Qarāca Khān was produced with a sword tied to his neck. When he came in front of the torches an order[3] was issued for removing the sword; his guilt was forgiven, and he was honoured by being allowed to do homage. And his Majesty said[4] in Tūrkī, "'Tis the fortune of war, such accidents as

[1] Apparently the garden of Mīr Tūlaq (Bayāzīd).

[2] Bayāzīd says it was a *dāh*, or maidservant who was on the horse. This would make the insult the greater. A.F. probably uses the word khidmatgār as at I. 44 line 7 to mean a female servant.

[3] Bayāzīd says that when Humāyūn caught sight of Qarāca he said, "He is a white-bearded man, and I called him father, take off the sword from his neck."

[4] *'Ālam-i-sipāhigarī ast.* Apparently Humāyun kindly intended to console Qarāca for his defeat by representing that he had only suffered from the mistakes or accidents inseparable from war, and drew a veil over the treachery of his behaviour. We find in Bayāzīd, Humāyūn using a similar expression in the moment of his defeat at Balkh in order to hearten his men. The words there are *Ḥazrat anwā' dildārīhā mīdād and ke 'ālam sipahgīrīst 'aiba nadarad.* "His Majesty was using various encouragements, saying it is the fortune of war, there is no disgrace."

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this must happen." He was ordered to stand on the left, below Tardī Beg Khān.

Next they brought Muṣāḥib Beg with a quiver and a sword at his neck. When he came near the torches an order was given for removing the weapons. Similarly they brought Sardār Beg the son of Qarāca Khān. His Majesty said "'Tis the elders' fault, what fault have the children committed?" In this manner the other officers were brought in one after the other and heard the news of pardon. Last, came Qurbān Qarāwal, a personal servant of his Majesty and with shame and downcast looks did obeisance. His Majesty said in Tūrkī, "What ailed *you*, and what made *you* go away." He replied in the same language, "What is the use of inquiring about the complexion of those who have been made black by the hand of God's power"?[1] Ḥasan Qulī Sulṭān Muhrdār, who was always allowed liberty of speech, recited this verse in the assembly.

Verse.[2]

When a lamp has been lighted by God
Who puffs at it burns his own beard.

All the officers felt uneasy at the appropriateness[3] (of the quotation) to Qarāca Khān who had a long beard. Next day his Majesty marched from there and encamped in a pleasant meadow on the bank of the Tālīqān[4] river. On Wednesday, 17th Rajab, M. Kāmrān came back, under divine guidance, and did homage. The 281
explanation of this remarkable occurrence is as follows. In Bādāmdarah[5] M. Kāmrān was expatiating to M. 'Abdullah in thanksgiving for the royal favours and was expressing his surprise at his Majesty's

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[1] Bayāzīd says that on hearing Qarbān's reply Humāyūn smiled and told his *dīwāns* that if Qarbān's jāgīr had been resumed, it should be restored to him.

[2] This verse as stated by Vambēry, Hist. of Bokhāra, 256, to have been quoted by the unfortunate Khwāja Abūl Makārim (*see* Bābar's Mem. 65), to Shaibānī in 1501 when questioned as to why he had shaved off his beard.

[3] Probably the better rendering is that given by Erskine in a note Hist. II. 357. "All the rebel lords, but especially Qarāca, felt much ashamed.

[4] Apparently the Bangī river, which is called by Niẓāmu-d-dīn the Tālīqān river.

[5] Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Lucknow ed. 215, says Kāmrān had gone two leagues (*parasangs*) when he turned back. Erskine's copy, *see* Hist. II. 358, had *ten* and not two leagues, and this is in all probability correct.

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passing over so many crimes and acts of disrespect. M. 'Abdullah asked him what he would have done if he had been in his Majesty's place. Kāmrān replied that he would not have forgiven or forgotten Then, said M. 'Abdullah, you have an opportunity of making atonement, how would it be if you availed yourself of it? The Mīrzā asked what he meant, and M. 'Abdullah[1] said, "We are this day in a place where the king's arm cannot reach us. The right thing is for us to go post haste with a few men and make our submission, return thanks to his Majesty and beg pardon for our offences, and render acceptable service." M. Kāmrān approved of the idea and set off with a few men; when he came nigh the camp he sent Bābūs to do obeisance and to report his coming. His Majesty Jahānbānī rejoiced at the coming of the Mīrzā and ordered that first Mun'im Khān, Tardī Beg Khān, Mīr Muḥammad Munshī, Ḥasan Qulī Sulṭān Muhrdār, Bāltū Beg, Tuwācī Begī, Tākhcī Beg and many others should go forth, and after them that Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān Shaibānī, Khiẓr Khwāja Sulṭān, Iskandar Sulṭān, 'Alī Qulī Khān, Bahādur Khān and many others should go, and thirdly, that M. Hindāl, M. 'Askarī, and M. Sulaimān should go to welcome him. And on the same day he ordered that the chains should be taken off M. 'Askarī's feet.

Next morning the princes and officers came and paid their respects in accordance with forms which his Majesty had prescribed, and his Majesty Jahānbānī took his seat on the throne and held a general audience. M. Kāmrān hastened forward to kiss the carpet and paid the obeisances of supplication and the prostrations of sincerity. His Majesty Jahānbānī graciously observed, "The ceremonials of reception (*dīdan-i-tōra*) have been observed, now come and let us embrace like brothers." Then he clasped the Mīrzā to his bosom, and wept so violently that all those present were touched to the heart. The Mīrzā after making profound obeisances sat on the left[2] in accordance with the royal indication. His Majesty said in

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[1] This is the 'Abdullah Khān Moghal of Blochmann, 396. He was Kāmrān's brother-in-law, and Akbar afterwards married his daughter.

[2] Jauhar says, "on the right hand," but all the A.N. MSS. have "left." Though Humāyūn was very generous and forgiving he was also a great stickler for propriety and it was probably to mark Kāmrān's previous misconduct that he was not put on the right hand like Sulaimān the son of his father's cousin. Erskine, however, Hist. II. 358 seems to imply that the left was among the Turks the place of honour.

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Turkī "Sit close by." The right side was pointed out to M. Sulaimān. In like manner the princes and officers sat on the right and left according to their degree. All the intimate courtiers, such as Ḥasan Qulī Muhrdār, Mīr Muḥammad Munshī, Ḥaidar Muḥammad, Maqṣūd Beg Akhta sat close together (*dar dingal*). A great festival was held. Qāsim Cangī, Kocak Ghicakī, Makhlaṣ Qabūzī, Ḥāfiẓ Sulṭān Muḥammad Rukhua, Khwāja Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain, Ḥāfiẓ Muhrī and others of this enchanting band took their seats near the festive circle[1] 282
(*qūr*) and discoursed delightful music. Among the younger men (*īkkahā*) there were Kākar 'Alī, Shāham Beg Jalāir, Tūlak Qōcīn and others standing behind the circle (*qūr*). Fruits and varied dishes were set out in royal fashion. In this assembly Ḥasan Qulī Muhrdār said to M. Kāmrān, "I have heard that it was stated before you that some one had said in Pīr Muḥammad Khān's presence that whoever did not cherish hatred as big as an orange against Martwẕa 'Alī was not entitled to be called a Musalmān, and that you remarked thereupon that it behoved a servant of God to have such hatred as big as a pumpkin." The Mīrzā became very angry and said, "Then it seems people take me for a heretic"[2] (*khārijī*). There was general conversation (?) and his Majesty Jahānbānī scattered pearls of speech. The meeting lasted till the end of day. In this joyful assembly M. 'Askarī was made over to M. Kāmrān, and allowed to go to his quarters. As the Mīrzā had come in a hurry, tents, &c., were erected

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[1] Bayāzīd says, behind the *qūr*. The word has several meanings, the most common being that of "flags and other ensigns;" Blochmann 50 note. But here the word seems to have the meaning given in P. de Courteille's Dict. "cercle de gens qui sont en fête."

[2] A.F. seems to have taken this story from Bayāzīd, and as usual, he rather spoils it. According to Bayāzīd the remark was first made in the Court of 'Ubaidu-l-lāh, and this is the way the story is told in Shāh Ṭahmāsp's Memoirs. See Dr. Teufel's paper on the Z.D.M.G. and Dr. Horn's translation, Strasburg, 1892, p. 37. See also the paper on Bayāzīd's Memoirs J.A.S.B., LXVI. Part I, No. 4 for 1898. Dr. Teufel quotes a somewhat similar mode of comparison from Herodotus. Kāmrān had married an Uzbeg wife, and was no doubt desirous when at Balkh of ingratiating himself with the Uzbegs, who were Sunnīs like himself. The story therefore is probably true. In reply to Kāmrān's angry denial Ḥasan excused himself by saying that he was only repeating what he had heard and by using the proverb that the quoting of infidel-expressions does not make one's self an infidel.

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for him near the royal residence. Next day a counsel was held with the princes and officers about an expedition against Balkh. Everyone spoke according to his opinions. His Majesty ordered that when the army arrived at Nārī whatever appeared proper should be carried into execution. Nārī is a village from which there is a road to Balkh and another to Kābūl.

On the fourth day they marched from this delightful station and at night encamped at the spring of Bandgasha which is near Ishkamish where a joyful assembly was held. To that memorable place his Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs Makānī had come in former times, and Khān Mīrzā and Jahangīr Mīrzā had presented themselves there and placed the head of obedience on the line of command. And his Majesty Firdūs Makānī had in commemoration of his having halted there, and of the coming of his brothers and of their making their submission recorded the date on a rock. His Majesty Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī who had come to this delightful spot in accordance with H.H. Gītī-sitānī's precedent also recorded the date of his coming, and of the homage of M. Kāmrān, and the assembling together of the brothers. And these two dates of two mighty kings on one stone-tablet are like the writing of the portico of time on the page of night and day, being two closely intertwined memorials.[1] From thence his Majesty proceeded to the village of Nārī[2] and proceeded

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[1] The meaning seems to be that the two inscriptions followed one another like day the night. But I think that A.F. has misread his authority (Bayāzīd) and is in error in thinking that Bābar and Hūmayūn's inscriptions were at one and the same place. Bayāzīd says Bābar engraved his on his return from Samarqand. The inscription then is probably that mentioned in Bābar's Memoirs p. 101, but that was put up at a place north of the Oxus, *viz.*, at Ābburdan in the Masīḥa or Masīkha hill country and near Ūratīpa and Farghāna. Ishkamish or Ishkāmish lies S. of the Oxus and S.E. Qandūz. If Bābar was ever there and put up an inscription, it is an event not mentioned in his Memoirs. There is also an Ishkashm in East Badakhshān near the ruby mines. According to Gulbadan Begam the meeting of the brothers was at Kishm, but this is east of Tālīqān and out of Humāyān's way. *Bandgashā* or more properly Bandkasha means a bolt or bar and probably was a name given to the place on account of the reunions that took place there. Bayāzīd tells us that Humāyūn carved the letters with his own hand.

[2] Though Kāmrān was pardoned at Tālīqān, his retirement to Mecca

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to distribute the territory of Badakhshān. Khatlān,[1] which is commonly known as Kūlāb, was given to M. Kāmrān as far as the (river) Mūk[2] and Qarātigīn. Cākār Khān was M. Kāmrān's prime minister and was sent along with him. 'Askarī M. was also sent 283
along with the Mīrzā, and Qarātigīn was given to him as his fief. Though M. Kāmrān was not satisfied with his fief yet in consideration of his having been granted his life he did not make any objection.[3] Qila' Ẕaffar, Tālīqān and several other *parganas* were assigned to Mīrzās Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm. Qandūz, Ghūrī, Kahmard, Baqlān, Ishkamish and Nārī were conferred on M. Hindāl, and Sher 'Alī was sent along with him. It was arranged that the expedition against Balkh should take place next year. After the princes had thus been

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was apparently still contemplated. So probably he took no part in the discussion at Tālīqān or its vicinity about the expedition to Balkh. As he had been helped by Pīr Muḥammad the Khān of Balkh, (Erskine, Hist. II. 368, thinks this was one reason for the expedition), and had an Uzbeg wife it is hardly natural that he should have been consulted. Jauhar is probably wrong in saying that Humāyūn contemplated giving Balkh in exchange for or in addition to Kūlāb. It was not till after the army got to Nārī (or Nārīn) that the change was made by which Kāmrān gave up his pilgrimage and accepted Khatlān or Kūlāb. At Nārī Kāmrān set off on his expedition to Mecca and had gone half a *kos* when Ḥasan Qulī overtook him, and in accordance with Humāyūn's instructions induced him to return and to accept Kūlāb. Thus then Kāmrān turned twice back, once at Tālīqān and again at Nārīn.

1 For descriptions of Khatlān and Qarātigīn see the Introduction to Erskine's translation of Bābar's Memoirs. See also Yule's Essay, prefixed to Wood's Journey, p. lxx. They are both remote places, and mountainous tracts, N. of the Oxus, and no doubt this is why they were given to Kāmrān and 'Askarī. Cākar Khān was the son of Sulṭan Wais Qipcāq (Bayāzīd 36*a* and A.N. I. 278).

2 The Mūk or Mūksū is a river, Reclus VI. 332. It flows northwards, and falls into the Surkhāb river (which again is a tributary of the Oxus) in the east of Qarātigīn. See also Yule's Essay, prefixed to Wood's Journey, p. lxx. text and note.

3 According to Jauhar, Kāmrān even after he went to Kabūl expressed a desire to be relieved of his government, and to be allowed to go on pilgrimage. Humāyūn invited him to Kabūl, but he would not go and quoted a couplet of Khāqānī to the effect that after thirty years he had discovered that sovereignty was beggary (*darweshat*) and beggary sovereignty. But, says Jauhar, he was not sincere in the bottom of his heart.

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made recipients of royal favours his Majesty decided upon going to Kābul. In a final meeting, agreement and engagements, which are the passwords of those who arrange temporal affairs, were interchanged and everyone having been committed to God, the Disposer of men whether great or small, was permitted to depart, but of brotherly affection he called for a cup of sherbat and after taking a little of it he tendered it to M. Kāmrān, and an order was given that each prince should in his turn partake of the royal draught (*ālūsh*, see Vullers *s.v.*), and pledge themselves to unity and concord. In accordance with the lofty command they together with the bond of brotherhood tied the knot of sincerity and friendship. Each prince received a standard and a kettle drum, and thereby was proclaimed to have obtained the dignity of a confidential relationship. Mīrzās Kāmrān, Sulaimān and Hindāl were honoured with *tamantoghs*[1] and went off from here to their fiefs. The royal cortege marched to Khūst and halted in that delightful spot. His Majesty then went on by Parīān towards Kābul. Parīān is a fort of which his Majesty Ṣaḥibqarānī laid the foundations after he had chastised the Hindus of Katūr.[2] His Majesty repaired it and gave it the name of Islāmābād. When the victorious standards arrived there Pahlwān Dost Mīr Barr was ordered to repair the broken down fort, and the task of supervision was assigned to various officers. His Majesty remained there ten days and by Pahlwān's exertions the fort received shape in the course of a week, and was furnished with gates, battlements and embrasures.[3] His Majesty left Beg Mīrak in charge of it.

When the world-adorning mind was relieved from the business of the fort he turned his attention to the silver mines, but it appeared that the receipts did not equal the working-expenses. From there he proceeded and encamped on the bank of the Panjshīr river near the pass of Ushtar Karām.[4] He reached the environs of Kābul in the beginning of winter when the ground had become white with snow and waited there for some days in expectation of a suitable time and

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[1] Blochmann 50. The *tamaatōgh* was composed of the tails of the yāk and was a flag of the highest dignity.

[2] See Tār. Rash. 103 note.

[3] *Sangandāz*, properly places where stones, &c., were thrown down on the enemy.

[4] Major Raverty has kindly informed me that this should be Grām, village, the name meaning the camel's village.

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propitious hour. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh in whose coming there were thousands of prosperities and good omens came out to welcome him. The Atgah Khān and a number of the courtiers tendered 248 their service. His Majesty exulted and expanded at the auspicious sight of that eye-pupil of the *Khilāfat* and new moon of glory, from whose temples there shone the auspiciousness of the two worlds, and prostrated his forehead in thanksgiving to Almighty God. On Friday, 2nd Ramẓān, which was the auspicious time, he, attended by victory and conquest, cast the shadow of his advent over the city, and prostrated himself on the floor of prayer. Blessings and congratulations arose from the people, and at this time Samandar[1] came from Kashmīr with petitions and presents from M. Ḥaidar. In the letter were eloquent praises of the climate, of the spring and the autumn, of the flowers and fruits of Kashmīr, and pressing entreaties that he would visit that lovely region. There were also fitting expressions about the conquest of Hindustan, and incitements were held to the world-conquering genius. His Majesty out of the abundance of his goodness sent a diploma of victory full of favourable expressions to the Mīrzā. And he mentioned therein his secret designs upon India. He was constantly engaged in plans for strengthening the Khilāfat and for improving the affairs of the State, and applied his intellect to this object in accordance with the methods which the times called for. Among them was his dismissing to the Ḥijāz Qarāca Khān and Muṣaḥib Beg who were ringleaders in hypocrisy, and deserving of all kinds of punishment. His idea was that perchance in times of exile, which is a file of the immoderate in spirit, they might think of the time of fortune, and recognising its blessings to some measure might refrain from following evil. They went off and stayed in the Hazāra country, and at length the clemency of his Majesty Jahānbānī accepted the inaudible[2] excuses of those ingrates.

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1 Apparently Samandar was Humāyūn's servant and presumedly had been sent by him to Kashmīr. See former mentions of him in A.N. 173 and 179, where also he is spoken of as an ambassador. There is nothing about him in the Tār. Rash. Perhaps he was sent at the time when Maqdūm Beg was exiled to Kashmīr in 952. A.F. has already mentioned that Ḥaidar read the khuṭba in Humāyūn's name when Kābul was conquered. Qu. was this in 952 or 954?

2 *Namasamū'* unheard, meaning I suppose, that they were too far off to be heard, perhaps=unspoken.

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At the same time he sent Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd on an embassy to Persia along with gifts and rarities in order that the foundations of affection might be renewed, and love be confirmed.

Among the occurrences of this year was the martyrdom of M. Ulugh Beg, the son of Muḥammad Sulṭān. The brief account of this affair is that the Mīrzā was proceeding from Zamīn Dāwar, which was his fief, towards Badakhshān in order to pay his respects to his Majesty Jahānbānī, Khwāja M'uazzam also accompanied him from a desire to kiss the threshold, and to atone for his offences. When they came near Ghaznīn the news of the grand army's victory arrived
285 and Khwāja M'uazzam prevailed upon the Mīrzā to go against the Hazāras so that they might attack and harry a tribe who were always practising plunder and robbery. From the inconsiderateness which is the natural stock of youthful arrogance and is the madness of pride they did not observe proper strategy and showed rashness in fight. The Mīrzā drank the last draught from the goblet of the scimetar, and his Majesty exalted Tardī Muḥammad Khān by assigning Zamīn Dāwar to him as his fief and sent him off in order that he might bring that country into order. In the same year the ambassadors of 'Abdu-r-rashīd Khān, son of Sulṭān Sāīd Khān, the ruler of Kāshghar arrived bringing valuable presents. They were welcomed with favours and allowed to return quickly. At the same time 'Abbās Sulṭān, one of the Uzbeg princes, gained auspiciousness by kissing the threshold, and was received with favour. His rank was exalted by his marriage with the chaste Gulcihara Begam, a younger[1] sister of his Majesty.

Among the occurrences of this year was the martyrdon of M. Shāh, brother of M. Ulugh Beg. He was coming from Ushtar Karām, which was in his fief, with the intention of paying his respects, but when he reached the pass of Minār, Shāh Muḥammad, brother of Ḥājī Muḥammad, in revenge for M. Muḥammad Sulṭān's having killed Kōkī, the paternal uncle of Ḥājī Muḥammad in India, lay in ambush and shot him with an arrow at the top of the pass, and raised the Mīrzā on that summit to the glorious degree of a martyr.

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[1] She was Humāyūn's half-sister, being an elder sister of Gulbadan Begam. This was her second marriage. 'Abbās soon ran away, see next chapter. The lady was no longer young, being probably over thirty.

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CHAPTER XLVI.

MARCH OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHYĀNĪ FROM KĀBUL TO BALKH, AND HIS RETURN OWING TO THE DISCORDANCE OF M. KĀMRĀN AND THE HYPOCRISY OF THE OFFICERS.

Though the conquest of India and the removal of weeds from that garden held a foremost place in his Majesty's mind, and though he was also anxious to visit Kashmīr, he postponed these enterprises and undertook[1] the expedition to Balkh, which had been previously determined on, and for which preparations had been made.

In the beginning of 956[2] (February, 1549), when the season had become milder, he sent Bāltū Beg, one of his confidants, to M. Kāmrān with the information that he was proceeding against Balkh in accordance with agreements, and that M. Kāmrān should co-operate in this and meet him when he should arrive at the borders of Badakhshān. Orders were also sent to Mīrzās Hindāl, 'Askarī, Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm to make arrangements for carriage and to prepare their men and join quickly.

The grand expedition started, but because of arrangements and 286
the disposal of business and the coming of Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān from Ghaznīn, there was a delay of nearly a month in Cālāk.[3] From this stage Khw. Dōst Khawānd was sent to Kūlāb to bring in M. Kāmrān.

Khw. Qāsim Buyūtāt, a former vizier, Khw. M. Beg, who was *dīwān-i-ḥāl*,[4] but owing to whose want of guiding-power (*bī rashidī*)

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1 According to Firishta, Bairām Khān had an old quarrel with the Uzbaks and so urged on the expedition against Balkh.

2 956 H. began on January 30th. Bayāzīd says that Humāyūn started in the beginning of spring; perhaps A.F. was reckoning by the Persian year.

3 It is only about two miles north-west of Kābul. (Bābar, 138).

4 I have not found this title, if title it be. Perhaps it implies that M. Beg was the existing vizier or

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Khw. Ghāzī had seized the charge of affairs—and Khw. Maqṣūd 'Alī who was M. Kāmrān's *factotum*, made with others an inquiry, through the instrumentality of Mīr Barka, into the affairs of Khw. Ghāzī and Rūh. Allāh. Mun'im Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Farīdūn Khān and Maulānā 'Abdu-l-bāqī, the *ṣadr*, were appointed to audit the accounts. Husain Qulī Sulṭān[1] who was one of his Majesty's intimates, was the superintendent in this affair. The result of the inquiry was that Khw. Ghāzī and Rūḥ Allāh and a number of other condemned[2] clerks were held to ransom. Muḥammad Qulī Sulṭān was appointed to take an account of Khw. Ghāzī's property, and Khw. Sulṭān 'Alī, who, by the favour of his Majesty,[3] had received the title of *Afẓal* (most excellent) Khān, was raised from the position of *mushrif-i-buyūtāt* to that of *dīwān-i-buyūtāt*.

At this time, M. Ibrāhīm came post and did homage and was welcomed with favours.

When his Majesty's mind had been set at rest about the necessary arrangements for the expedition, he marched to Istālif. Here 'Abbās Sulṭān[4] Uzbak absconded. His Majesty marched slowly, as he waited to be joined by the Mīrzās. When he heard that they had started, and that M. Kāmrān was getting ready, he went by Panjshīr and encamped at Andarāb. In imitation of his Majesty Ṣāḥib-qirānī, he halted for three days at a stage[5] where that fortunate prince had laid foundations. Thence he went to Nārī, where there is a meeting of the ways. Having crossed the Nārī Pass, he traversed the plain of Nīlbar,[6] the spring beauty of which is famous and pre-eminent above that of other parts of Badakhshān. Near this flowery spot, Mīrzās Hindāl and Sulaimān did homage and were encompassed with favours. Here at M. Sulaimān's request, M. Ibrāhīm was permitted

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dīwān and did not perform the duties. M. Beg was a nephew of Khw. Jahān Amīnā of Herāt and a poet who wrote under the name of Shahrī. (Blochmann, 424).

[1] Sister's son of Bairām and known by the title of Khānjahān. Blochmann, 329).

[2] *Mataghallibrā gīrāndand.* Cf. text, 241 for use of this verb. Apparently the same Muḥammad Qulī or 'Alī was employed in both cases.

[3] Blochmann, 376. *Niẓāmu-d-dīn* says Akbar bestowed the title.

[4] He had recently married a sister of Humāyūn.

[5] Probably Parīān.

[6] Apparently contracted from *nīlūfar*, the lotus or water-lily.

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to go to Badakhshān[1] that he might protect the country and look after the local army.

From the neighbourhood of Baqlān,[2] Mīrzās Hindāl and Sulaimān and Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān and a number of experienced and energetic men were sent on in advance, that they might set free from the Uzbeks the town of Aibak, a dependency of Balkh which is famed for its cultivation, the abundance of its fruits, and the excellence of its climate.

At this time, Sher Muḥammad Pakna—one of the personal 287
attendants (*yasāwalān*) killed a leopard with an arrow and presented it. Ḥusain Qulī *muhrdār*, represented that the Turks regarded it as unlucky to kill a leopard when on an expedition, and said that, at the time when Bairām Ughlān[3] made him prisoner and brought him before Kistan Qarā,[4] the ruler of Balkh, and they were making preparations in Jajaktu[5] and Maimana for marching to Herāt, someone killed a leopard and for this reason the expedition was stayed. His Majesty paid no heed[6] to this story, and held firmly to his resolution of going to Balkh.

Next day the advance force arrived at Aibak. Pīr Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh, had sent his guardian, Khw. Bāgh[7] and a

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[1] Apparently here used to denote Kishm, the capital. They were already in Badakhshān.

[2] It is west of Nārīn and south of Qundūz.

[3] Called by Blochmann (464) the "well-known Bairām Oghlān." It appears from Bāyazīd that he was maternal uncle of Muḥammad Hakīm.

[4] An elder brother of Pīr Muḥammad and his predecessor in Balkh. He was a son of Jānī Beg (Vambéry's Bokhara, 282*n.*) and seems to have died in 955 H. See Shāhid Ṣādiq 235*b*.

[5] The text omits the conjunction between these names but a variant gives it and it occurs in Bāyazīd, and the *Ḥadīqatu-l-aqālīm* gives the names as those of two towns. Vambéry (l.c. Introd. XXIX *n.*) speaks of Tchichektu and Almar (modern Maimana). Maimana lies about halfway between Balkh and Herāt. The Jajaktu of the text seems properly to be Chichaktu and is so spelt in the map appended to Captain Yate's "England and Russia face to face. (1887)." It lies west-south-west of Maimana.

[6] Bāyazīd says that Humāyūn remarked that the Uzbeks were his enemies and that what was a bad sign for them was a good one for himself.

[7] Text, Māq; but Bāyazīd, whom probably A.F. is copying, has Bāgh Māq may however be right for it

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number of experienced men such as Īl M., Ḥusain Sa'īd Bai,[1] Muḥammad Qulī M. and Jūjak M. to guard Aibak and provide for its defence. They reached it at about the same time as the imperial army and had no resource but to enter the fort of Aibak and secure themselves there. His Majesty arrived and set himself to take the fort and distributed the batteries. In two or three days the garrison asked for quarter and came out and did homage and Aibak fell into the hands of the imperial servants.

His Majesty held a royal festival and consulted with the *atālīq* about the conquest of Transoxiana. The *atālīq* represented that he was not a fit person to consult about such matters, but his Majesty replied that he bore marks of honesty, and that he should, without hesitation, say what he thought. Then the *atālīq* said that as the serviceable men of Pīr Muḥammad Khān had fallen into his Majesty's hands, he should put them all to death and go on in the career of victory, for Transoxiana would fall into his hands without a battle. His Majesty replied that it is ignoble to break one's word and that this is especially so in the case of princes; that he had granted quarter and could not recede from this. The *atālīq* replied that if his Majesty did not approve of this plan, he might keep him prisoner and make a treaty to the effect that all the country on this side of Khulm should be his own and that an auxiliary force should be supplied (*i.e.*, by Pīr Muḥammad) whenever the expedition against India should take place. As the eternal will and stablished decree had gone forth against these two propositions, what was written by the pen of fate appeared to the Lord of Purpose to be preferable.[2]
288 His Majesty stayed there several days. Though the climate of Aibak and its abundance of fruit were a motive for staying, yet the chief reason was the non-arrival of M. Kāmrān. The wise and far-seeing used to insist that if this delay had not taken place, Pīr Muḥammad

means praise in Turkī and might be part of a proper name while Bāgh does not seem part of a man's name. It seems not impossible that Māq is an abbreviation of Īmāq.

[1] See Wood's Journey, 224, where he says that Bai has the same significance as Khān amongst the Afghāns.

[2] A good instance of A.F.'s turgid style. Instead of simply stating that Humāyūn rejected the apparently sound proposition of the *atālīq*, he says that as another course had been decreed by fate, Humāyūn also preferred it.

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Khān would not have been able to resist, and would either have been put to the rout or obliged to make peace on such terms as his Majesty chose. For 'Abdu-l-'azīz Khān[1] and the other Uzbek Khāns would not have been able to come to help. Since there was long delay, they had time to come to the assistance of the enemy. The Uzbek officers who had been taken prisoners, were sent to Kābul with Khw. Qāsim *makhlas*, one of the trusted of the Court, but his Majesty took the *atālīq* with him and marched by way of Khulm. Two or three days later, they passed Khulm and halted at Bābā Shāhū. Next day they encamped near the shrine[2] which is a well-known landmark, and scouts brought information that a large body of Uzbeks had arrived under the leadership of Waqqāṣ Sulṭān and Shāh Muḥammad Sulṭān Ḥiṣārī.[3]

His Majesty drew up his troops and set his foot in the stirrup of victory. A slight engagement took place between the advance guards and, at the time of encamping, Shāh Muḥammad Sulṭān Ḥiṣārī attacked the camp with a large force. Brave men like Kābulī Khān,[4] brother of Muḥammad Qāsim *maujī*, Sher Muḥammad Pakna and Muḥammad Khān Turkmān distinguished themselves. Kābulī fell and the enemy being unable to resist took to flight. Ūkīn Ughlān, a man of distinction among the Uzbeks, was made prisoner and brought to the presence. A dispute arose between Muḥammad Khān Turkmān and Saiyid Muḥammad Pakna, each claiming the honour of this feat. His Majesty asked Ūkīn who had brought him down. He pointed to Muḥammad Khān and said, "He first aimed a blow at me and the wind of it unhorsed me. When I recovered myself and stood up, this other man," pointing to Saiyid Muḥammad

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1 As stated in text, he was a son of Ubaidu-l-lāh, the brother-in-law of Ḥaidar M. He began to reign in Bukhāra in 1540.

2 The Mazār-i-sharīf of the maps. It is the shrine of Shāh Auliya, *i.e.*, 'Alī, Muḥammad's son-in-law, his tomb having been discovered there, it is said, during the reign of Sulṭān Ḥusain Baiqrā. There is an account of its discovery in the *Ḥadīqatu-l-aqālīm s. v.* Balkh. *Cf.* too Wood's Journey, 135.

3 Perhaps another son of Jānī Beg and brother of Pīr Muḥammad. Bāyazīd calls him a son of Barandūq Sulṭān. The *Tār. Rash.* (161 and 452) also mentions a Shāh M. Sulṭān who was a grandson of Sulṭān Maḥmud Khān.

4 Bāyazīd tells us he was killed and his head cut off and taken to Balkh

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Pakna, "struck me on the face with his sword." His Majesty blamed Saiyid Muḥammad saying, "He was thrown down by Muḥammad Khān; you were ungenerous to strike another's catch (*said*)." He gave the prize of valour to Muḥammad Khān and made over Ūkīn to Pīr Muḥammad *akhta* to be cared for.

In spite of the signs of victory, hypocritical, disloyal officers continued to show faint-heartedness and were continually uttering false reports about M. Kāmrān and spreading them among themselves. Though everything disgraceful which they ascribed to the Mīrzā had the appearance of truth, for he was capable of it and of more, yet in this instance, they fastened false charges on him.

289 In fine the Uzbeks gave battle next day in great force and tried to gain the victory, 'Abdu-l-'azīz Khān, son of Ubaid Khān, being in the centre, Pīr Muḥammad Khān on the right and Sulṭān-i-ḥiṣār on the left. His Majesty also drew up his army, he himself occupying the centre, M. Sulaimān the right wing and M. Hindāl the left, while Qarāca Khān, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān, Tardī Beg Khān, Mun'im Khān and Sulṭān Ḥusain Beg Jalāīr with his brothers were in the van. After mid-day the armies encountered one another and a great battle raged till evening. Brave men trod the field of courage and drove off the enemy's front ranks across the canals and into the outer defences (*kūcaband*) of Balkh. His Majesty in the strength of his mental vigour and wisdom, wished to pursue and to take his standards across the canals. His hypocritical followers while pretending to agree, gave wrong advice, and ignorant friends supported their opinion out of ignorance, and thereby made the opinion of enemies to prevail. They did not permit the crossing of the canals and uttered timorous speeches, sometimes alleging the paucity of their men and the number of the enemy; sometimes speaking of M. Kāmrān's going to Kābul and of their fears lest the soldiers' families should be made prisoners, and sometimes urging that they ought to wait for M. Kāmrān. Pressing these and other matters, they recommended a retreat. At length, after a thousand struggles with his spirit, it was agreed to proceed to Daragaz which is a strong position, and to stay there some days and collect the Aimaqs and other soldiers and so to get together the materials of victory. During that delay accurate news of M. Kāmrān would arrive. In the event of his having marched against Kābul, it was not proper for

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them to torment themselves (*kāftan*)[1] in these parts. At a future time, they could with whole heart, conquer Balkh, nay, Transoxiana and, by the help of God, they had been constantly successful up to this day and would continue so. For every reason it was right to withdraw and proceed to Dara-gaz. His Majesty seeing the general feeling, was helpless and ordered a march in that direction.

Thus the already captured Balkh was let go on account of the discord of the disloyal. Shaikh Bahlūl was sent to turn back the van which had crossed the stream and driven back the Uzbeks and entered the fortifications (*shahrband*). M. Sulaimān and a number of other valiant men were appointed to be the rear-guard.

As the whole aim of the disaffected and black-hearted was to 290
confound the army, this compulsory retreat to Dara-gaz, which happened also to be on the route to Kābul, was represented as a return thither, and the march of M. Kāmrān was on every-one's tongue. Men lost heart and separated in different directions. Though his Majesty Jahānbānī sent Ḥusain Qulī Sl. *muhrdār* who was one of his confidants, and a number of others also, to turn back the disheartened crowd, it was of no avail, as proposition and disposition did not coincide (*taqdīr mūāfiq-i-tadbīr nabūd*). And in fact the decree of the Omnipotent was to this effect in order that the vast country of India might be sheltered from the mischief of tyrants and the inflictions of oppressors and become the descension-point of the blessings of a holy personality, and the abiding-throne and theatre (*takhtgāh-i-abd dastgāh*) of his Majesty, the *Shāhanshāh*, the Shadow of God; and that many thousands of good seeds might be shed over the wide fields of earth and the hope-plots of the sincere. To sum up; God, the World-adorner, revealed such a victory as this under the guise of conditions which might prove a lesson and a warning to the wise, and thereby brought to pass the things of counsel and wisdom. For had this disaster not occurred, the work of the helpless ones of India would have been hindered by the undertaking of the conquest of Transoxiana; and the setting-in order of those lands which are a haven for the pilgrims of the seven climes, had sunk under the veil of delay.

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1 *Kāftan* means to split or cleave and the sense seems to be that now their minds were divided; afterwards they could in comfort *bā khaṭir-i-jama'*, lit. with united heart, conquer Balkh, etc.

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In brief, when the enemy became aware of the unpleasing occurrence (*i.e.*, the retreat), they put their own confused affairs in order and came in pursuit. His Majesty Jahānbānī displayed splendid courage and performed achievements whose eulogy might be the frontispiece to the model-battles of the world. In that jungle of tigers of war, his world-traversing dun-coloured[1] steed which bore the name of *tasarru-n-naẓirīn*[2] and had been presented to him by Muḥammad Khān,[3] the governor of Herāt and which he was riding, fell from being wounded by an arrow. Ḥaidar Muḥammad *akhta* presented that leader of faith and dominion with his own horse and was exalted by this piece of service. As the Divine protection was hovering over that Lord of Sovereignty's throne, he was brought into a place of safety. Most of his followers, when they beheld symptoms of defeat, dispersed in all directions in a cowardly and ignominious manner.

The names of the chief officers of the army are as follows: Mīrās Hindāl and Sulaimān, Qarāca Khān, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān, Tardī Beg Khān, Mun'im Khān, Khiẓr Khw. Sl.,[4] Muḥammad Qulī Khān Jalāīr, Iskandar Khān, Qāsim Ḥusain Khān, Ḥaidar Muḥammad *ākhta-begī*, 'Abdu-l-lāh Khān Uzbek, Ḥusain Qulī Khān *muhrdār*, Muḥibb 'Alī Khān

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[1] *Zarrīn fām*, golden-coloured. Bāyazīd calls the horse, *asp-i-qula*, dun-coloured.

[2] *Tasarru-n-nāẓirīn*. It delights beholders. This is an Arabic expression and is used in the Korān to describe the kind of cow which Moses told the Israelites to sacrifice. The reading of the text is probably correct, but it differs from the word in Bāyazīd, in the copy in the India Office though it would seem that it is from Bāyazīd that A.F. has taken the story. There the word looks like nazzar, but Erskine in his MS. translation has nashtar so perhaps he took the word to be nastar, or nasrīn, *i.e.*, the narcissus. This might be an allusion to the yellow colour of the horse.

Bāyazīd who was evidently fond of horses and proud of his powers of managing them, as a later story of his shows, is careful to tell us that Humāyūn's horse afterwards died of its wound. He adds that the horse given by Ḥaidar to Humāyūn was *ṭāraqī*, bow-legged, or weak-kneed.

[3] Most MSS. seem to have Sharafu-d-dīn after Muḥammad Khān.

[4] Gulbadan Begam's affection induces her to represent her husband as behaving in heroic fashion during the retreat, by turning back to search for Hindāl. But Bāyazīd names him as one of those who refused to stand when called upon to do so by Ḥusain Qulī and he says it was Shāh Qulī Nāranjī who went back to look for Hindāl. A.F. seems to include in his list both the leaders who behaved well and those who ran away.

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(son of) Mīr Khalīfa, Sl. Ḥusain Khān, Bāltū Sl., Muṣāḥib Beg, Shāh Bidāgh Khān, Shāham Khān Beg Jalāīr, Shāh Qulī Nārānjī, Muḥammad Qāsim *maujī*, Laṭafu-l-lāh of Sihrind, 'Abdu-l-wahhāb Aujī,[1] Baqī Muḥammad *parwāncī*, and Khaldīn.[2] 291

Three days later, his Majesty halted at the top of the pass[3] of the Four Springs and here Muḥammad. Qulī Shaikh Turkmān[4] who had hit on the right road, heard of the royal party and joined it.

From this place, his Majesty wrote an affectionate epistle to his Majesty the *Shāhinshāh*, and to the chaste ladies who were in Kābul, the abode of peace and sent it by Beg Muḥammad *ākhta-begī*. He also sent a friendly letter to Rashīd Khān, the ruler of Kashghār who had always shewn loyalty and devotion, informing him of his arrival and telling him how his evil-minded brother, M. Kāmrān, had by constraint of his natural character, elevated the hideousness of discord over the beauty of concord and so had completely depressed the side of love and loyalty. Many of his followers too had shewn a want of

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[1] Perhaps this epithet means that he was a native of Aujān in Āzarbaijān. (Jarrett III. 81 and Ouseley's Travels). But most MSS. have Audajī, *e.g.*, B.M. 27, 247 and 5610.

[2] Probably the Khaldīn Dōst Sahārī mentioned in text (316) in the list of Hindāl's servants.

[3] Text, *bar sar-i-yakh*, on the top of the ice, but reference to Bāyazīd and to various MSS. of the A.N. has convinced me that the proper reading is *bar sar-i-paj*, top of the pass or mountain. Bāyazīd has *bar sar-i-kutal* and *kutal* has the meanings of *paj*. It is true that he also has the expression in the same passage مارپیچ *mārpēc*, a convolution or winding road, and that possibly this may refer to the winding road taken by Humāyūn as distinguished from the *rāh-i-rāst*, straight road, taken by Kāmān. (According to Steingass, the phrase *rāh-rāst* means "a great distance.")

It seems to me that in several parts of this narrative, A.F. and Bāyazīd have copied from the same source.

Cahār Cashma is marked in the Government map of Afghānistān as S.W. of Haibak and near Dara-yusaf. Bāyazīd speaks of four wells,—two, apparently at the top of the pass, and two lower down. He describes then as near Aibak.

[4] Text, *kamāl*. Several MSS. have Kamān but Bāyazīd seems to have Turkmān, and evidently the man meant as the M. Qulī Turkmān Afshān of Blochmann 474. *See* Bāyazīd 47*b*, 48*a* and 75*a*. MSS. have *kamān*. The expression in text is not clear. Bāyazīd says the Shaikh was going along on the right or straight road. M. Qulī brought the welcome news that the Uzbeks had discontinued the pursuit.

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courage. Certainly the expedition had not redounded to the joy of well-wishers; on the contrary, it had been a cause of sorrow and distress. In the same letter, he expressed his thanks for his safety and he inserted excellent counsels such as might comfort a loving heart.

Leaving that place, he arrived after one night's interval, at Ghūrband and on the next night, at Khwāja Sīyārān. Thence he went to Qarā Bagh and thence to Ma'mūra.[1] His Majesty, the *Shāhanshāh*, came out to meet him here and was affectionately received. From this place he went in an auspicious hour to Kābul.

M. Sulaimān went off to Badakhshān and M. Hindāl to Qundūz, Mun'im Khān accompanying him. All the other officers followed his Majesty to Kābul. Shāh Bidāgh Khān who had given proofs of courage, remained a prisoner with the enemy, as did also Mīr Sharīf *bakhshī*, Khw. Nāṣiru-d-dīn 'Alī *mustaufī*, Mīr Muḥammad *munshī*, Mīr Jān Beg *dārogha-i-'imārat*, and Khw. Muḥammad Amīn Kang. All the other servants were safe.

When the *atālīq* and other Uzbeks who had been made prisoners at Aibak, were released and went to their own country, and gave account of the royal kindness and liberality, Pīr Muḥammad Khān was astonished, and sent his prisoners in a humane manner to Kābul.

His Majesty, recognizing that his return was really advantageous, set himself to arrange his kingdom and engaged in the conduct of
292 things spiritual and temporal. Khw. Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd had been sent on an embassy to the king of Persia, but from various causes had delayed in Qandahār and he was now recalled. Khw. 'Abdū-ṣ-ṣamad and Mīr Saiyid 'Alī who were celebrated for their skill in painting, came with the Khwāja and were graciously received. Khw. Sl. 'Alī, known as Afẓal Khān, was raised[2] from the position of *mashrif-i-khizāna* to that of vizier; while the whole charge of the *dīwānī* was made over to Khw. M. Beg.

The account of M. Kāmrān is as follows. When his Majesty, out of his kindness and affection, forgave his grave offences and gave him Kūlāb and appointed Cākar Beg of Kūlāb, the son of Sl. Wais

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[1] *Dih-i-ma'mūra*, near Kābul. (Jarrett II. 404).

[2] It is not clear whether this is the promotion recorded above (text 286) or a still higher one.

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Beg, as his co-adjutor and went to Kābul, no long time intervened before the Mīrzā behaved badly to Cākar Beg and drove him out: He placed the great favours which had been bestowed on him in the niche (ṭāq) of forgetfulness and giving way to evil thoughts, watched for his opportunity. During the time that His Majesty Jahānbānī was in Kābul, he was continually making false promises that he would come; and His Majesty, out of his candid nature and straightforwardness,—which are the characteristics of magnanimous natures,—believed his false words and went off to Balkh. The Mīrzā looked upon this opportunity as fair gain and again determined in his perfidious heart, that he would go to Kābul. The rebellious designs which were leavening his mind, came near the surface, and at his instigation, narrow-minded and disloyal officers practised various hypocrisies in that expedition, as has already been related. But as His Majesty returned and cast the shade of his justice on Kābul, M. Kāmrān left M. 'Askarī in Kūlāb and went off to fight M. Sulaimān. The latter hastened away without fighting from Tālīqān to Qil'a Ẓafar.

M. Kāmrān made over Ṭālīqān to Bābūs Beg and proceeded towards Qil'a Ẓafar. Mīrzās Sulaimān and Ibrāhim not thinking it expedient to fight left Isḥāq[1] Sultan in Qil'a Ẓafar and went off to the defiles of Badakhshān. They took post in the village of Jirm and awaited the Divine retribution. M. Kāmrān, having disposed of M. Sulaimān went off to Qundūz. He began by making false pretences to M. Hindāl and proposed a union with him. M. Hindāl did not hearken to him and stood by his obligations, whereupon M. Kāmrān laid siege to Qundūz. M. Hindāl neglected no point in defending the fort and when M. Kāmrān could not succeed, he joined the Uzbeks and asked their assistance. A large body of 293
Uzbeks came to help him and joined him in the siege. M. Hindāl in order to cause confusion and deceive the foe, which in fact is a guidance on the high road of success, devised an excellent plan, *viz.*, he wrote a letter as from M. Kamrān to himself, full of a renewal of peace between them and of deceiving the Uzbeks, and after the manner of experts, he gave this false document to a courier who was intentionally to throw himself into the hands of Uzbeks. When, on searching the courier, the letter was found, and when it appeared

[1] A brother-in-law of Kāmrān.

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from its contents that the two Mīrzās were going to act in concert and make the Uzbeks a target for the arrows of evil, the latter were confounded and withdrew from the siege and set off for their own country. The affair of the fort remained unaccomplished and just then, news came that Cākar Beg was besieging Kūlāb and that M. 'Askarī had been defeated and was shut up therein. Also that M. Sulaimān had joined with Ishāq Sl. and had got possession of Qil'a Ẕafar and had then imprisoned Ishāq Sl. M. Kāmrān was bewildered at this news and withdrawing in despair from Qundūz, he sent Yāsīn Daulat and Bābūs with a body of troops against M. Sulaimān and himself hastened to Kūlāb and made Cākar Beg retire. M. 'Askarī came out and did homage to M. Kāmrān who took him with himself, and went off to put down M. Sulaimān. They had halted near Rūstāq, when a large force of Uzbeks who had come on a plundering expedition (*yurtāwalī*)[1] under the leadership of Sa'īd Beg, passed by the encampment and made a raid on it. Mīrzās Kāmrān, 'Askarī and 'Abdu-l-lāh Mughal escaped with a few men to Tālīqān. When the Sa'īd afore-named knew the rights of the matter, he sent back the baggage[2] to the Mīrzā with all respect and apologized for the plundering. Mīrzās Hindāl and Sulaimān thinking the opportunity favourable, set out to put down M. Kāmrān who not deeming it advisable to remain in Badakhshān, went off to Khost in order that he might, by the route of Ẕuḥḥāq and Bāmīān withdraw into the Hazāra country. There he would learn the real state of Kābul and either proceed there or go elsewhere.[3] As the disloyal officers of His Majesty Jahānbānī were always urging the Mīrzā to come to Kābul, he fraudulently sent ambassadors to the Court and represented that his object in coming was to apologize for the past and to serve his

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[1] P. de C. gives in his Dictionary, يورتول as meaning "troupe qu'on envoie pour faire une razzie, coureurs.

[2] See *errata* to text. The word is really اغرلق *aghirliq*. It probably included Kāmrān's wives and daughters for Gulbadan says they were captured. Bāyazīd says it was Pīr Muḥammad Khān of Balkh who sent back the plunder. It would appear from Gulbadan, that he was the son of a brother of one of Kāmrān's wives.

[3] Bāyazīd says Kāmrān's idea was to go to Bhakkar and it is very likely —(having regard to his relations with the ruling family of Bhakkar), that *dīgar* of the text is a mistake for Bhakkar.

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Majesty. His hope was, he said, that His Majesty would with royal kindness, forgive his crimes and sins.

Verse.

I've come again to worship the dust of thy feet,
If submission be ordered, I'm ready to pay it.

"My hope is that on this occasion, I may by good service, obtain release from the heavy burden of shame." His Majesty from the purity of his own nature, regarded his gold-incrusted copper as genuine, and accepted it according to the standard for fine gold.

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CHAPTER XLVII.

294 MARCH OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHYĀNĪ FROM KĀBUL, AND FIGHT WITH M. KĀMRĀN; AND OTHER INSTRUCTIVE OCCURRENCES.

When the arrival of M. Kāmrān at the borders of Kābul was approaching, a number of the loyal and farseeing represented that there should be a limit to simplicity and optimistic views of persons. Seeing that the fraud, lying and disaffection of this ingrate had been tested many times, it was right and proper that caution should not be thrown away again, and that the army should be ordered to march out, and the banners of victory be unfurled for the suppression of the rebellious. If indeed the Mīrzā had repented of his evil deeds, and had entered on the path of concord, and were desirous of doing homage, he would receive distinction from the royal favour (in going out to welcome him), and if on this occasion also he was persistent in perversity, the rules of precaution would be observed on our side. On hearing these weighty words His Majesty determined to march towards Ghūrband, which was the Mīrzā's route, and he set out in that direction in the middle of 957 (June-July, 1550). He left His Majesty the Shāhanshāh as prince in Kābul and put Qāsim Khān Berlās at the head of affairs. Qarāca Khān, Muṣāḥib Beg and many others, white without and black within, who were always stirring up strife, were rejoiced and wrote seditious letters to M. Kāmrān, pressing him to come to Kābul and saying that they, and many others, would welcome him and would disperse the King's well-wishers by unfitting suggestions, and that Kābul would easily fall into his hands.

'Tis marvellous how actions which, with complete inconsistency, they regarded as improper when practised on themselves by equals and associates, *viz.*, promise-breaking, evil-devising, and lying, should all be performed by them against their Master and benefactor! Their blinded eyes opened not to the hideousness thereof, nay, they regarded its repulsiveness as a beauty, and counted it as part of their

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wisdom of strategy. Though they understood loyalty and right dealing and looked for them in their servants, yet they were so over- 295 come by their own baseness as to play the game of deceit and infidelity against such a pure-hearted Master! And what wrongheadedness also! I can imagine that they could not comprehend the glorious merits of this holy personality, but where was their common sense! That which they expected from their own servants they would not render to that aggregation of benevolences and to that bestower of so many favours, any one of which deserved a life's devotion, but on the contrary they acted in the very opposite way to one who was their Master and benefactor, and requited him with negligence and wrong advice. But alas! What marvel is it that he who has been kneaded of strife and malice, should show such behaviour? What joy have the born-blind in the glory of the sun? The sincerity's eye of this crew has been filmed over with hypocrisy and become void of light, and their breast of love has been narrowed by the tumour of pride! How can such recognise a Master's rights to gratitude, or perceive the beauties of a benefactor? What place then is there for thanksgiving for boundless favours? The wild steeds of the o'er mastering passions of such self-pleasers have not such docility[1] that their bridles can be tightened by the hand of chiding, or their reins turned by the outspread fingers of counsel!

At length His Majesty, in accordance with the decrees of fate, marched from Kābul and encamped at Qarā Bāgh. From thence he went to Cārīkārān and from there to the river Bārān. It happened that there was a stream on this stage and that His Majesty crossed it on horseback, whilst his followers went off in different directions seeking for a safe passage. His Majesty did not approve of this and instanced in reproof of this disaffected crew, the conduct of the devotees of Shāh Ism'āīl Ṣafavī, who flung themselves down from a sky-high mountain to seize his handkerchief and made for themselves a lofty foundation of fame and life-sacrifice. Such was His Majesty's sound opinion of his followers on this occasion, and such was their pusillanimous circumspection. In fine Qarāca Qarābakht and Muṣāḥib Munāfiq and others, who were burning torches of sedition, represented, directly and indirectly, that they had to do with mountains, and

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[1] *Khudrāī*, which is short for *Khud-dārī*. *See* Vullers I. 744*a*.

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that there were many defiles; that the Mīrzā would have few men with him, and that the loyal should be stationed on different roads, so that the Mīrzā should not be able to come out. The whole idea of these evil-minded ones was to disperse the army so that M. Kāmrān's purpose might be effected. His Majesty Jahānbānī, who in his noble
296 nature only believed good of men, thought the plan of these traitors a good one and sent Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān *Kōkī*, Mīr Barka, M. Ḥasan Khān, Bahādur Khān, Khw. Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, Calpī Beg, Muḥammad Khān Beg Turkmān, Shaikh Bahlūl, Ḥaidar Qāsim Kōhbar, and Shāh Qulī Nāranjī to Ẓuḥḥāq and Bāmīān, and appointed Mun'im Khān and a large body of troops to Sāl Aulang. Qarāca, and Muṣāḥib, Qāsim Ḥusain Sl. and a number who remained with His Majesty, drew up daily an account of His Majesty's position and sent it to M. Kāmrān, and were continually representing to His Majesty that this time the Mīrzā had no other idea but to serve him.

When there were few loyalists in attendance, and the convention of hypocrites was powerful, M. Kāmrān, who had been confounded by the royal pomp and the large army and had been unable either to quit the service (of the king) or to go forward and do homage, having become acquainted by the brokerage of the hypocrites with their treachery, turned off from the road by Ẓuḥḥāq and Bāmīān towards Dara Qibcāq [1] which is a dependency of Ghūrband. Yāsīn Daulat, Maqdum Kōka and Bābā Sa'īd led the advance, while he himself was in the centre. His men were arranged in two bodies. It was midday when His Majesty was apprised by a peasant [2] of that quarter of the coming of M. Kāmrān, and of his evil intentions. Qarāca who was the ringleader of the ill-disposed, represented that if one listened to the tales of a man like this and placed reliance on such false rumours, hearts would be divided, and the people (Kāmrān's followers) would become apprehensive. Should there be a desire to give battle on account of this news, and should warlike preparations be made, certainly when M. Kāmrān heard of them, he would desist from his

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[1] This pass is marked on the map appended to Yule's introduction to Wood's Journey. It is also called Cārdār and lies S.E. of the Dandān Shikan. See also Bābar's Mem., p. 139.

[2] Bāyazīd says a servant of the Mīr Munshī brought the news and made such an uproar that Humāyūn, according to Erskine, had him put to death, but perhaps the words only mean that he was beaten.

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desire of entering into service. Meanwhile the news of the Mīrza's coming and of his wicked intentions became stronger and more continuous. Wondrous to relate, the hypocrisy and inmost thought of those hypocrites had not yet been revealed on the mirror of His Majesty's mind. Nought entered his holy heart save good thoughts of people, till at length it become established that the enemy was coming and coming with a hostile intention. An order was given that all who were with him should mount their horses. He himself put the foot of courage in the stirrup of enterprise and in a short time there was a hot engagement. Pīr Muḥammad *ākhtā*, who was one of the devoted followers and Muḥammad Khān Jalāīr and many other brave men moved forward. Pīr Muḥammad *ākhtā*, who was athirst for the stream of life-sacrifice, brought his foot into the circle of conflicts and so watered the sword of battle in slaying the foe, that he himself was swept away by the foam. M. Qulī made his steed so rush about in the 297
field of contest that after slaughtering crowds of wretches he, in the press and confusion, fell wounded[1] from his horse. His son Dōst Muḥammad could not endure to see him in the power of the foe, and ran to his help. While his father yet lived, he killed his adversary, and had such combats that he too was swept away, and disappeared. His Majesty Jahānbānī got upon a rising ground and calculated the strength of friend and foe. By seeing the manner in which some of his servants were killed, and by seeing others go in crowds over to the enemy, the truth of the fraud and treachery of those scoundrels became apparent to him. His native valour and intrepidity were stirred up, and seizing a lance he himself rushed against the foe. They were scattered before him, but an arrow wounded his horse and Beg Bābāī of Kūlāb came from behind, and

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[1] From A.F.'s account it would appear that M. Qulī was killed, as well as his son. According to the Maaṣir I. 557 and Blochmann 385 M. Qulī did not die till 983 but the M. Qulī of the battle of Qibcāk is not the M. Qulī who was Ḥaidar Muḥammad's brother. The Tabaqat, Elliot V. 232 calls the son Aḥmad. Bāyazīd says, 51*b* that Pīr Muḥammad was killed by an arrow, that M. Qulī's horse was killed, and M. Qulī's leg broken. Then he adds, "Imam Qulī and his son belonged to the body-guard. The son ran to his father to put him on horseback, but he too suffered martyrdom." This looks as if Bāyazīd regarded M. Qulī and Imām Qulī as the same person. The M. Qulī who was killed has the title of Cūlī. *See* Erskine's history.

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knowingly[1] or unknowingly struck him a blow with his sword. His Majesty turned round and gave him an angry look which caused him[2] to stumble. Mihtar[3] Sakāī known as Farḥat Khān came and put that wretch to flight, and M. Nijāt tendered his piebald horse to His Majesty who took it and gave the Mīrzā his. Meanwhile 'Abdu-l-wahhāb, one of the *yasāwal* came and telling how the officers had joined with M. Kāmrān, seized His Majesty's rein. "What time was it," he said, for fighting. The bucket of success must at one time come up full from the waters of hope and at another, it must, by a revolution of the wheel, go down empty."

Hail! eternal fate! which rules the beggar and the king, and directs the cycle of fortune and misfortune, which holds the key of deliverance for those in bonds, and causeth the exalted to fall. Until men have passed through the dark night of the hours of affliction, they know not the glory of the world-warming sun, and until the thirsty lips have sought the desert mirage, they are not watered at the spring of desire. This event is a proof of this, for on that day there was the apparition of the eventual salvation of His Majesty. He proceeded to Ẕuḥḥāq and Bāmīān whither he had sent many of his loyal officers. 'Abdu-l-wahhāb, Farḥat Khan, Muḥammad Āmīn, Sabdal[4] Khān and others accompanied him. Muḥammad Āmīn and 'Abdu-l-wahhāb were ordered to form the rear guard. On account of weakness and of the distress from his
298 wound, he took off his cuirass and made it over to Sabdal Khān who, out of stupidity, flung it away. Next day many of his servants joined him. One day he sent Shāh Budāgh Khān, Tūlak Qūcīn, and Majnūn Qāqshāl—ten in all,—towards Kābul to serve as a rear guard and also to keep a look out, but Tūlak Qūcīn only returned. He was received with favour on that market day of testing and raised to the office of *Qūrbegī*. The confidential servants were summoned and a council was held. Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān whose fief

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[1] *i.e.*, either he recognised him or he did not.

[2] From the Iqbālnāma it would appear that the word *dast* should be separated from *tez*, and that the phrase is, dast az pa khaṭa*kard*, meaning that Beg Bāba grew confused, lit. did not know his hand from his foot.

[3] Blochmann 438. From Jauhar it would appear that he was an Abyssinian slave.

[4] Blochmann 441.

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was Ghaznīn, and on whose heart's fireplace dissimulation was pre-eminently concocted, recommended a march to Qandahār. This however was not approved of. A number of the right-thinking recommended marching to Badakhshān, and then proceeding to Kābul along with Mīrzās Sulaīmān, Hindāl and Ibrāhīm. A party of devoted heroes suggested that to-day M. Kāmrān was intoxicated with the mischievous wine of the hypocrites and narrow-souled ones and off his guard, while they had the good fortune to be at the feet of His Majesty. On what other day would they be successful?[1] The proper thing was that they should all with one heart march to Kābul. There was a confident hope that they would be able to dispose of M. Kāmrān without going to Badakhshān. As recent evidence had been obtained of the deceit and hypocrisy of very many of the nurslings of the Court, reliance was not put upon this opinion and the cautious course seemed to be to proceed to Badakhshān. Accordingly he ordered a march by the route of Yekka Aulang. At such a time as this Ḥājī Muḥammad obtained leave for his brother Shāh Muḥammad and his men and sent them to Ghaznīn! His Majesty with his own holy hand wrote a letter to His Majesty the Shāhinshāh announcing his safety and made it over to him (Shāh Muḥammad) in order that he might by every possible[2] means convey it to him. He also sent verbal messages of victory and promises of his coming. And he bade him (Shāh Muḥammad) go quickly to Ghaznīn and make every effort for keeping it safe till his return which, he trusted, would soon occur. Though the loyal represented that to separate hypocrites from himself at such a time was to put the reins of hypocritical actions into the hands of these unreliables and forward the schemes of the seditions, and though every one represented, either openly or by hints, that he (Ḥājī Muḥammad), was sending his brother to M. Kāmrān, and that he himself was seeking to be a household-spy and a deceiver of simple believers, His Majesty did not give heed and granted leave to Shāh Muḥammad. Next day

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[1] This is evidently the Alanjak of Stewart's Jauhar, 98. It was an Aimāq settlement and lies about thirty miles S.-W. of Bāmīān. (Bābar's Mem., 211*n.*).

[2] Shāh Muḥammad's route to Ghaznīn would probably take him near Kābul.

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he proceded towards Kahmard. Many faithless ones separated from his service, but all who observed the limits of loyalty and were careful of their good name, stayed with him and bound the girdle of service on the waist of fidelity.

299 After[1] travelling three days on this road, Tūlakjī and Sānqājī, the headmen of the Aimāqs who live there, brought horses and sheep to the utmost of their power and presented them. They rendered acceptable service. His Majesty encamped at night near one of their settlements. When he mounted his horse in the morning, news was brought that a large caravan had arrived under the charge of Mīr Saiyid 'Alī of Sabzawār. Merchants from Irāq and Khurāsān had many horses and other goods with them and were on their way to India. At the end of the day the chiefs of the caravan were admitted to the Presence. The providential arrival of this large party was the beginning of celestial victories. The prudent and farseeing merchants recognised a great auspiciousness for themselves in the favour of so great a prince, and in assisting him; and tendered all their horses and goods as a present. His Majesty perceived that this was an aid from heaven and took[2] a portion of the goods at four or five times their value, and divided them among his followers and intimates. He also set aside presents for each of the princes of Badakhshān. The remainder he returned to them that they might sell the articles wherever they chose. Next day he arrived at Kahmard. Ṭāhir Muḥammad, son of Mīr Khurd was there. He recognised the arrival as a great favour and paid his respects, but either from meanness or not having materials, he could not with regard to his entertainment, succeed in wiping the sweat of shame from the face of his service. From there after two days and a night (*shab darmīyān*) they arrived at the bank of the river Bangī. From the other side a man[3] called out "O men of the caravan," have you any news among you of the King? When His Majesty heard him,

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[1] From this point A.F. seems to follow Jauhar. Bāyazīd was not with Humāyūn in the retreat, he having fled towards Kābul. Perhaps the names Tūlakjī and Sānqājī are those of tribes and not of individuals. Sānqājī looks to be a variant of the tribal name Sālqāncī mentioned at Text, p. 276, 8 lines from foot.

[2] *dah cahal u dah panjāh.* Cf. Bābar's Mem., 138.

[3] See Jauhar, Stewart, 98.

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he forbade any one to give news, and asked the man who he was, and who had sent him, and what news there was among them about the King. The man answered that he was sent by Naẓarī of Sāl[1] Aulang to get news of the King, and that the report among them was that the King had come out of the battle wounded, and that after that no one had seen him. The Mīrzā's men had found the royal *jība* (cuirass or corselet) which the King had worn on that day and had brought it to the Mīrzā who had rejoiced thereat, and had instituted feasts. His Majesty summoned him to his presence and asked him if he knew him. He replied that the Divine effulgence does not remain hid. His Majesty said, "Go and convey the good tidings to Naẓarī, and tell him to make himself ready, so that at the time of my return he may perform acceptable service." Next day he crossed by a ford and reached the village of Aulīyā Khanjān.[2] Here M. 300
Hindāl joined him and was exalted by tendering presents. After that he encamped at Andarāb. Mīrzās Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm did homage and formed the part of loyalists.

As the narrative has proceeded so far, it is necessary that before His Majesty Jahānbānī shall have assembled his army and marched to the conquest of Kābul, the pen should take up the account of M. Kāmrān from the beginning of his treachery till his coming out from Kābul, which was the beginning of his punishment, so that the lips athirst for the wine of words, may be moistened from the watering place of this supplement.

When the stewards of destiny brought forth from a hidden quarter, for the confirmation of the royal, ever-during dominion, and for the confounding of the masters of hypocrisy, such a victory in the guise of defeat, and such joy in the garb of sorrow, and when His Majesty Jahānbānī proceeded by the arrangement of devoted loyalists, towards Ẓuḥḥāq and Bāmīān, M. Kāmrān was amazed at

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1 This, seems to be the Saulah-Aulang (between Panjhū and Ghūrband) of Jarrett II. 400*n*. Naẓarī is perhaps the Mīr Naẓarī of the Turkish admiral Sīdī 'Alī, Vambéry, 65 and 66.

2 The Khinjān of the maps, W.S.-W. of Andarāb. But the river when the conversation with Naẓarī's servant took place, can hardly have been the Bangī. The text has Ādī Khinjān. In the government-map of Afghānistān, the town is called Khinjān Walīān. They appear to be two places. *See* Bābar's Mem., 139, and Jarrett II. 400.

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the appearance of so wondrous an event, such as he had never imagined as likely to happen. The hypocrites joined him in crowds, and that foolish one was excited and delighted by the coming of those triflers and stretched out the arm of oppression upon the faithful who were firmly grasping the pinnacle of fidelity to the king. On the very field of battle Bābā Sa'īd brought Qarāca Qarabakht wounded before the Mīrzā. The latter was gracious and inquired about his evil-ending condition. He replied that Bābā Sa'īd had wounded him unawares and the Mīrzā proceeded to console that cheat by baseless favours. After that Bābā Dōst *yasāwal* and a number of others brought forward Ḥusain Qulī *muhrdār*, who was one of the devoted loyalists, that evildoer struck with his own sword this faithful servant and ordered him to be cut to pieces in his presence. Thus this fundholder[1] in loyalty's treasure-house sold in his benefactor's service a fleeting life and a contingent existence for the coin of fidelity, and thereby became for ever a sharer in the banquet of the true and the loyal. They also brought in Tākhjī Beg who was a Caghatāī officer and reckoned among the faithful. Him too they put to the sword without hesitation. After that Beg Bābāī of Kūlāb came forward and told the story of the wounding of His Majesty. The Mīrzā was jubilant and sent Yāsīn Daulat and Maqdum *Kōka* and a body of men in pursuit. Qāsim Ḥusain Sl. had on this day shown treachery and blindness of heart. From the trepidation and fear which cling to the skirt of the disloyal, he took refuge on the side of the mountain and in his confusion did not know whether to advance or fly. Ḥasan *Ṣadr* and a number more were sent to him and they, by soothments and encouragement, brought him in. The Mīrzā left the field of battle and came to
301 Cārīkārān. Here a man brought His Majesty's special corselet to the Mīrzā who was so exultant that he could not contain himself for joy (lit. his clothes were not large enough for him). He marched from thence and besieged Kābūl. Qāsim Khān Barlās was in the service of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, and was looking after the security of the fort. Though the Mīrzā made false promises to him, he would not sever the strong cord of fidelity which bound him to

[1] No doubt Ḥusain Qulī's title of *muhrdār*,=sealer, and also gold *muhr* holder has suggested this simile to the author.

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His Majesty Jahānbānī, till false rumours were spread and the corselet (*jība*) was sent. The fort was taken by dint of hundreds of false promises and by staking lying tales. The new fruit of the garden of creation and nosegay of the spring of horizons, *viz.*, His Majesty the Shāhinshāh who was perfuming the nostrils of the age, and from whose brows of fortune there radiated the light of the Divine *Khilāfat*, was made a prisoner. But the Divine protection, which is ever near him, watched in the old fashion over that prince, outwardly small but grand in reality.

M. Kāmrān having taken possession of Kābūl, set about arranging his affairs and organising his army. He gave in fief to M. 'Asharī, Jūī Shāhī which is now known as Jalālābād, in accordance with the auspicious title of the Shāhinshāh. It is a delightful spot and a partition (*barzakh*) between India and foreign countries, being replete with the advantages of the one and exempt from the evils of the other. It was Munīm Khān who gave it its holy apellation and who colonised it. Ghaznīn and its territory were given to Qarāca Khān and Ghūrband and its neighbourhood to Yāsīn Daulat. In this manner fiefs and grants were made to his followers. The royal servants were laid hold of, Khw. Sl. 'Alī the dīwān being imprisoned, and the hand of oppression was opened and money and goods were taken from him and used for evil purposes. But the Mīrzā was ever in dread of the approach of the royal army, and could not pass his days in tranquillity. The direction of affairs was with Qarācā Khān and Khw. Qāsim the *Mīr Buyūtāt*, and by means of oppression and tyranny materials which in fact were no materials were got together, forgetting the verse :—

Verse.[1]

Who take *dirams* by force and give gold for ornamentation,
Dig up the foundation of the mosque[2] and gild the palace-roof.

About three months were spent in this way till the sound of the approach of His Majesty Jahānbānī from Badakhshān rose high in the province of Kābūl. The Mīrzā collected soldiers and

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1 The Lucknow editor illustrates this verse by a quotation from Sa'dī.

از رعیت کسیکه مایه ربود
پای دیوار کنود و بام اندود

2 *'Amr* which means both life and mosques.

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zamīndārs from the Hazāras and others and set off with a full equipment. He left Bābā Jūjak and Mullā Shafāī in Kābūl, and took His Majesty the Shāhinshāh,—the marks of auspiciousness in whom
302 were apparent, and were acknowledged by small and great and by friend and foe,—with him, either to bring himself good fortune or for greater security. Nor was he aware that God, the giver of life and adorner of the world, had assigned the benign influences of both worlds which were implanted in this holy personality to his friends, not to his foes. What lustre does antimony give to the blind ?

Now that this parenthetical narrative has been completed, we must return to our subject and briefly describe the remaining occurrences of His Majesty Jahānbānī.

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CHAPTER XLVIII.

Return of His Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī from Badakhshān, and his battle with M. Kāmrān, and arrival in Kābul after the victory.

When His Majesty Jahānbānī had encamped at Andarāb and the Mīrzās had waited upon him, as has already been related, he, in a short time, got together an army and prepared to march through the passes of the Hindū Kōh. As there were a number of traitors and false-hearted ones in attendance, His Majesty, in order to conciliate and to give repose to the exoteric, came down from the heaven of his nature (*fiṭrat*)[1] and took his seat on the earth of the spirit (*ṭabī'at*) of the age and brought forward the proposition of an oath, which is regarded by the worshippers of form as of great weight, suggesting that he should administer a special oath to each section (*girōh*) to the effect that they would accompany him with one heart and will. And he observed that, though the creative, Divine pen was the recorder of duties, and though it was the Divine help which caused and stablished in the right way the actions of the loyal, and though his own empire-viewing mind was at rest with regard to them all, yet he desired to in some measure enlighten the hearts of worldlings who could see nothing except what was symptomatic (*sabab*) and that the countenance of truth might display her perfect beauty in the mirror of their actions.[2] Upon this Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān *Kōkī*, who had no reverence and no sincerity of heart,

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1 "The difference between فطرت and طبیعت is that the former signifies the essential nature of the individual man, the latter the super-induced accidents of temperament which are more under his control." (Jarrett III. 403 note).

2 The meaning is that though Humāyūn was satisfied of their fidelity, yet for the sake of outsiders he wished them to take an oath so that their loyalty should thereby be evidenced.

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represented that in accordance with orders they would all take the oath, let His Majesty take an oath also, to the effect that he would listen to and carry into effect what they, the loyalists, should in their right thinking perceive and should represent to him. M. Hindāl who was imbued with devotion and had a knowledge of affairs, said "Ḥājī Muḥammad, what sort of story is this you are saying, and what kind of oath is this? Never have servants said such words to their masters, or slaves to their lords." His Majesty who was a mine of urbanity—and a sea of generosity, said, "So be it. We shall do whatever Ḥājī Muḥammad wishes and shall, in his loyalty, suggest." After making confirmatory oaths and agreements, they marched from that place.[1]

When the grand army came near Ushtar Grām M. Kāmrān, according to his wont and in his folly, made preparations for war and having collected a body of troops marched against the royal army. When there was only a little distance between the two armies His Majesty Jahānbānī in adherence to his affectionate nature sent M. Shāh,[2] a relative of Mīr Barka who belonged to the illustrious Saiyids of Termiz, to the Mīrzā, and conveyed weighty advices such as might be earrings for the ears of men of fortune and prestige. The gist of them was that to take always the path of opposition and to abandon the high-way of concord was remote from wisdom. God forbid that all this contention should take place about Kābul. Respect obligations, old and new, and observe the ways of peace and candour, and be of one heart and accept companionship in the conquest of India. The Saiyid performed his mission, and peace was agreed upon, but on the condition that as Qandahār belonged to His Majesty, Kābul should belong to Kāmrān; upon these terms he would enter into service and take part in the conquest of India. As His Majesty was kind and affectionate, he sent the ambassador a second time, along with Maulanā 'Abdu-l-bāqi *Ṣadr* and sent a

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[1] See the interesting remarks of Erskine on this incident. (Hist. II. 387-90). Jauhar (Stewart 99), mentions it and says that Humāyūn had fasted all the day in order to give the ceremony more solemnity.

[2] Erskine says he was related to the imperial family. Perhaps he was descended from Mīr 'Alā-ul-Mulk of Termīz who had married Fakhir-jahān, a daughter of Abū Sa'īd.

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message that if Kāmrān was sincere and really wished to take the road of concord, he should give his dear daughter in marriage to the unique pearl of the *khilāfat, viz.*, His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, so that His Majesty might bestow Kābul upon them, and that they two (Humāyūn and Kāmrān) might unite in destroying the darkness of the great country of India, and might make that last which had become the stage of wicked men and of calamities, an abode of peace and tranquillity. Both Kābul and Hindūstān would then in reality belong to the two of them. The Mīrzā wished to accept these wise suggestions but Qarāca Qarābakht, who was the centre of his power, did not agree and said "Our heads[1] and Kābul."

In fact on that day the Eight Stars[2] were in front of the Mīrzā and, according to astrologers, to fight under these circumstances is to be defeated, and so the Mīrzā by stratagems put off the fight to another day. The victorious army (Humāyūn's) was anxious to engage, but Ḥājī Muḥammad did not want this, and His Majesty in deference to him, delayed to give battle. Meanwhile *Khw.* 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad and many others who had gone to a distance during the battle of Qibcāq, took advantage of their opportunity and joined His Majesty, and brought tidings of the vacillation and confusion in the hostile army. Half the day had passed when His Majesty put the foot of firmness in the stirrup of intent, and having drawn up his forces, and arranged them in right and left wings, centre and van- 304
guard, ordered an advance. The centre derived glory from his own presence, the right wing was made illustrious by M. Sulaimān, and the left wing by M. Hindāl. M. Ibrāhīm had charge of the vanguard. Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān and other tried heroes had charge of the reserve.[3]

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[1] *Sir-i-mā u Kābul.* Erskine says this is equivalent to death in Kābul. Perhaps the meaning rather is that their heads and Kābul were equally dear, and that neither could be given up. Or perhaps that the only two conditions of peace were that they should save their heads and also keep Kābul.

[2] *Sakizīldūz.* See Steingass *s.v.* and Bābar's Mem., 92. It appears to be an old name for the constellation of Virgo, and to be the same word as the Secdeidos of Ābū-M'āāshir of Balkh. See Ideler's Untersuchungen, 1809, and Athenaeum of 19th May, 1900.

[3] التمش *Iltmish*, given in Meninski as meaning sixty and so equal to veteran. But it is the reserve, apparently, of the front-ranks or vanguard. As Mr. Irvine has pointed

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On the other side, M. Kāmrān was in the centre, M. 'Askāri on the right, Āq Sulṯān on the left, and Qarāca Khān on the vanguard. The two armies moved on, in appearance like two iron mountains, and approached each other. Mihtar Sahbāka and a number of faithful servants who had after the affair of Qabcāq entered, from necessity, the service of the Mīrzā, galloped off and joined the victorious army. Near the river Mūrī, M. Ibrāhīm in his high courage, took the lead. The soldiers on both sides fought bravely. At this time the head of Qarāca Khān was brought before the world-traversing steed (of Humāyūn) and all were freed from the malice of that troublesome traitor. An order was given that the guilty head of that faithless one should be stuck up at the Iron gate of Kābul so that it might be a warning to the seditious. Thus the words which he himself had uttered "Our heads and Kābul," were brought to pass. I have heard from reliable persons that a low follower of the Mīrzā seized the traitor and wished to take him before His Majesty Jahānbānī as an atonement for his offences and that Qambar 'Alī Sahārī[1] who was a servant of M. Hindāl and whose brother had been killed in Qandahār by Qarāca, was following and that he took off his (Qarāca's) cap (*ṯāqīya*) and struck him on the crown of the head with his sword, splitting it, and then cutting off the head brought it to His Majesty.

During this conflict and tumult, in which the royal servants fought with devotion, knowing that it was the end of the contest, M. Kāmrān could not maintain his ground and took to flight. He went off to Afghānistān by the Pass of Bādpaj[2] (the windy pass). The victorious army betook itself to plunder and got hold of much property. The enemies of the State were seized and put to the sword, many of them lowered the veil of shame over their faces and made the tears of repentance their intercessors and after a thousand reproaches, were enrolled in the list of servants of the State. M. 'Askarī fell into the hands of the heroes of the army (*'Askar*). A victory such as might be the introduction to countless victories, was obtained

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out to me it is used by Khāfī Khān II. 876. *See* also P. de Courteille and Zenker.

[1] Text, Sahārī, but there is the variant Bahārī, and this is the word in Niẓāmu-d-dīn. Sahārī however appears to be right. There was a Sarkār of that name in the Agra division. See Jarrett II. 195.

[2] Bābar's Mem., 142 note 4. By Afghānistan is meant the country east of Kābul.

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and was the subject of thousands of rejoicings. But the heart of 305
His Majesty was very anxious about the safety of the jewel of empire's diadem, *viz.*, His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, for he had heard that on this occasion M. Kāmrān had brought him with him. His Majesty could get no comfort from his distraction until Ḥasan *Ākhta* brought that rosebush of fortune's rose-garden, and cypress of the parterre of sovereignty before him. Recognising his advent as the beginning of fortune, he returned thanks to God for his safety and the realisation of his hopes, and with excessive joy, he clasped that Divine nursling to his bosom. After his devotions he distributed charities,—which are the practical form of thanksgiving,—and drew to himself the hearts of the poor and the widowed and orphaned by abundant presents. And he rewarded every one of the devoted servants either because of the happy issue of events with regard to the eye-pupil of the *Khilāfat* or as a guerdon (*jaldū*) for good service. His Majesty Jahānbānī announced that in future he never would be separated from this new fruit of the garden of the *Khilāfat*,—for thousands of good auspices were infolded in his footsteps,—and he recognised that the glorious victory came from the blessing of the advent of this sublime pearl. At this joyous time two camels loaded with boxes and without drivers were seen on the field of battle. His Majesty said "every one is having his plunder, let mine be these two camels!" He went himself and taking their nose-strings, ordered that they should be made to kneel and that the boxes should be opened, so that he might see what was inside. By a beautiful coincidence it was found that the special, royal books which were lost at the battle of Qibcāq were in these boxes and in perfect condition. This was the occasion for a thousand rejoicings. Khw. Qāsim Mīr buyūtāt, who was the kindler of the fire of strife, was consumed in the flames of this battle by the fire of his own deeds, and so commotion and depravity were set at rest. On this day a joyous assemblage was held in Cārīkārān.

When by the favour of God, the gates of victory had been opened and the seditious had been punished, Kābul became on the following day the alighting place for blessed feet and a station of everlasting auspiciousness. First, His Majesty entered the citadel and had the joy of receiving his chaste ladies. After that he, according to his wont, proceeded to the Ūrta Bāgh and freshened it

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by his fortunate presence. There he made arrangements for his subjects and dominions, rewarding the good servants and punishing the bad. Dīndār Beg, Ḥaidar Dōst Mughal Qānjī, and Mast 'Alī[1]
306 Qūrcī who had on many occasions shown disloyalty, were capitally punished in accordance with their deserts, and the public benefit. He exercised his genius in the distribution of justice. M. Sulaimān was loaded with gifts and dismissed to Badakhshān. M. Ibrāhīm remained for some days, as a special mark of favour, and then was sent to Badakhshān. And it was settled that in an auspicious hour he should be married to His Majesty's daughter Bakhshī[2] Bānū. His Majesty's world-adorning heart engaged in the arrangement of affairs and exalted all the servants by his affability and benevolence.

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[1] Bāyazīd says Mast 'Alī's offence was his refusing to fight at Qibcāq on the plea that a bad cuirass had been given to him, that Haidar Dost Mughal Qānjī was punished for inciting Qarāca to rebellion, and that Dīndār was punished for offences committed in India.

[2] Akbar's half-sister. After Ibrāhīm's death she married Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain (Blochmann 322). In Gulbadan's Memoirs the name is spelt Īkhshī بخشی which is a Turkī word meaning good, and possibly this is the proper spelling. Redhouse gives it the meaning of beautiful.

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CHAPTER XLIX.

ASSIGNMENT OF THE VILLAGE OF CARKH[1] TO HIS MAJESTY THE SHĀHANSHĀH, AND THE PROGNOSTICATIONS THEREFROM OF THE FAR-SEEING.[2]

At this time, when, by God's help, Kābul had become the seat of the thrones of sovereignty and the spot irradiated by the lights of the *Khilāfat*, the village of Carkh—which belongs to the *tūmān* of Lahūgar,—was assigned to His Majesty the Shāhanshāh. The enlightened drew an omen from this mysterious gift, and beat the drum of rejoicing high o'er the nine spheres (*carkh*). His Majesty gave to Ḥājī Muḥammad the office of household-administrator (*wakālat-i-darkhāna*, mayoralty of the palace), which is a very great post,—and bade him mend his ways. But as, owing to his narrow understanding, he was intoxicated with his courage and proud of his reputation, evil thoughts continually held him in the prison of affliction (*gham*), and he was always ungrateful and showing improper desires. His Majesty Jahānbānī, from his lofty nature and a tolerance which was boundless, used to pass this over; for the excellent principle of this ruler was that the plant of the human life,—which is the product of the Divine workmanship and the fruit-bearing growth of the garden of fate, should not be pulled up for every defect, especially in the case of one who was distinguished among his equals for wisdom or courage or for any other fine quality. But that evil-constituted wretch thought, in his folly and wrong-headedness, that this was a weakness (in Humāyūn), and so made it an incitement to still greater madness; while His Majesty always winked at such conduct and loaded him with favours. At this auspicious time, His Majesty continually kept open the gates of justice and distributed favours

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1 See Bābar's Memoirs 148, and Jarrett II. 406. It is S.E. of Kābul. A.F. puns on the meaning of the word carkh, *infra*.

2 This heading is very inadequate.

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upon which the administration of the terrene and terrestrials depends, and knit together the distractions and dispersions of the time.

M. Kāmrān, after his defeat, went off from the village of Ushtar-
307 grām, in the most wretched circumstances,—such as were the just result of his ingratitude and the fruit of his oblivion of benefits,—with eight followers (*viz.*, Āq Sl.,[1] brother of Khiẓr Khw. Khān, Bābā Sa'īd Qibcāq, Tamar Tāsh *atga*, Qatlaq Qadam, 'Alī Muḥammad, Jōgī Khān, Abdāl, and Maqṣūd *qūrcī*),—by way of Dih-i-sabz, and joined the Afghāns. M. Hindāl, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān, Khiẓr Khw. Khān and the others who had gone in pursuit, did not exercise proper diligence and returned. The Afghāns blocked the Mīrzā's path and plundered him, and he, fearing lest he should be recognized, shaved all the hair from his face (*cār ẓarb zada*) and came, disguised as a *qalandar* to Malik Muḥammad of Mandraur, one of the leading men of the Lamghānāt, who recognized old obligations and tended him. M. Kāmrān was not in the least awakened by all these disasters,—every one of which was, in the eyes of the wise, a strong whip of warning and of arousing from the sleep of negligence,—but again stretched himself out in slumber. A number of soldiers who had the form of men but neither the heart to perceive what was right nor the eye to feel shame and who were always practising sedition and treachery, gathered round him.

When this news came to the sublime camp, the market of hypocrites grew brisk and the loyal were distressed. At such a time as this, when the flame of sedition and strife had become tongued, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān went off to Ghaznīn without leave. His Majesty Jahānbānī, from desire to temporize and also from his perfect appreciation (of the man), regarded this disgraceful proceeding as love of opposition (? *nāzjang*)[2] and did not approve of it. He appointed Bahādur

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[1] According to Gulbadan Begam, he left Kāmrān (who was his father-in-law) about this time and was, in consequence, deprived of his wife. He was a younger brother of Gulbadan's husband, Khiẓr.

[2] The reading and meaning are uncertain. The Bodleian MSS. appear to give *nāzkhunuk*, *i.e.*, coldness of love, or *nāzḥakk*, the erasing of love. If may also be *nāqkhang*, love of depravity. The I.O. MS. No. 4 has *nāz-khunuk* quite clearly. Most probably the true reading is *nāz-khang*, wickedness, for A.F. has other similar uses of *khang*. (See I. 198 l. 15 and 334 l. 9, where we have the word *khang* following *ta'aṣṣub* and used in the sense of evil bigotry.

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Khān, Muḥammad Qu'lī Barlās, Qīdūq Sl. and a number of heroes to suppress M. Kāmrān. When the army of fortune came near the Mīrzā, he withdrew to the defiles of 'Alīgār and 'Alīshang. The officers followed him and he, leaving that country, sought protection with the Afghān tribes of Khalīl and Mahmand. The vagabonds who had gathered round him, were again dispersed. The victorious troops turned back at the village of Ghazū-i-shahīdān. Now that His Majesty's mind had obtained a respite from the wickedness of M. Kāmrān, he, in order to increase the sympathy of M. Sulaimān and to do him yet more honour, proposed a marriage to him. Khw. Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd and the chaste Bibī Fāṭima were sent to ask for the hand of Khānam, the daughter of M. Sulaimān, for when this should be arranged, His Majesty's mind would be at rest as regarded Badakhshān and M. Sulaimān would be conciliated. M. 'Askarī was also sent with Jalālu-d-dīn to be made over to M. Sulaimān. And an order was issued to M. Sulaimān that he should send on M. 'Askarī to the Ḥijāz by way of Balkh. M. Sulaimān recognized the coming of the envoys as a distinction and neglected nothing that could do them honour.[1] In obedience to the royal 308
order, he sent off M. 'Askarī towards Balkh. The Mīrzā could not, from shame and repentance, settle there but set off on his long journey, taking with him the travelling-companion of impatience. The measure of his days became full between Syria and Mecca in the year 965.[2] M. Sulaimān agreed that the marriage with His Majesty Jahānbānī should take place on the arrival of the begams (of Humāyūn's court) and the nobles, and on his daughter's becoming older: and he respectfully dismissed the embassy with letters full of apology and submission.

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1 A.F. perhaps does well to emphasize the respect paid to Humāyūn's envoys by Sulaimān. Bāyazīd tells a different story of their treatment by Sulaimān's wife, Khurram Begam.

2 Firishta, 961 H. He says that 'Askarī left one daughter whom Akbar married to Yūsuf Khān of Mashhad, the later governor of Kashmīr. (Blochmann 346). The chronogram of 'Askarī's death given by Budāunī is incorrect (I. 453) Apparently it is that of his birth for it yields 922. All the MSS. of the A.N. which I have examined have 965. If this be right, 'Askarī survived all his brothers.

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CHAPTER L.

Expedition of His Majesty Jahānbānī to Extinguish Another Time the Seditious Flames of M. Kāmrān.

Inasmuch as habit is, as they say, a fifth[1] humour of the body,—whoever is addicted to evil ways is like the scorpion, and in stinging is without the power of self-control. How much more they who are constitutionally bad and in whom habit accords with nature. Accordingly M. Kāmrān again inclined towards his disposition and practice and made his evil deeds the instrument of his own punishment. He gathered together a number of Afghāns from the Khalīl and Mahmand tribes and a troop of vagabonds who could not distinguish good from evil, and set about plundering and ravaging. His Majesty Jahānbānī, who was the giver of peace to the world and the age, recognized that the ending of such tumults was a part of worship, and he resolved to act in accordance therewith. He sent Khw. Ikhtīyār and Mīr 'Abdu-l-ḥai, who were confidential courtiers, to Ghaznīn, to convey a gracious letter to Ḥājī Muḥammad and recall him from the darkness of evil thoughts to the light of recognition of duty. While His Majesty was making his preparations, he heard that M. Kāmrān was besieging, with a number of vagabonds, a fort near Cārbagh, in the vicinity of Jalālābād. He therefore did not wait for Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān, but went off with all rapidity towards Jalālābād. When M. Kāmrān heard this, he was amazed and fled. He again betook himself to the defiles and went off from there by Bangash and Gardīz, thinking that he might join Ḥājī Muḥammad. For this perverse wretch held with M. Kāmrān.

The story of Ḥājī Muḥammad is as follows. As the time of his ruin approached, evil thoughts came forth more and more from his

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[1] Muḥammadans reckon that there are four humours in man. *See* Lane *S. v.* إبلة 788*b*. They derived the notion from Hippocrates and Galen.

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impure heart, and he dismissed the royal ambassadors with pretences and false promises of his coming. At the same time he sent a 309 messenger to M. Kāmrān, asking him how long he was going to wander about in the hills and deserts, and telling him to come quickly in his own direction so that they might act in concert. By chance Bairām Khān, who was going to Qandahār in His Majesty's service, arrived at Ghaznin. Ḥājī Muḥammad, who was longing for the Khān (*bā khān tawaqān būd*), went out to meet him and fawned upon him, seeking to bring him into the fort under the pretext of a feast and to shut him up there. The Khān proceeded towards the fort when Mīr Ḥabash, who was with Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān, gave a signal to the Khān, and he, being put on his guard, thereby made an excuse and renounced his intention of entering the fort, and encamped at a fountain outside the city. There he soothed Ḥājī Muḥammad and prevailed upon him to accompany him to Kābul. He sent the news of his own arrival and of the bringing of Ḥājī Muḥammad; and His Majesty, having heard that M. Kāmrān was coming to the territory of Kābul, proceeded to Kābul with all haste. M. Kāmrān advanced to within one stage of Kābul and then, when he heard of the arrival of the Khānkhānān and of his having Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān with him, he again withdrew in confusion to Lamghān. One day Hājī Muḥammad wished to enter Kābul by the Iron Gate, but Khw. Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, who was in charge of Kābul, would not permit him to enter the fort and sent him a harsh message. That face-blackened one became suspicious and went off to Qarā Bāgh, under pretext of hunting; and then, passing by the Kutal-i-minār went to Bābā Qucqār (*i.e.*, Bābā ram); then by the Dāman-i-kōh of Bihzādī and Lalandar,[1] went quickly off to Ghaznīn. Just then the victorious standards of His Majesty Jahānbānī, who had gone towards Kābul to quell the disturbance of M. Kāmrān, arrived at Sīāh Sang. Bairām Khān was exalted by paying homage. His Majesty Jahānbānī ordered that no one should enter the city, for he was going in pursuit of the Mīrzā, so that he might, once for all, free God's creatures from daily disturbance. But as his mind was not at ease about Ḥājī Muḥammad, the officers were unanimous that he should be secured about him and

1 *Bilandarī*. Erskine reads Alindar. I adopt the variant Lalandar, which is supported by B.M. MSS. and by Jarrett II. 404.

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then set out after the Mīrzā. His Majesty came to the city and appointed Bairām Khān to look after Ḥājī Muḥammad and instructed him to act with dissimulation and by every contrivance possible to bring him in.

Bairām Khān tamed Ḥājī Muḥammad by suitable devices and after promises and oaths, he came to the village of Gulkār [1] and embraced the Khānkhānān. The latter brought him to the presence of the forgiving prince and begged for the remission of his offences.
301 Four or five days later they all went together towards the Lamghānāt which was the retreat of the Mīrzā. In spite of the recent forgiveness of so many crimes, Ḥājī Muḥammad acted as if he had never committed them, and again had the audacity to enter on still worse schemes. He shewed disgraceful conduct and disgusted the holy heart. His Majesty went off with a large body of men, and when the standards of fortune reached Jalālābād, the Mīrzā retreated to the defiles of Kanūr and Nūrgal, and all sedition-mongers crept away. The Khānkhānān was appointed to follow the Mīrzā, and the latter, not being able to maintain himself in Kanūr [2] and Nūrgal went off to the Indus (*Nīlāb*). The Khānkhānān returned and did homage in Daka.[3]

At this time His Majesty took into consideration general utility and the public tranquillity, and ordered the arrest of Ḥājī Muḥammad and his brother, Shāh Muḥammad—who was capable of being Hājī Muḥammad's instructor in wickedness. And these two ungrateful brothers—who in their service looked to nothing but material advantages and their own credit; who were given over to cupidity and ingratitude; who looked for a great price in exchange for their inferior goods, and who were unmindful of benefits, were caught by their own wickedness. His Majesty, in accordance with his just nature, ordered that the services which the low-thoughted service-sellers had voluntarily or involuntarily rendered during their careers, should be entered by them in a list, and that one of the honest servants should write out their offences, so that by putting them into the balance of justice, the real facts about these two evil-doers

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[1] Gulkina, a suburb of Kābul. *See* Bābar 137 and Jarrett II. 404 and note.

[2] Kanūr (read by Chalmers Katūr), Nūrkal. These are two distinct places. Bābar's Mems. 143 and Jarrett II. 392.

[3] At the end of the Khaibar.

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might be patent to mankind. The record[1] of their good deeds remained unwritten, while their sins came to 102 great culpabilities,—each one of which might have been a ground of imprisonment and death and degradation. Good God! there is one man who after good service is trembling and downcast, lest his (Akbar's) glance fall upon his work and there be a suspicion that he, a simple-minded man, is selling his services, or that he is ill-conditioned. And the more honest his service, the greater his apprehensions! And there is another kind of man who sells things not done at the rate of things done; who passes off bad deeds as good ones; who after tricking out his blemishes,[2] looks for favours, and indulges himself in self-commendation.

When by this thorough investigation it was proved to the world that these two disloyalists deserved the punishment of their own wickedness, and that it was time the skirt of the age should be cleansed from the dirt of their existence, their fierce and brutish natures—which infected them in the cage of the raw material of 311
humanity,—were drawn forth by a halter from human shape, and consigned to a fitting place, and they, or rather the world, was granted deliverance from their hideous nature. Ghaznīn was assigned to Bahādur Khān and his (Ḥājī Muḥammad's) other fiefs were distributed among the (royal) servants.

The winter was spent in that neighbourhood, in travelling and hunting, and in feasting and rejoicing. In the beginning of spring, when the humours are in a state of equilibrium, general receptions were held, and after petitions and tendering of gifts, a number were enrolled in service. The dust of the Mīrzā's strife and disturbance was laid, and His Majesty Jahānbānī went by Bādpaj to the river Bārān. On the night that the army was near Bādpaj, there was much rain and snow and many suffered. When hunting and sight-seeing were ended, Kābul was made the seat of dominion, and

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[1] *Cf.* Jauhar, Stewart 107. He places their punishment in 961 (1553).

[2] ابله طرازي. This compound is not to be found in the dictionaries. Some MSS. read آبله *ābila*, a blister or pimple, and this, I believe the true reading, ابله folly, does not seem applicable here nor at text, 336, l. 16, where the phrase occurs again. I think the expression corresponds to the English "plastering the boil" and means covering over and adorning a sore, so as to make it look like a beauty.

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Bairām Khān was sent to administer the affairs of Qandahār. Khw. Ghāzī was sent with him to convey presents and to go on an embassy to the ruler of Persia. Ghaznīn, Gardīsh, Bangash and the *tūmān* of Lahūgar (Logar)[1] were bestowed on M. Hindāl. Qundūz, which belonged to the Mīrzā, was conferred on Mīr Barka and M. Ḥasan. M. Hindāl was granted leave to go to Ghaznīn and Mīr Barka received permission to go to Qundūz. Jūī Shāhī and its territory were assigned to Khiẓr Khw. Khān. Before Mīr Barka reached Qundūz, M. Ibrāhīm got possession of it by trickery from Muḥammad Ṭāhir Khān, and Mīr Barka returned to Kābul. His Majesty Jahānbānī allowed the good services of the Mīrzā to be an atonement for his action and left him in possession of Qundūz. At this time, Abū'l-ma'ālī was introduced into the service through 'Abdu-s-samī.' Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī traced his descent from the *saiyids* of Termiẕ. His personal beauty made the good and right-thinking look for goodness of nature, and his forwardness was tolerated on account of his courage. Consequently he became a favourite with His Majesty Jahānbānī. Some of his insolencies and extravagancies will be related in their proper place.

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[1] *Āīn*, Lōhgar. Jarrett II. 406.

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CHAPTER LI.

Another Expedition of His Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī to Quell the Disturbance caused by M. Kāmrān; and the Martyrdom of M. Hindāl.

M. Kāmrān spent some days in the cell of contempt and disgrace, and then hearts which had been set at rest, were again agitated by the news of his strife-mongering; and wayfarers reported to His Majesty that he had come back from the Indus (*Nīlāb*) and had again raised the head of sedition in the district of Jūī Shāhī, in concert with a band of vagabonds. His Majesty summoned M. Hindāl from Ghaznīn and issued marching-orders to the neighbouring *jāgīrdārs*. In a short time M. Hindāl did homage, and the devoted and dutiful followers gathered round. His Majesty Jahānbānī ordered an expedition to extinguish the flames of sedition, and M. Kāmrān, on hearing of this, retreated unsuccessful. When the victorious standards had neared Surkhāb, Ḥaidar Muḥammad *Ākhtā-begī*, who was in the advance-guard, had, with many devoted men, gone ahead of the royal camp and halted on the banks of the Siāh Āb, which is between the Surkhāb and Gandamak. M. Kāmrān, who did not find himself able to engage in a pitched battle, made a night attack on him. Ḥaidar Muḥammad showed lion-like courage and made a gallant fight, and received conspicuous wounds, which are in appearance and in reality red-lettered diplomas (*ṭughrā*). He remained firm and did not give up his ground. Though many things were plundered, the Mīrzā failed and had to return disconcerted. After some days when the village of Japrīār, which belongs to the *tūmān* of Neknahār,[1] had been made the camping ground,—inasmuch 312

[1] Or Nēknihal, Jarrett II. 405. It lies S. of the Kābul river. *See* also Bellew's Races of Afghānistān 64. The Japrīar of text is written Jaryār by Erskine. Bayāzīd speaks of Caryār and Hindālpūr; and Raverty, (Notes on Afghanistan, 55) says Jiryār or Jabīryār belongs to Nangnahar and is also written Jabīrhār and lies on the slopes of the Spinghar Range.

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as vigilance and caution are the components of alertness,—batteries were arranged and a trench and bulwark made. At the end of the day two Afghāns brought word that M. Kāmrān intended that night to make an attack with a large body of Afghāns. His Majesty Jahānbānī brought the rules of circumspection to bear and stationed men at every point. On the night of Sunday, 21st Zī'l-qa'da, 958 (20th November, 1551), when a quarter of the night had passed away, M. Kāmrān fell upon the camp with a large body of Afghāns. His Majesty Jahānbānī mounted his horse and stood on a height behind his tent, and summoned to his presence the glory of foreheads and the great pearl of the diadem of the *Khilāfat,* to wit, His Majesty the Shāhanshāh. The servants of the exalted threshold were all in the entrenchments and doing their duty bravely. The flames of battle were blazing. In the midst of this tumult and confusion 'Abdu-l-wahhāb *yasāwal,* who was in the entrenchments, was struck by a bullet and became a martyr. The market of conflict grew hot until the shining moon,—which is the mirror-holder of the world,—raised her head from the quarter of fortune and brightened the earth with her effulgence. The light
313 of victory radiated from the brows of dominion, and the adversary sought safety in flight. The imperialists were victorious and raised the standards of composure. The hearts of all had become tranquil when suddenly an unpleasant report came to the royal hearing, that M. Hindāl had left this evil world. Joy became bitter and exaltation was changed into abundance of sorrow. Alas! 'tis the way of this transitory world that if a breath go forth in joy, next moment the smoke of grief ascends from the breast of the afflicted.

Verse.

Never is heaven's eye brightened by the morning,
Without the evening twilight's suffusing it with blood.

There is neither capability of dallying for enjoyment therein, nor permission for persistent grief. Though the Mīrzā left this unstable world and departed from this unenduring hostel, he gained the glory of martyrdom and at once acquired a good name in the visible world and an exalted rank in the world of reality. Hail! O Thou little-receiving and much-giving who, on the departure of borrowed life, hast given such permanent grandeurs! His Majesty

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who was a mine of gratitude, was so affected and sorrowful at the death of so noble a brother that his feelings cannot be described or hinted at. But as he was wise and farseeing, he turned from lamentation to resignation and sought comfort in the pleasant abode of submission to the Divine Will.

The account of this melancholy affair is as follows. When M. Hindāl heard of the projected night attack he put the entrenchments in order, and he had gone to take some repose, when the noise of the Afghāns arose. An undescribable number of Afghāns came into each battery, and many entered the Mīrzā's. The night was dark. The Mīrzā addressed himself to the repulsing of the wretches, while his own men were confused and hastened to look[1] after their horses. Meanwhile the Mīrzā came face to face with the Afghāns. Nūrm[2] *Kōka* and many others behaved badly. The time for using bow and arrow passed and he grappled with one of the foe, and by main force overthrew the born villain. The brother of that wretch, Jaranda[3] by name and belonging to the Mahmand tribe, sent the Mīrzā to the other world by a poison-stained spear. Some of M. Kāmrān's companions used to relate that that evil-natured Afghān got hold of a case which contained the Mīrzā's special thumb-stalls and brought it before M. Kāmrān, not knowing with whom he had played this disastrous game. He described the occurrence. When the Mīrzā's eye fell on the thumb-stall case, he knew what misfortune had happened and flung his turban on the 314
ground, saying that M. Hindāl had been martyred.

In short the soul of the Mīrzā travelled on that dark night to the abode of annihilation without its being known, and his body remained where it fell. Meanwhile some of his servants were coming back, when Khw. Ibrāhīm Badakhshī observed that there was a black cuirass (*qalmāq*) on the body. As it was dark and the tumult still continued, he did not approach it. Then it occurred to him that M. Hindāl had been wearing a black cuirass. He turned round and looked at it and recognised the Mīrzā. In accordance

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[1] Gulbadan's account is that none of them dismounted.

[2] This name seems to mean *my light* and to be formed like Māham, my moon. He was foster-brother of M. Ibrāhīm, Akbar's half-brother, Blochmann 526.

[3] The Iqbālnāma has Farīd.

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with patience and deliberation which are the watchwords of the wise, he carried[1] off the body to the Mīrzā's tent and made it over to the doorkeepers; and he wisely took steps to conceal the melancholy occurrence so that the enemy might not rejoice nor be encouraged, and also that the imperial servants might not be disheartened. He reported that the Mīrzā was much fatigued, and was also slightly wounded, and that no one should make any noise or tumult close by. He himself went up on the rising ground and conveyed congratulations on the victory as from the Mīrzā. The illuminated soul of His Majesty Jahānbānī received a ray of intelligence from this statement. In fine the Mīrzā's bier was deposited in Jūī Shāhī, and after some time was brought to Kābul. The body was placed in the Guzargāh, near the holy tomb of His Majesty Getī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī, and buried at his feet. Mullā Khurd Zargar who was in the Mirza's[2] service, composed an elegy of which the first couplet was,—

Verse.[3]

One night sorrow made a night-attack on the apple of mine eye,
Owing to the onset of blood, my beloved departed.

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[1] Gulbadan says Mīr Bāba Dōst carried in the body.

[2] From a previous reference (Text I. 275) it appears that Mullā Khurd was in Kāmrān's service, so that the word Mīrzā here probably refers to Kāmrān. He is mentioned in the *Tabaqāt-i-akbarī*, Lucknow Ed., p. 405, under the name of Mullā Khurd Zargar. His poetical name was Fanāī and Nizāmu-d-dīn says he was originally a servant of M. 'Askarī. *See* also Blochmann 426, but perhaps this is a different Fanāī.

[3] *Lit.* One night the blood of the liver made an attack on my eye-pupil.

Owing to the coming and going of blood the black-eyed one pitched his tent outside.

The text has *sipāh-dīda* and this may be correct, the meaning being the sentinel, or the soldier-eye. But there is the variant *siāh dīda* meaning black-eyed, and a mistress; and this reading I adopt. Probably the poet wanted to take advantage of both readings for *sipāh* agrees with the expression "pitched his tent outside. Possibly he had in his mind the passage in Bābar's Memoirs, (Leyden and Erskine, p. 33), where we are told that Baisanghar had to shift his pavilion three times on account of the number of executions that took place in front of it. The quatrain which follows is said by A.F. to be also by Mullā Khurd, but Badāōnī (I. 454) gives it as the composition of Maulānā Ḥasan 'Alī

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This chronogram is also his,—

Verse.

Hindāl Muḥammad, a king of glorious title,
Suddenly, in the dead of night, became a martyr,
As a night-attack (*shabkhūn*) caused his martyrdom,
Seek the chronogram from *shabkhūn*[1] (958).

Mīr Amānī uttered this enigmatical chronogram,—

Verse.[2]

A cypress left the garden of glory.

The Mīrzā was born in 924[3] (1518) and so it was said:—

Verse.

The chronogram was *kaukab-i-burj-i-shāhanshāhi* (924),
(the *kaukab* of the king of kings' tower).

Next day His Majesty Jahānbānī went from there to Bihsūd, where he encamped in order that he might, once for all, set his world-adorning heart at rest with respect to the strife of the seditious and then make Kābul, by the glory of his sublime court, an abode of peace and tranquillity.

Kharās. He also gives some other lines in which the same chronogram appears.

[1] *Shabkhūn* makes, by *abjad*, 958 (1551).

[2] The cypress stands for the letter *alif*, on account of its straight shape. If *alif* be removed from the words *būstān-i-daulat*, the other letters amount by *abjad* to 958.

[3] Erskine (II. 404 *n.*) says he was born in 925, and this agrees with Bābar (250). *Kaukab* means both a star, and a golden ball, and *burj* means both a tower and a sign of the Zodiac. The Memoirs of Gulbadan Begam also go to show that Hindāl who was her full brother, was born in 925.

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CHAPTER LII.

315 ASSIGNMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF GHAZNĪN TO HIS MAJESTY THE SHĀHINSHĀH, AND ELEVATION OF SOME TO HIS SERVICE.

As, from his early years, the notes of greatness and the glory of government shone from the lustrous brows of that new fruit of the tree of sovereignty and that splendour and nosegay of the garden of the *khilāfat* and fortune,—to wit, His Majesty the Shāhinshāh,—at this time, when he was ten years old, all the servants of M. Hindāl, together with all his *Jāgīrs, viz.*, Ghaznīn, *etc.*, were assigned to him, so that, by the practice of rule, he might exhibit favour and severity in the management of men; and by administration of a part, he might become accustomed to administer the whole. One of the wonderful things of fate was that some days earlier, the turban of this light of the eyes of dominion came off in a crowd when he was riding in the service of His Majesty Jahānbānī. M. Hindāl was there and from perfect reverence, he took off his own fortunate cap (*tāj*) in the midst of that crowd and placed it on the star-brushing head (*i.e.*, of Akbar). The far-seeing drew the omen from this that the time when the Shāhinshāh would wear the diadem and wield authority, was nigh at hand. The Almighty, in recompense for this deed, elevated the Mīrzā to the rank of martyrdom which is equivalent to life and joy eternal. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh—who is the Divine nursling,—shewed such marks of greatness, graciousness and appreciation of men, in winning hearts, that grief for the Mīrzā left men's souls and they became possessed of constant joy.

Verse.

O God! so long as the world hath lustre and colour,
The heavens gyration and the earth stability;
Grant him enjoyment of life and youth;
Above all, give him abundance of existence.

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The names of the principal servants of the deceased Mīrzā who entered into the service of the Shāhinshāh, are as follows;—(1). Muḥibb 'Alī Khān; (2). Nāṣir Qulī; (3). Khw. Ibrāhīm; (4). Maulānā 'Abdu-l-lāh; (5). Ādīna Tuqbāī; (6). Samānjī; (7). Qarghūjī; (8). Jān Muḥammad Tuqbāī; (9). Tāju-d-dīn Maḥmūd *bārbegī*; (10). Tīmūr Tāsh; (11). Maulānā Ṣānī, now known as Ṣānī Khān;[1] (12). Maulānā Bābā Dost[2] *ṣadr*, who was highly regarded by the Mīrzā; (13). Mīr Jamāl[3] who was also a favourite with the Mīrzā; (14). Khaldīn 316
Dōst Sahārī. Bābā Dōst was also a servant of the Mīrzā but, as in the educational canon, nothing is worse than bad company, he, on account of his bad character was not taken on. Though Muḥammad Ṭāhir Khān was an old servant of the Mīrzā, yet, inasmuch as he had not been able to keep charge of Qundūz,[4] he was excluded from the glance of the truth-discerning eye, and was not made a companion on this auspicious expedition. As the Court of this bestower of glory on the earth, was a test of the jewel of humanity, the condition of every one of these men who was of good disposition and pure character, became better day by day, and they attained lofty positions. And it is to be hoped that they will remain to the end in that condition. Everyone who was evil had the veil stripped from his acts and was so dealt with as to be a warning to all who were evil or negligent.

As the village of Bihsūd became the camp of the pavilions of fortune, an order was given to build a strong fort. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh was sent off[5] in order to strengthen the city of Kābul and that he might there practise the methods of spiritual and temporal sovereignty. His Majesty himself remained at Bihsūd under the Divine aid and exercised vigilance with regard to M. Kāmrān. The army remained there for four or five months. The Mīrzā, from want of sense, (*az bī istiṭā'atī*) was each day the guest of a clan and each night took refuge with a landholder. From a defect of

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[1] Blochmann 476 and Badāonī III. 206.

[2] Qu. father of Ḥamīda Bānū Begam. *See* Gulbadan Begam's Memoirs. Perhaps he was also known as 'Ali Akbar and perhaps Badāonī was mistaken in giving this as another name of Ṣānī Khān.

[3] Probably this was the brother of Bābar's Afghān wife, Bībī Mubārika.

[4] A reference to his allowing himself to be over-reached by M. Ibrāhīm.

[5] Humāyūn seems to have forgotten his vow never again to be separated from Akbar.

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nature, he remained veiled in self-conceit and excluded from the auspicious service and fellowship of such a benefactor, and was for ever indulging in seditious thoughts.

At this time, a set of superficialists who were in the service of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh and were oblivious of an internal abode of wisdom, wrote to His Majesty Jahānbānī and complained about his Highness. His Majesty, notwithstanding that he was aware of the inner light of the Shāhinshāh, had regard to externals, and sent a gracious letter containing instructions and admonitions, full of kindness and paternal affection and not at all of a censuring or cautioning character. For what need has he who has been taught at the Divine school,—of human instructions? or what concern has the nursling of Heaven with such didactics? In that letter this verse of Shaikh Niẓāmī was quoted.

Verse.

Sit not idle, 'tis not the time for play:
'Tis the time for arts and for work.

He was first taken before Mullāzāda Mullā 'Aṣāmu-d-dīn to be taught. As this teacher was devoted to pigeons, the servants reported against him. His Majesty discharged him and made over the
317 duty of outward instruction to Maulānā Bāyazīd. He performed this duty, but as the world-adorning Deity did not wish that His own special pupil should become tainted by exoteric sciences, He diverted him from such pursuits and made him inattentive to them. The shallow thought it was the fault of the teachers and reported against them, but as the latter were right-thinking and of good character, the complaints were not accepted or acted upon. At last His Majesty had an inspiration, to wit, that for the purpose of instructing that pupil of the Divine school, lots should be cast between Mullā 'Abdu-l-Qādir, Mullāzāda Mullā 'Aṣāmu-d-dīn, and Maulānā Bāyazīd, so that he, on whom the lucky chance should fall, should be exalted by being made the sole teacher. It happened that the lot fell on Maulānā Abdu-l-Qādir, and an order issued for the removal of Maulānā Bāyazīd and the appointment of Maulānā 'Abdu-l-Qādir.

It is not hidden from the wise and acute that the appointment of a teacher in a case like this, springs from use and wont, and does

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not pertain to the acquisition of perfections. For him who is God's pupil, what occasion is there for teaching by creatures, or for application to lessons? Accordingly his holy heart and his sacred soul never turned towards external teaching. And his possession of the most excellent sciences together with his disinclination for the learning of letters were a method of showing to mankind, at the time of the manifestation of the lights of hidden abundancies, that the lofty comprehension of this Lord of the Age was not learnt or acquired, but was the gift of God in which human effort had no part. His Highness in that period assimilated external glory and temporal dominion in abundance, but feigned ignorance of inward perfections and spent much time in sport, and practised wisdom under a veil of concealment, so that even the farseeing failed to notice it.[1] But, as his genius was soaring, he was making a perfect veil for himself out of grand external performances. And he put his heart into acts so that though their beauty was not evident to the superficial yet the profound perceived the designs. Among them was his continually giving his attention[2] to that wondrous creature the camel and his delight in the marvels of Divine power. He used to observe and contemplate the strange make and ways of camels, which were the biggest animals in that region and, under the guise of amusement and metaphor, made serious reflections on the *darvish*-like constitution of those beasts—their endurance and patience; submission and resignation, their passive obedience even should the leading cord be in the hand of a child,—their being satisfied to eat thorns, and their endurance of thirst. He also applied his thoughts to the delight in an Arab horse which is a grand subject of dominion and exaltation, and carried off the ball of 318
excellencies and of philosophy (*hunarpardāzī*, love of science) with the polo-stick of the Divine help and of sempiternal instruction. And sometimes he opened the wings of his genius in the spacious atmosphere of meditation upon God and brought his contemplative mind to study the sport of pigeon-flying.[3] He scattered grain in order to allure their timid breasts and proceeded from the superficial joy and

[1] The text omits the negative, but the variant *namīuftād* makes better sense and is supported by two B.M. MSS. Nos. 27,247 and 5610.

[2] This may be compared with the remarks in the *Ā'īn*, Blochmann 143.

[3] *Cf.* Blochmann 298.

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ecstacy of these handfuls of wings and feathers to the recuperative and visible raptures of the lords of perfection, and thereby participated in the joys of the spiritual world. He carried his heart from the flying of these aerial fliers to the lofty soaring of the swift-winged ones of holy heaven, and under the guise of sport performed the work of adoration. Sometimes he would apply himself to coursing with dogs and thus occupy himself with sensuous things. Outwardly it was cynegetics, inwardly it was quickening the senses. Apparently his heart was fixed upon dog-fancying, in reality he was conducting his companions in the methods of government. And[1] although he was pursuing his quests under the veil of irrecognition and kept himself attired in the garb of superficialists, he could not hide his sweet savour or his brilliancy. Divine glory ever shone from his lustrous brows, and the attributes of spiritual and temporal leadership were conspicuous in the irradiated countenance of that elect of God!

One day he was engaged in hunting on the slope of the Safīd[2] Sang hills and had put hunting-dogs into the charge of his immediate attendants in order that they should lie in[3] wait. And certain men

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[1] *Cf.* the remarks about hunting, Blochmann 282.

[2] There is a Safīd Sang south of Kābul, but probably what is meant is the Safīd Koh or Spīnghār range S.W. of Jalālābād.

[3] *Ke tūsqāwal bāshind.* The word tūsqāwal is not in the dictionaries. It occurs once before, *viz.*, at Text, p. 255, l. 11. That passage is founded on Bayāzīd I.O. MS, 28*b* and he says that *tūsqāwal* is called *nihilam* in Badakhshān. Now Bābar has the word *nihilam*, p. 28 of Memoirs, and speaks of his uncle Sulṭān Mahmūd Mīrzā's being very fond of hunting the *nihilam*. That is, this is how Leyden has understood the passage, and P. de Courteille has followed him. But it would appear from the passage before us that *tasqāwal* according to A.F. means a particular kind of hunting and is not the name of any animal. Apparently it refers to the practice of driving game past a shelter or shooting box. The Lucknow edition of the Akbarnāma says in a note to the passage, at p. 238 that *tasqāwal* is a Turki word and means a hunter who remains on the low ground in ambush. It may perhaps be connected with the Turqī *qarāwal* a hunter, or it may be Arabic and a derivative from ثقلي and ثقل and mean one who feigns inactivity. Bābar's remark that his uncle took to the pursuit in the latter part of his life seems to imply that the sport was not of an active kind. In the Persian of Bābar's Mem., as given in the Bombay lithographed edition, *nihilam* appears as *bahilam*.

Since writing this note I have

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had been sent up the mountain to drive the deer down into the plain. When the deer came to the obstacles, the servants had been caught by the dog of carnal appetite, and as in their folly they thought only of His Highness's tender years and boyish appearance, they had set themselves to eat and so did not slip the dogs in time. When he became aware of this, his inward sovereignty was aroused, and he issued an order that their necks should be bound with cords as if they were dogs, and they be led round the camp. He so sate on the *masnad* of severity that the old and experienced were amazed and placed the finger of surprise in their mouths. When this occurrence came to the ears of His Majesty Jahānbānī, his heart was greatly delighted and he remarked that he would soon come to great sovereignty and attain everlasting dominion.

Shāham Khān Jalāīr used to tell how one day His Majesty Jahānbānī bade him go and see what the new fruit of fortune's springtide was doing. "When I went," he said, "I found him lying down. His lustrous countenance was serene and he looked as if he were asleep. In truth he was holding converse with the holy ones of heaven's court (the angels). His blessed hand moved occasionally as is seen in the recuperative states of the lords of contemplation. From time to time there fell from his pearl-dropping tongue such expressions as "God willing, I'll bring the cream of earth's surface 319
under my sway and fulfil the desires of the sorrowful of the seven climes." "The Khān used to say that when he saw this condition and heard these words, he became amazed, and great awe fell upon him, so that he could not stand. He went aside and remained stupefied. Several times did he (Akbar) speak in this fashion.

A laudable behaviour of His Highness at this time and one which showed his lofty and farseeing nature was that whenever any flatterers or black-hearted persons, who see nothing but their own personal loss or gain, or rather think their[1] loss is their gain, would

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found the word *tūsqāwal* توسقاول in the Turkish-Persian dictionary of Mīrzā 'Alī Bakht, and which is known as the Farhang Azafarī. This dictionary is in the Mullā Fīrūz Library, Bombay, and is No. 27, p. 54 of Rehatsek's catalogue. It explains *tūsqāwāl* as the shutting up of a road. *Tasqāwal*, or *nihilam* then was a kind of hunting analogous to "driving" and was perhaps such a sport as Akbar is said to have engaged in at the Deer-tower of Fatehpūr Sīkrī.

[1] Perhaps it should be *zīān-i-digar* the loss of others, but all the MSS. seem to have *Khud*.

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say "May you soon be king of the seven climes" or "May you be the Lord of the Age" he would be much displeased and say "Those people in their little sense want to show themselves wellwishers. God forbid that they know anything of the palace of wellwishing! They are imagining evil for me in thinking of the decease of His Majesty Jahānbānī, and are gathering my temporal good from my spiritual ill. Or rather they are casting trouble into the country of welfare and raising the head of sedition. For the spiritual and temporal good fortune of children lies in their hopes and wishes being always for the preservation of their august fathers, and they wish them long life. For he who does not act rightly by his temporal God how shall he conduct himself properly towards his spiritual God?" Let men admire the lofty understanding, the pure nature, and the right thinking of this spiritually and temporally great one (Akbar)! In fine, greatness and glory shone in every action of His Highness. What the mature and experienced attained to by thought and care, this cherished one of God's glance acquired with small application in the beginning of his career. And every knowledge and science that the learned and the studious gathered with difficulty, came into the hands of this exhibitor of wondrous powers without meditation or care. Ripe wisdom made the hope-eye of the world shine on beholding this light of the eyes of sovereignty, and made men exult in the firm wisdom and deep knowledge of this nursling of God. But till the time of the revelation of the *Khilāfat*, it was veiled and hidden, and he passed his time under God's protection and free from the mischief of the deceit and treachery of ill-wishers.

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CHAPTER LIII.

EXPEDITION OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHYĀNĪ FROM BIHSŪD AGAINST THE AFGHĀN CLANS,—AMONGST WHOM WAS THE AMBUSH OF M. KĀMRĀN'S STRIFES,— AND FLIGHT OF THE LATTER TO INDIA.

When winter came to an end in the village of Bihsūd and the violence of the cold was over; and when it was known that M. Kāmrān, with a few retainers, was spending his days amongst the Afghān clans, most of the officers were of opinion that, as the Mīrzā had now no power of opposition, His Majesty should leave there a 320
body of troops, and should proceed to Kābul. But a party of the far-seeing represented that as the weather was now temperate, it was advisable to attack and plunder the Afghāns; and that it was improper to return until this faction,—the material of strife and sedition;—had been thoroughly subdued. Thus both M. Kāmrān who was secretly living amongst the tribe and who was making ready the constituents of dissension, would fall into their hands, and also, the root of the disturbers would be dug up.

His Majesty Jahānbānī preferred this view, and guided by victory, mounted the steed of fortune in order to fall suddenly upon the clans and pour the dust of defeat on their heads. A number of impetuous heroes and wielders of the sword, such as Muḥammad Khān Jalāīr, Sl. Muḥammad Fawāq, Shaikh Bahlūl, Shāh Qulī Nāranjī, were appointed under the leadership of Sl. Ḥusain Khān to go forward in advance. The wind was very cold that night and the way was long, so they halted mid-way to ease their men and cattle. In the morning, they mounted and went on.

As the tribes had scattered here and there, it was not known in which the Mīrzā was. In this time of perplexity, Māham 'Alī Qulī Khān and Bābā Khizārī who were on the way from M. Kāmrān to Malik Muḥammad of Mandraur, fell into the hands of the royal servants. They asked in which tribe the Mīrzā was. Māham 'Alī

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led the inquirers astray and indicated a tribe other than that in which the Mīrzā was. Bābā said, "He is frightened, he does not know what he is saying. The Mīrzā is in such and such an encampment and I will show the way." The advance-guard reached the place at early dawn, attacked it, sent many to the abode of annihilation and captured a number of women and children. Some of the heroes entered the tent where the Mīrzā was sleeping, and Shāh Qulī Nāranjī declares that he was one of them and that there were two persons within. One of them was caught and the other con-
321 trived to escape. In the morning, it was seen that the captive was Beg Mulūk whom the Mīrzā always kept in his sight, and that it was the Mīrzā who had gone out. Some of the vagabond Afghāns, such as Shaikh Yūsuf Kararānī and Malik Sangī, stood up to fight and then flung the dust of disgrace on themselves by running away. Their goods fell into the hands of the royal servants. The victory was won before the arrival of the royal standards. The Mīrzā was not able to remain in those parts and went to India.

When His Majesty's heart was freed from the business of chastising the rebellious and when, by God's favour, a great victory had been gained,—such as might be a preface to victories,—he left the district and returned to Bihsūd. When it was ascertained that the Mīrzā had escaped, under circumstances befitting thankless ingrates, and had gone to India, His Majesty Jahānbānī went to the Bāgh-i-ṣafā[1] which is the delight of hearts and may be styled a cleanser (*ṣafā-bakhsh*) of the picture-gallery of the soul, and there made a festival with pomp and splendour.

As the days were lengthening and there was the beginning of the splendour of spring and of the freshness of avenues (*khiyābān*) and of the delights of the heart opening streams, he sent a number of special individuals under charge of 'Alī Qulī of Andarāb to Kābul to fetch that spring-blossom, His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, together with the chaste ladies; so that he might, by beholding the wonders of early spring and by reading the pages of the rose-garden, gain

[1] The Bāgh-i-ṣafā was at Cār Bāgh which is marked in maps as W. of Jalālābād and higher up the Kābul river. See Raverty, "Notes on Afghānistān," p. 53, and Jarrett II. 405. The Bāgh-i-ṣafā is distinct from the Bāgh-i-wafā'.

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admittance to the enclosure of recognition of the Divine artist and might lay the foundations of thanksgiving.

Their Highnesses arrived in a short time, and His Majesty gave endless thanksgiving gifts, which are a means of attracting yet more favours from the true Benefactor. After a time of enjoyment, he proceeded in an auspicious hour, to Kābul.

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CHAPTER LIV.

His Majesty the Shāhinshāh goes to Ghaznīn, and exaltation of that place by his dwelling there.

As His Majesty Jahānbānī perceived that the splendours of guidance and of capacity for affairs of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh were increasing daily, he determined, now that things were quieted, 322 to separate him for a few days from his person in order that his greatness might be tested, that all might know his abilities, and also that he might have practice in the art of rule. For whoever in his youthful years, and also when by himself, shall make prudence his guide, and show magnanimity in all his ways, and who shall, without pluming himself on his own grandeur, exercise justice and equity to the humble and needy, and he whom real union (with his parent or guardian) shall suffice and whom physical remoteness shall not make sad,—assuredly he it is who can become the Unique Pearl of the *Khilāfat*. As the glories of such qualities were believed to be, or rather were known with certainty to be, written on the tablet-forehead of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, he was sent to Ghaznīn in the beginning of 959, (end of December, 1551). The *Atka Khān*, Khw. Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd and all the servants of M. Hindāl were attached to him in this happy enterprise, the general management being with the Khwāja aforesaid. He spent six months there in vigilance and prosperity, and as spiritual and temporal supremacy was ever visible in him, right actions and laudable manners, such as are not seen in mature and experienced men, displayed themselves in this fortunate and happy-starred youth. And he was continually winning hearts by his right ways and his worship of the right. He always strove to comfort the distracted. He was always bent upon pleasing that class of men who expend themselves in the domain of privation and who, having girt up the loins of effort for the purification of manners and the knowledge of God, have taken the path of poverty and renunciation, turning aside from ease and sorrow, and

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the praise and blame of worldlings, and concerning themselves solely with the Unique and Companionless One (God).

At that time there was in Ghaznīn Bābā Bilās[1] who was one of the enthusiastic God-knowers and immersed in the sea of contemplation and who spent his days in the cell and the hermitage of obscurity. His Highness frequently went to see him. And that seer of the workshop of holiness read temporal and spiritual supremacy in the lines of his forehead and congratulated him on his external and internal kingship, and gave him the good news of long life, and lofty distinctions. When it was near the time that he should obtain respite from the hunting and travelling in Ghaznīn he, in accordance with an indication from His Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī, set about his return. The reason of his recal was that His Majesty Jahānbānī was ever engaged in business in Kābul. All his time was divided and apportioned, and not a moment of night or day was spent in frivolities or idleness. But together with his dispensing of justice, and comforting the brokenhearted and surveying the work of the kingdom, he took pleasure in travel and field-sports. One day he had gone riding to Zama[2] which is one of the delightful villages of Kābul, and had accidentally fallen from his horse, and sustained bodily injuries. As prudence is closely associated with 323
dominion, he, out of precaution and reflection on the end of things, sent a letter recalling His Majesty Shāhinshāh. By the happy influence of his advent His Majesty attained a perfect recovery.

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[1] A variant gives Palās and this is the form used by Bayāzīd. He tells how Humāyūn unsuccessfully tried to evade the saint when he visited Ghaznīn on his way to Qandahār; and how the saint questioned him about his having put Ḥājī Muḥammad to death, Erskine MS. trs. p. 40.

[2] Called Zamzama at p. 260 last line. It lay N. of Kābul.

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CHAPTER LV.

EXPEDITION OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JANNAT-ĀSHYĀNĪ TO BANGASH, AND CHASTISEMENT OF THE REBELLIOUS; REARING THE STANDARD OF INTENTION FOR INDIA; CAPTURE OF M. KĀMRĀN, AND RETURN TO KĀBUL, ETC.

In the winter of the end of 959 (November, 1552), His Majesty Jahānbānī determined upon proceeding to Bangash which is a winter-quarters for Kābul. The design of this expedition was both to chastise the rebels of that quarter, and also to recruit his army. For the sake of auspiciousness, he took with him His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, as being closely connected with his good fortune, and proceeded towards Gardīz and Bangash. The Afghāns received proper punishment, and their goods fell into the hands of the soldiery. The first tribe attacked was the 'Abdu-r-raḥmānī,[1] the last was the Barmazīd. Fatḥ Shāh[2] Afghān,—who in his folly and unwisdom thought himself wise and led others astray,—fled from the onset of the victorious army, and on his way fell in with Munʿim Khān and a body of troops who were marching to join the king. All his goods and chattels came into the hands of the soldiery and he was wounded and forced to take flight. During this turmoil the delegates (*wukalā'*) of Sl. Adam Gakhar, the chief of the Gakhar clan, arrived with a letter and were graciously received. The contents of the letter were that M. Kāmrān had come in distress to his territory; that Sl. Adam, in whose head was the breath of loyalty, did not wish the Mīrzā to spend his days in this vagabond fashion; that if His Majesty would come, he would produce the Mīrzā in order that the latter might make amends for his crimes and become a

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[1] Jarrett II. 407.

[2] Erskine says that he was reputed to belong to the *Cirāgh-kash* (lamp extinguishing) sect. This is derived from Bayāzīd (62*a*), who adds that he lived in Tīrāh.

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servant of dominion's threshold; and that Sl. Adam himself would also do homage.

Be it known that the Gakhars are a numerous clan and that they live between the Bihat (Jehlam) and the Indus. In the time of Sl. Zainu-l-'ābidīn of Kashmir, there came a Ghaznīn officer, named Malik Kid,[1] a kinsman of the ruler of Kābul, and took this country 324
by force from the possession of the Kashmīrīs. He was succeeded by his son, Malik Kalān, and he again by his son Bīr (or Pīr).[2] After him came Tatār Khān who had much contest with Sher Khān and his son, Salīm Khān. He regarded himself as attached to His Majesty's family, for at the time when His Majesty Getī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī conquered India, he entered his service and did good work. He was especially devoted in the war with Rānā Sānkā. He had two sons, Sl. Sārang and Sl. Adam. After Sārang the headship of the tribe fell to Sl. Adam. The sons of Sārang Kamāl Khān and S'aīd Khān submitted but were secretly disaffected. Jōgī Khān, a confidential servant of M. Kāmrān, arrived with as Sl. Adam's ambassador and tendered a petition from the Mīrzā, full of smooth and baseless words.

Abū'-i-faẓl, the writer of this compendium of wisdom, and the chronicler of the deeds of this noble family, has his mind fixed on the history of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh and on the diffusion of information concerning his glorious rule. It is to satisfy the thirsty readers of this precious chronicle that he has given,—as a side-piece,—an account of the lofty line from Adam down till now, which is the era of the heir of the universe. It is indispensable to tell briefly the evil acts of M. Kāmrān and of his receiving retribution therefor by his own acts.[3] Although the dignity of this noble record is too exalted for the entry of such matters, yet in order to complete the narrative, it is impossible to avoid treating of the low as well as of the high.

Let it not be hidden from the listeners to these strange occurrences,—every one of which is a sermon from a sacred pulpit,—that when that morning, as has been related, M. Kāmrān was defeated and escaped with a thousand risks from the hands of the swordsmen,

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1 Blochmann 456.

2 The Gakhars say Tatār was grandson of Bīr and son of Pilu.

3 A.F. means that he was blinded because he had blinded others.

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he was unable to remain in any one place. From the ruin of his understanding,—the fruit of ingratitude,—and notwithstanding reverses, each of which might have guided him to the highway of auspiciousness,—he did not submit himself to a master so gracious and forgiving, when the dust of remorse and repentance should have covered his face and when he should have come, with shame and apology, to kiss the threshold and atone for his crimes,—but he, the destined pervert, went off to India for the purpose of presenting himself before Salīm Khān, son of Sher Khān, (who in addition to inborn ingratitude, had his brain perturbed by the wine of insouciance and the ferment of pride), and to obtain from him auxiliaries for his disloyalty. Good God! what kind of reason had he
325 to go to his deadly foe to compass the ruin of so great a friend? Why should he submit to indignities to this end? and wish him (Salīm) to assist him to contend with his benefactor? To sum up; evil thoughts brought the Mīrzā to this, and with a few followers, he took the road to India. From the neighbourhood of the Khaibar, he sent Shāh Budāgh Khān to Salīm Khān who was in Ban,[1] a town of the Panjāb. The Mīrzā's ambassador arrived there and performed his mission. Salīm Khān perceived that the success of the Mīrzā's wishes was beyond his (Salīm's) power and therefore dissembled. He sent some money for expenses by the envoy and arranged that he (Kāmrān) should wait where he was, and he promised to send him help, and to assign him an income. Before the ambassador had returned to the Mīrzā, Alī Muḥammad Asp also was sent to Salīm Khān. To sum up this long story, which might better have been shortened;—when the Mīrzā arrived within four *kos* of Ban, Salīm Khān sent his own son, Āwāz Khān, Maulānā 'Abdu-l-lāh of Sulṭānpūr and a number of his officers to welcome him. The Mīrzā was received by the Afghān leader (*i.e.*, Salīm) in a manner unfitting for enemies or street-dogs.[2] His companions were Bābā Jūjak, Mullā Shafāī, Bābā

[1] The Bīn of Erskine. Perhaps it is Bain in the Bannū country which is marked in Thoburn's map. It lies south of Edwardesābād. See too Jarrett II. 393. Raverty (Notes, etc., p. 354), mentions Ban as 19 miles north-east of Siālkōt and 8 miles south-west of Jammū. It is on the east bank of the Cenāb. There is a "Bone" in the Salt Range. (Wanderings of a Naturalist, Adams, p. 134).

[2] Text 325. *See* Erskine II. 408 for an account of Kamrān's humiliating reception.

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Sa'īd Qibcāq, Shāh Budāgh,[1] 'Ālam Shāh, Raḥmān Qulī Khān, Ṣāliḥ *dīwāna*, Ḥājī Yūsuf, 'Ali Muḥammad Asp, Tāmartāsh, Ghālib Khān, Abdāl Kūka and many other broken men whose names had better not be given. As the acts of ingrates and the thoughts of the unfaithful are not for good and meet with disaster in the end, whatever happened to them was the consequence of their actions. The Mīrzā was disgusted with the bad manners of this ignorant crew (*i.e.*, the Afghāns) and continually reproached Shāh Budāgh in private, who had instigated him to come.

When Salīm Khān's mind was at rest about the affairs of the Panjāb, he set off for Dihlī, taking the Mīrzā with him under false promises. He kept saying that he would let him go but did not do so. His idea was to imprison him in one of the strong forts of India. When the Mīrzā perceived how things were, and that there was no hope of assistance nor of his own release, he resolved to escape. He sent Jōgī Khān, his trusted servant, to Rāja Bakhū who was twelve *kos* from Māciwāra and asked for help. The Rāja received the messenger kindly and promised his protection. One day when Salīm Khān had crossed the Māciwāra river, the Mirza left Yūsuf 326
aftābcī in his (Kāmrān's) sleeping suit and arranged with Bābā Sa'īd to go on for a long time reciting something so that it might be supposed the Mīrzā was lying down. He himself changed his clothes and put a veil over his face and then went out by the enclosed side and hastened to the refuge which had been agreed upon. The Rāja gave him a proper reception and when it was reported that an army was coming to search for him, sent him on to the Rāja of Kahlūr whose was the safest place in the neighbourhood. He too, from fear of enemies, sent the Mīrzā on, giving him a guide to Jammū. But the Rāja of Jammū from the cautiousness of a landholder, would not allow him to enter his territory. Dismayed and confused, the Mīrzā went off to Mankōt. There he was almost captured, and again changing his apparel, he went on, in woman's garb, towards Kābul, in the company of an Afghān horse-dealer. Meditating evil, he went to Sl. Adam Gakhar thinking that perhaps he might induce the Gakhar tribe to act with him and to do things which ought not to be done. But Sl. Adam approved of loyalty. He kept the Mīrzā, by

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1 Blochmann 371. See also Raverty "Notes on Afghānistān," 359.

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various pretexts, under surveillance and sent to represent the matter at the sublime Court. The Mīrzā also, when he saw disappointing indications in the behaviour of the tribe, was compelled to adopt feline ways and to send a petition, as already stated. Though he tried to induce the Gakhars to join him, he had no success. He did not trouble himself about escaping because he had no refuge; moreover owing to the guard kept over him and to his own fatigue, he saw that it would be difficult to get away. He was obliged to subsist with this people and he learnt that every harmful thought becomes null and void which is entertained by the ill-wisher to a dominion adorned by the Divine splendour and safe-guarded by its protection; and that such an ill-wisher sinks into eternal punishment.

When the envoy of Sl. Adam had represented the state of affairs, His Majesty determined to make an expedition into India as far as the Gakhar country. He sent Khw. Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd to guard and govern Kābul and marched on himself, taking the Shāhinshāh with him, for the furtherance of good fortune. He bound the girdle of determination on the waist of energy that he might end the affair of M. Kāmrān and ease the world from his strife and sin. When the standards of victory reached the Indus, he sent Qāẓī Ḥamīd, the chief judge of the victorious camp, to Sl. Adam, requesting his
327 presence. He also sent the Mīrzā sage counsel and exhortations, to the effect that he should scour from his heart the rust of opposition and discord. When later, he crossed the Indus, there was no sign of Sl. Adam who apparently was affected by the misplaced apprehensions of a landholder. His Majesty despatched Mūn'im Khān to soothe him and bring him in. He also sent a few words to the Mīrzā such as might guide him to fortune. Mūn'im Khān was moreover to ascertain from their actions and manners what were their secret thoughts and to report accordingly. He displayed his abilities and after cajolery and stratagem, Sl. Adam brought the Mīrzā and did homage near Parhāla. His Majesty gave a feast which was kept up all night. Spite of so many crimes,—each one deserving condign punishment,—M. Kāmrān was encompassed with favours. All loyal officers and prudent well-wishers represented that though the kindness and benevolence of His Majesty always required that in his Court, the mantle of pardon should clothe great criminals,—yet foresight and firmness demanded that the oppressor and injurer of

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mankind should receive his deserts, so that the dust of wickedness might be wiped from the face of men's safety. Fore-casting care made it proper that the outward appeasement of one man,—and he an ill-wisher,—should not be preferred to the satisfaction of many distinguished loyalists. What shock would there be to the wall of justice if, to bind up the broken-hearted and heal the wounds of lacerated breasts, the portrait of a tyrant were erased from the world's picture-gallery? Especially when this course involved thousands of advantages. The obliteration of this worthless figure would be in every way pleasing to God and in accordance with general laws. Such ingratitude and rebellion were not of the character to give hope of security or to permit his actions to be regarded as not done. The matter had passed beyond bounds; it could no longer be coped with (*ṭāqathā ṭāq shuda*). It was advisable for him and for all that he should become a traveller to the world of non-existence, that so God's creatures might be saved from thousands of ills and the record of his deeds become no blacker. People's goods had long been subject to plunder and rapine through the turmoils of this wicked rebel: their property and honour had gone to the winds of strife and the lives of so many men had been valued as dust; and the jewel of sincerity,—which is the neck-ornament of the virtues,—had been lost in the mists of trouble. Now the proper course was to release such a man from the claws of final retribution 328
and to give mankind tranquillity, under the shadow of justice.

His Majesty Jahānbānī looked to the wisdom and benevolence of the Causer of causes (God), and declined to engage in this affair. (Nor would he believe) that the world-adorning Initiator would, in spite of his omnipotence, make a man so unutterable, (*i.e.*, as M. Kāmrān). Besides taking this profound view, his discerning eye approved of the admonitions of His Majesty Getī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī and would not agree to the proposition. His officers, who had witnessed the various bloodsheds and strife caused by this insolent shedder of blood,—were again firm in their request: they took legal opinions which were attested by the law-officers; and they brought a paper signed by the great of realm and religion and laid it before His Majesty. These documents His Majesty sent to M. Kāmrān who having read the record of his deeds and the punishment (proposed), returned the message that those who to-day had put their

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seals for his death, were the men who had brought him to this pass. The spirit of clemency moved His Majesty and, spite of the general insistance and of the existence of so many reasons, would not let him shed the Mīrzā's blood. At length for the general welfare, a special order was issued and they deprived the Mīrzā of sight. 'Alī Dōst *bārbegī* (master of the ceremonies), Saiyid Muḥammad Pakna and Ghulām 'Alī *shash-angasht*[1] were told off for this duty.

They entered the Mīrzā's tent. He thought they had come to kill him and at once ran at them with his fists. 'Alī Dost said, "Mīrzā, compose yourself: the order is not for death. Why are you agitated? As justice demands,—for you blinded Saiyid 'Alī[2] and many other innocent persons,—you will behold in your own eyes the retaliation thereof." On hearing this, the Mīrzā agreed to submit to the royal commands and endured the insertion of the needle. They blinded both his eyes,—the sentinels of a seditious heart. These loyal servants took the precaution of using the lancet many times. The Mīrzā being thankful that his life was spared, uttered no remonstrance. With his natural kindness, His Majesty expressed his regrets and marched onwards. Many affectionate and loving words rose to his lips. This catastrophe occurred in the end of 960 (Nov.-Dec., 1553). Khw. Muḥammad Mūman of Farankhūd[3] found the chronogram, *nīshtar* (lancet) = 960).

On the same day, the Mīrzā sent to Mun'im Khān to request him by all means in his power, to obtain for him from His Majesty the services of Beg Mulūk. The petition was at once granted and Beg Mulūk was sent. The Mīrzā,—owing to the great affection he bore
329 him,—took his hands and placing them over his own sightless eyes, recited this verse;—

Though a veil be drawn over my eyes,
I behold thee with the eye which has oft seen thy face.

After this occurrence, His Majesty set off to chastise the Jānūhā[4] who were vagabonds and impediments of the road. The

[1] *i e.*, six-fingered or -toed.

[2] Kāmrān did this at Tīrī after returning from Sind and before capturing Ghaznīn.

[3] Text 328. Farakhūd is mentioned by Yāqūt as a village near Samarkand. See too Blochmann 434*n*.

[4] Blochmann 456*n*. They inhabited the Salt Range. Their proper name is Janju'āh.

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wretched rebels slipped their necks from the collar of obedience and were killed fighting with the heroes of victory. Khw. Qāsim Maḥdī and others of the army of fortune attained the glory of martyrdom.

His mind being at rest about this affair, His Majesty resolved to go to Kashmīr, an intention he had cherished for years. His officers thought it inadvisable and abused Kashmīr, likening it to a well[1] or prison, in order to induce the holy heart to renounce the enterprise, for, they said, "The noise of the march of the army of fortune has caused commotion in India and Salīm Khān is coming to the Panjāb with great preparation; whilst on our side, there has been no due preparation." "If we go forward and the Afghān army approach us, how can we pass it and go on to Kashmīr? Perhaps the Kashmīrī affair will be a long one and if so and black-hearted Afghāns secure the passes, what will be the end of it? The proper thing is to give up the idea of the expedition and to return to Kābul now that the traitor has been removed from our midst. When military preparations have been made, we will set the foot of courage in the stirrup of energy and by the might of daily-waxing success, shall easily destroy the Afghans." His Majesty heard these words, and gave them no heed but despatched His Majesty the *Shāhinshāh* with many officers to protect Kābul and turned his own rein towards Kashmīr and desired to set forth. Acting on the evil teaching of their huckster-natured officers,—who looked to nothing but their own profit,—most of the servants and soldiers left their masters and set out for Kābul. Except officers, none remained to serve His Majesty. By this shameful conduct,—far removed from the path of loyalty and obedience,—the composure of the noble soul was disturbed. He ordered the trusty by all means to turn back the men and not to hesitate, if necessary, to put any to death. Meanwhile he sought an omen from the glorious Koran. It chanced that the story of the faithful Joseph came up. Those who had leave to speak, set 330
themselves to explain this and considered it carefully. Khw. Ḥusain of Merv submitted that what had been said about Kashmīr,—*viz.*, that it was like a well or a prison,—was true; for the story of Joseph names both these things.

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[1] Alluding to its girdle of mountains.

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When disunion showed itself amongst those with him, His Majesty, being compelled to abandon his intention, moved towards Kābul. When he was encamped on the Indus, M. Kāmrān petitioned to be allowed to go to the Ḥijāz. As His Majesty was now desirous of giving him pleasure, he consented. On the night of dismissing the Mīrzā [1] on his journey, he went with a number of chosen followers to his quarters. After paying due respects, the Mīrzā recited this verse.[2]

The fold of the poor man's turban brushes the sky,
When the shadow of a monarch like thee falls on his head.

Later on, this verse was on his tongue ;—

Whate'er comes on my life from thee is cause for thanks,—
Be it shaft of cruelty or dagger of tyranny.

Although the second couplet inclines to thanks, a critic can see that it runs over with censure. His Majesty who was a world of compassion and gentleness, took no heed of this but expressed commiseration. With his inspired tongue he said, "He who knoweth secrets and things hidden, is aware how much ashamed I am of this thing which did not come about with my goodwill.[3] Would that

[1] A.F.'s account of this interview seems to be taken from Bayāzīd (I.O. MS. 64*b*.) but though he is often a servile copyist, he is rarely quite an accurate one. As I understand Bayāzīd, Kāmrān said, "If people consider that His Majesty has dealt kindly with me, I attest the fact (*sijl kardam*). Possibly a negative has slipped out here for it would be more to the point if Kāmrān said, "Should people think His Majesty has *not* dealt kindly by me, I attest the contrary." A.F. makes Kāmrān say, "If I were innocent, I would take the opportunity of this visit to attest my innocency." The text has *baḥal kardamī*, "I would absolve him:" and this is Erskine's reading of the passage. (A.N. MS. trs.). But after referring to Bayāzīd and other sources, it seems to me that *sijl* and not *baḥal* is written. This agrees with the context; "Were I innocent, I would take advantage of this public opportunity to assert the fact, but I well know I am guilty." It will be observed that Erskine renders the passage differently in his History (II. 417) and in his MS. trs.

[2] Imitated from the Gulistān III. 19. Blochmann quotes the lines (179).

[3] I do not feel sure of the meaning, but I think that Humāyūn was gently hinting that as Kāmrān, when in power, had blinded several people, he might, if successful against his brother, have blinded Humāyūn

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you had done it to me ere this happened." The Mīrzā woke from the slumber of negligence and comprehended both the measure of his crimes and the extent of the princely mercies. He fell into a state of shame and supplication and asked Ḥājī Yūsuf what persons were present. Ḥājī Yūsuf named them, *viz.*, Tardī Beg Khān, Mun'im Khān, Bābūs Beg, Khw. Ḥusain[1] of Merv, Mīr 'Abdāl-ḥai, Mīr 'Abdu-l-lāh, Khanjar Beg and 'Ārif Beg. The Mīrzā said, "Friends, be ye all witnesses that if I knew myself innocent, I would assert the fact at this time of distinction when His Majesty visits me; but I am certain I was worthy of death. He has granted me life and has given me leave to depart to the Ḥijāz. For the beneficence and favour of His Majesty, I offer a thousand thanks because he has not exacted retribution commensurate with my wickedness and misconduct." After this he passed on to recommendations for his 331
children. His Majesty gladly promised to care for them. Having encompassed the Mīrzā with kingly favours, he bade him adieu. It had been stipulated that the Mīrzā should not lament in the presence and he therefore restrained himself, but, as soon as His Majesty had gone towards his own tent, he wept and lamented.

Next day an order was issued that any of the Mīrzā's servants who wished to accompany him, might do so. No one came forward. Those who had boasted of their affection, abandoned it. Calma kūka,[2]—(who by his perfect loyalty and fidelity to His Majesty the *Shāhinshāh* obtained the title of Khān 'Alam and who gave his life for his benefactor and the master of mortals, as will be told in its place),—was standing there. He was His Majesty's table-servant (*safarcī*) and the recipient of royal favour. His Majesty Jahānbānī asked him whether he would go with the Mīrzā, or stay with him. The excellence of Court service and the abundance of royal favour notwithstanding, he preferred the path of fidelity to temporal delights and answered, "I see that it befits my position[3] to serve the Mīrzā in his dark days of helplessness and black nights of loneliness."

Chalmers translates, "Would that I had been the sufferer and you the author of the evil."

1 See Badāonī III. 176, for account of this poet and also *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī*, Luck. ed. 396. Niẓāmu-d-dīn says he was son of a vizier and died in Kābul.

2 Blochmann 378.

3 He was son of Hamdam a foster-brother of Kāmrān, so that his fidelity was to the "milk-brotherhood."

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His Majesty who was the touch-stone of knowledge of men and their accurate balance, highly approved of his faithfulness and though he set value on his services, he let him go. He made over to him the money and goods fixed upon for the expenses of the journey and sent him to the Mīrzā. Beg Muluk, notwithstanding his close connection with the Mīrzā went with him some stages only and then returned,—a proceeding exceedingly disapproved by His Majesty and, notwithstanding external agreeableness,[1] he became disregarded.

The Mīrzā went by the Indus to Tatta and thence to his destination (Mecca). He performed the pilgrimage three times, and on the 11th Ẕī'l-ḥijja, 964 (5th. Oct., 1557), at Mecca,[2] he was borne away to non-existence, uttering these words, in response to the Divine call, "Here I am for Thee."[3]

As the series of words about M. Kāmrān has now been folded up, I hasten to my proper subject, and record that, as the evil Afghāns had destroyed the fort at Bikrām, known as Peshāwur, where His Majesty was encamped, he determined to rebuild it and leaving a body of his well-wishers in it, to proceed to Kābul :—for the completion of this fort would be the beginning of the conquest of India. The officers wanted to get back to Kābul and were unwilling on any account soever to delay in this place. His Majesty Jahānbānī set himself energetically to the task and in a short time, had the fort rebuilt. Pahlwān Dost *mīr barr* divided the work, according to orders, amongst the officers and it was soon finished.
332 Sikandar Khān Uzbak was left in charge and His Majesty moved towards Kābul.

Later on, the Afghāns made a great attack on the fort but Sikandar Khān defended it manfully, and they were repulsed. In

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[1] *Baqabūl-i-ṣuratīki dāsht, mardūd-i-naẓarhā shud.* This is from Bayāzīd, 65*a* whose words are ;—*u ān bī sa'ādat Beg Mulūk, cand manzil ki hamrāh-i-mīrzā raft, bī rukhṣat judā shuda āmid in bawajūd-i-maqbūlī mardūd-i-khāṣṣu 'āmm shud.* It would seem from text I. 363 that he must have afterwards repented and gone upon the pilgrimage.

[2] لبو Minnā in text, that being a valley in Mecca. The three *ḥajj* will be those of 961–963. That of 964 could not have been completed. See Asiatic Quarterly Review, July, 1899, p. 164.

[3] See Hughes' Dictionary of Islām s.v. *talbīyah. Labbaik* may be said to correspond to Colonel Newcomb's *Adsum.*

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the beginning of 961 (Dec., 1553), Kābul was made glorious by the arrival of His Majesty. The ladies came to wait upon him and offered congratulations. He however said that congratulations had their proper place and that the affair of M. Kāmrān was not one for congratulation because it was as if he had struck at his own eyes. Gracious letters were issued to the officers. One was sent also to 'Abdu-r-rashīd, ruler of Kashghār, who had all along been mindful of kinship and amicably disposed. The letter told what had occurred and was sent by prudent hands. While His Majesty was superintending affairs of state and distributing rewards and punishments, a son was born to him from the chaste womb of Māh Jūjak Begam, in this year, on the night of Wednesday, 15th Jumāda'l-awwal (19th April, 1554), and after the passing of two *dāng* [1] of the sign Sagittarius. His Majesty named him Muḥammad Ḥakīm. As the chronograms [2] of his birth were both Abū'-l-mafākhir and Abū'-l-faẓāil, he received both patronymics (*kanyat*). The gates of joy were opened and thanks were rendered to God. At about the same time, Khānish Begam, daughter of Jūjūq M. of Khwārizm, gave birth to a son whom they named Ibrāhīm Sl. He soon went to the blessed country (*'ālam-i-qads*).

Verse.

He was a flash from high heaven :
Birth and death touched.

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[1] Apparently meaning one-third of a degree.

[2] Both names yield 961 (1554).

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CHAPTER LVI.

His Majesty Jahānbānī's Journey to Qandahār and his return therefrom.

In the beginning of the winter of this year, His Majesty determined to go to Qandahār rather than to India, as a number of strife-mongers had made false representations about Bairām Khān. Accordingly he went there. The government of Kābul was entrusted to 'Alī Quli Khān of Andarāb, and the Divine nursling, eye-pupil of
333 the *Khilāfat*, prop of glory, His Majesty the Shāhinshāh accompanied his father as far as Ghaznīn. The prince's *vakils*, who were in charge of Ghaznīn, were assiduous in discharging the duties of hospitality. When the royal standards moved onwards from Ghaznīn, the prince returned to Kābul. Bairām Khān recognised the advent of the king as a great favour and returned thanks for it, with a heart full of loyalty, he did homage at the village of Shorāndām, ten[1] leagues out from Qandahār, and His Majesty was convinced that the reports about him were not true. He arrived at Qandahār in an auspicious hour. Splendid feasts were held. Among the distinguished servants present there were Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī, Mun'īm Khān, Khiẓr Khw. Khān; Muḥibb 'Ali Khān, (son of) Mīr Khalīfa, Ism'aīl Dūldai and Ḥaidar Muḥammad ākhta-begī. Of the Ahl-i-Sa'ādat (learned or literary men) there were Khw. Ḥusain of Merv, Maulānā 'Abdu-l-bāqī the *Ṣadr* and others. Bairām Khān neglected no punctilio of civility and the whole winter was spent in Qandahār in enjoyment. And during this time, whatever was necessary for the king's privy purse, was all defrayed by Bairām Khān. He had all the court servants brought into the houses of his own servants, where their entertainment was provided for. All this time His Majesty Jahānbānī enjoyed sensual and mental recreations[2] and pleasures spiritual and temporal and had feasts and entertainments and visited the

[1] Some MSS. read "two leagues."

[2] *Tanazzuhāt* which has for one of its meanings, walking about in gardens.

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hermitages of dervishes and the cells of pure religionists, and distributed largesse in accordance with their conditions. Among others, he frequently visited Maulānā Zainu-d-dīn Maḥmūd *Kamāngar*[1] (the bow-maker) who was one of the determined opponents of sensuality, and holy words were spoken on both sides. There were conversations about the attainment of desires in time and eternity.

Khw. Ghāzī, who had gone on an embassy to Persia and had come to Qandahār with presents before His Majesty had arrived there, returned to employment and was, on account of his meritorious services, raised to the lofty office of dīwān. About the same time Mu'azzam[2] Sl. came from Zamīn-Dāwar and entered into service. Mihtar Qarā, who was one of the trusted followers of Muḥammad 334
Khān of Herāt also came with valuable offerings and was received into service. He brought representations of fidelity and was encompassed with favours. And for the sake of the State and for the delight of hearts, he had a *qamargha* hunt in the neighbourhood of Shōrāndām. This pleased the officers and His Majesty took an omen from it for the capture of his desires.

One of the evil things which happened in Qandahār was the killing of Sher 'Alī Beg by Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī. A brief account of the affair is, that about this time, Sher 'Alī Beg, the father of Qarā Beg *mīr shikār*, came without leave from Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the ruler of Persia, and entered the royal service. Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī, being intoxicated by Court-favour and by his honours and courage, set his foot outside the circle of moderation, and did extravagant things. And as the evil bigotry of rebellious people had damaged the brain of his faith, he frequently and openly said in the court of His Majesty Jahānbānī, that he would kill this heretical fellow. Out of the favour he bore him, His Majesty regarded this as a pleasantry and gave no heed to the matter. At length, Abū'l-ma'ālī, being drunk with the wine of bigotry, one night attacked that stranger and poured his blood upon the ground! His Majesty was much displeased, but the close, though superficial relationship[3] was a veil of faults and prevented him from punishing the evil deed.

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[1] Blochmann, 539. Badāōnī III. 151. The fullest account of him is at Badāōnī I. 455. The saint really was a maker of bows. He was a native of Bahadā in Khurāsān.

[2] Humāyūn's brother-in-law.

[3] Hūmāyūn called him "son."

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When the excellent loyalty of Bairām Khān was made clear and it became apparent to all that his foot was firm in the path of obedience and good service, His Majesty confirmed him in the government of Qandahār which it had been his recent intention to give to Munʿim Khān. He took Zamīn-Dāwar from Khw. Muʿaẓẓam and gave it to Bahādur Khān, the brother of ʿAlī Qulī Khān. His mind being now at rest about the affairs of his kingdom, he returned to Kābul with the intention of conquering Hindustān. He gave leave of absence to Bairām Khān in order that he might make preparations for this expedition and join him as soon as possible. His Majesty took Walī Beg[1] and Ḥājī Muḥammad Sīstānī with him because people were continually telling tales of them and putting together the materials of strife. Near Ghaznīn, he was met by His Majesty the Shāhinshāh and it was a meeting like the conjunction[2] of favourable planets. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās and Atka Khān (Shamsu-d-dīn) and many others did homage and at the end of 961 (Oct., 1554), Kābul received celestial glory by his advent.

335 At this time, Munʿim Khān was raised to the office of guardian of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh. Though, from use and wont, His Majesty gave the name of guardian (*atālīq*) to the elder man, yet in reality he sent him like a child, to learn wisdom from that exhibitor of universal reason. Munʿim Khān returned thanks to Heaven for this great gift and prepared a glorious feast. He also tendered fitting gifts and arranged the materials of his own exaltation. In this year, Ulugh Beg, the son of Halhal Sl. arrived on the part of the ruler of Persia, and tendered gifts which were a cause of increasing joy. His Majesty continually looked after the administration of justice and also engaged himself in preparations for the conquest of Hindūstān. At this time one of the dervishes who was famous in foreign lands (*wilāyat*) had sent a pair of boots as a gift: His Majesty Jahānbānī said that he drew an omen from these boots favourable to the conquest of Hindūstān for it was a common saying that Turkistān is the head, Khurāsān the breast and Hindūstān the foot (of the

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[1] Blochmann, 374 and 518. Walī Beg was apparently a grand-nephew of Ḥājī Muḥammad Kōka.

[2] An allusion to Amīr Khusrau's poem on the meeting of Kaikūbād and his father, Nāsiru-d-dīn. Elliot III. 524.

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world). He said this omen was like that mentioned by His Majesty Ṣāḥib-qirānī, *viz.*, that in the year in which he moved from Transoxiana to conquer Khurāsān and when he arrived at Andarkhūī, a village in which lived a dervish named Sangī Atā[1] who was famous for purity of heart and for his miracles,—His Majesty Ṣāḥib-qirānī went to visit him. By way of already-made (*mā ḥaẓar*) breakfast, the dervish placed before him the breastbone of a sheep. His Majesty (Tīmūr) observed to his courtiers that he drew an omen, from this breast, for the conquest of Khurāsān because Khurāsān was called the breast of the world.

Bairām Khān arrived on the day following the feast of Ramẓān (the 'Īd,—2nd Shawwal,—31st August). His Majesty, for the sake of giving greater pleasure and out of the affection he bore him, had the feast repeated and gave an entertainment more splendid than that of the 'Īd. On this joyful day, which was made the test day for horsemen and dextrous archers, the royal cavalier of the plain of fortune and nursling of the spring of glory, to wit, His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, felt disposed to engage for a time in shooting at the *qabaq* and to show his archer's skill to the generality and thus to lead them on the way of devotion. The first time he aimed at the *qabaq*,[2]—which experienced marksmen had failed to hit,—his arrow struck the ligature of the golden ball. At this all the people shouted. Such a thing appeared wonderful to the superficial, but what marvel was there in it to those who have beheld with awakened eyes the real spectacle 336
of the mysteries of the lord of the world. How is it strange that he who is a mine of substantial wonders, should display external marvels? Bairām Khān composed an excellent ode on His Majesty's

[1] The *Ẓafarnāma* (Bib. Ind. ed. I. 310) gives the name of the dervish as Bābā Sankū. See also Pétit de la Croix's trs. ed. 1722, II. 315. The occurrence took place at Andarkhūī west of Balkh. The dervish did not exactly place the bone before Tīmūr as a *mā ḥaẓarī*, for he flung it at Tīmūr's head. A.F. speaks of the story as having been told by Tīmūr. In Tīmūr's Memoirs (trs. Stewart, p. 38) there is an allusion to an omen taken from a sheep bone but nothing about a saint. Nor indeed is it necessary to regard A.F. as referring to the personal Memoirs. His words,—*ān tafā'ūlī ki Ḥaẓrat Ṣāḥib-qirānī farmūda būdand* may mean only "the omen which Tīmūr explained."

[2] For account of this sport see Bābar's Mems. Erskine, 21*n.* and Vullers *s.v.*

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qabaq-shooting and presented it at the feast. The opening couplet is as follows;—

> Thine arrow has snatched the fastening of the ball from the crook:[1]
> It has made the curve like a meteor grazing the Pleiades.

During this time of enjoyment when the thought of the conquest of Hiṇdūstān was lighting up the hearts of loyal servants,—petitions came from the faithful in Hindūstān and brought to the royal ears news of the death of Salīm Shāh and of the confusion of the country.

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[1] The *kajak* is the wooden crook which in the game of *qabaq*-shooting was attached to the pole and on which balls of gold or silver, or gourds were suspended. Bairām's verses are quoted, with variation, in the *Bahār-i-'ajam s.v. kajak*. The second line of the couplet is obscure. Amongst others, *hilāl* has the meanings of the young moon and of a spear-point: I presume it also may mean an arrow. Indeed *hilālī* means a crescent-headed arrow. The Lucknow editor understands by *hilāl*, the half-moon of the thumb nail which is contiguous to the thumb-stall (*zihgīr*) of archers. The *ṣūrat-i-parwīn* of the couplet he explains as being the balls of the *qabaq*,—for it seems that several were sometimes used: He would seem to understand the line, as "Thy finger has made the balls assume the appearance of the Pleiades, brushed by a meteor." Maulvi Abdūl Haq Abīd understands by *hilāl* the curved end of the *kajaks* or suspending rod. Badāōnī (I. 480) quotes Bairām's lines and says they, as well as similar ones by Jāhī Yatmān, are derived from an ode by Niṣārī of Tūn. See also Ranking's translation, 622. He states that the crescent moon is compared to an erasing-knife.

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CHAPTER LVII.

Brief account of the events and misfortunes which took place in Hindūstān during the days of confusion.

As the thread of the story has been drawn out so far it is necessary that the chronicles give a short account of India so that the condition of impatient awaiting may not befal the intelligent members of the congregation of understanding. The brief account is, that when on 11th Rabī'u-l-awwal, 952 (23rd May, 1545), Sher Khān, after having established his power by wickedness and tyranny and having ruled five years, two months and thirteen days,—went to the abode of nothingness, his younger son, Salīm Khān, eight days afterwards, took his father's seat by the instrumentality of the officers. He ruled eight years, two months and eight days. For some time he had to carry on a war with his elder brother 'Ādil Khān and with Khwās Khān. This last was one of Sher Khān's slaves, and obtained [1] a reputation for sanctity among the commonalty by making a fair show, (*āblatarāzī*, perhaps, "plastering the boil") by trickery (*gurbzat*) and by seizing men's property and by distributing the acquisitions of the learned among the base and ignorant. As contention with one's own master,—even though he be worthless,—does not prosper, the schemes of those strifemongers did not succeed. Salīm Khān also contended for a time with the Niyāz tribe who ruled the Panjāb, their leader being Haibat Khān. They were overcome and in the defiles of the mountains of Kashmīr fell into the abyss of destruction. He also was occupied for some time in fighting with the Gakhars, and did not prevail, for his servants could not get the better of them, and they (the Gakhars) were loyal to the holy family (the Tīmūrids). He completed the fort

[1] See Erskine's translation of this passage, and his account of Khwās. Khān. (II. 460). It would not be uncharitable to suppose that Khwās. Khān had not shown favour to A.F.'s father and family.

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of Rohtās which Sher Khān had begun, and he had a presage of evil when he was in the Siwālik hills and founded the fort of Mānkōṭ as a refuge for himself. For a long time he laboured under apprehensions on account of the Afghān vagabonds and his own bad life, and spent his days in the fort of Guālīār. Though he dealt equitably
337 with the peasantry, he treated the soldiers very harshly. On 22nd Zī'l-qa'da, 960 (October 30th, 1553), he died from a malignant ulcer which formed in one of his lower members owing to the issue of corrupt matter. According to his will, Fīrūz Khān, who was of tender age was appointed his successor, but after a few days Mūbāriz Khān, who was Fīrūz's maternal uncle, put that innocent one to death, and himself assumed the sovereignty, taking the name of Muḥammad 'Ādil. He was the son of Niẓām Khān, younger brother of Sher Khān. This Niẓām had one son and three daughters, and a strange thing was that the son became a ruler and the husbands of the three daughters rose to high rank,—for one was Salīm Khān, another Sikandar Sūr, and the third was Ibrāhīm Sūr. A brief account of these last two will be given hereafter. Hīmū who, by evil speaking, evil plotting and calumny which, as rulers have to study mankind, gives them pleasure, and this to such an extent that the pleasure hides from their penetrating gaze constitutional faults and innate wickedness,[1] rose from low degree to high rank and became the prime minister of that tyrant, who spent all his time in sport and amusement and bodily lusts, and neglected affairs. Confusion was produced in the world. Now that we have come so far it is proper that a brief account should be given of Hīmū.

Account of Hīmū.

Let him who searches out the marvels of God's power take a long view and get an instructive warning from the account of Hīmū. Outwardly he had neither rank (*ḥasb*) nor race (*nasab*), nor beauty of form, (*ṣūrat*) nor noble qualities (*sairat*). Perchance the incomparable Deity raised him to high position for some occult reason which was hidden from the eyes of the acute, or perhaps He sent one worse than themselves to chastise the wicked of the age. In short

[1] A.F. means that rulers have from their position to welcome evil-speaking as it is the only way in which they can get information. A true reflection upon despotism but strange to come from A.F.

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that evil-looking one of puny form and lofty designs was ranked among the petty hucksters of Rewārī[1] which is a township of Mewāt. For his family, (*nasab*), he belonged to the Dhūsar tribe which is the lowest class of hucksters in India. At the back of lanes he sold saltpetre (*nimak-i-shōr*) with thousands of mortifications (*ba hazārān bīnimakī*) till at last he by means of astuteness, became a government huckster under Salīm Khān, of whom a short account has already been given. By masterpieces of feline trickery, he gradually made himself known to Salīm Khān by evil-speaking and business capacity. He was always getting people into trouble. Apparently he was behaving loyally towards his master, in reality he was seeking his own ends, and decking his own household with the goods of the op- 338
pressed. Avaunt; avaunt! he was preparing destruction for his lord and striking the axe into his own foot. Here the great ones of the world[2] made a big mistake for these much-occupied ones from their wishing to know about men give place to wicked talebearers, either in order to learn hidden things about them or to punish evildoers. Though they make an engagement with themselves that they will not use the information for attacking the reputation and honour of the good and loyal, yet the outwardly well-seeming but inwardly base crew of men seize their opportunity and for their own advantage attack the loyal with their smooth tongues,—while the great sometimes, owing to the multiplicity of business, forget the engagements with themselves and become suspicious of the loyal and raze the foundations of their own power.

In short this wicked man soon got a place in Salīm Khān's affections by misrepresentation, and obtained a footing in the administration. When the measure of Salīm Khān's life was full, and the period of the sway of the evildoers of India had come to Mubāriz Khān aforesaid who was Salīm Khān's cousin, Hīmū found him careless of worldly affairs and annexed the whole of the administration and rose to lofty offices. Nothing remained to Mubāriz Khān, who was commonly known as 'Adlī (tyrant), except the name (of king). Hīmū undertook all appointments and dismissals, and the distribution of justice. In his foresight he got possession of

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1 In the Gūrgāon district and a railway-junction.

2 The text has *dīnī*, of faith, but surely this is a mistake for *danyā*, though it seems that *dīn* may also have a temporal meaning.

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the treasures of Sher Khān and Salīm Khān and of their elephant-stud. He was freehanded in disposing of their accumulations. His base debtors worshipped him and did his behests. For some days he took the title of Rāi and then he fastened the title of Rāja on himself and assumed the style of the Rāja Bikramājīt. Thus did he in his folly apply great names to himself. From foresight he preserved the nominal sovereignty for 'Adlī and waged great wars against his opponents. By his valour and daring he was victorious and performed great deeds. He became famous for courage and capability. By degrees he advanced so far as to venture to encounter the sublime army of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh. But as this holy personality was the touchstone of the good and bad, his counterfeit coin was tested and his black existence annihilated by the lights of world-illuminating justice! This will be related in its proper place.

Now that one out of a thousand of Hīmū's evil behaviours has been described, I proceed to a brief account of Hindūstān.

When the sovereignty came to Mubāriz Khān, the affairs of
339 India became worse than before. In fact both father and son (*i.e.*, Sher Khān and Salīm) behaved properly in the management of affairs. Alas! that they should have spent their days in disloyalty and ingratitude! If these two had been servants of the sublime threshold of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, and if the home administration had been entrusted to the father, and the guardianship of the marches to the son, they would have been encompassed with royal favours, and have gained, by good service, an existence which the wise regard as real life. Such workers deserved such a master. As for the vulgar form of rule which is brought about by rebellion, it is regarded by the wise as an existence inferior by many degrees to death.

In short when Salīm Khān died, Mubāriz Khān showed such behaviour as may no other person evince! Aḥmad Khān Sūr the sister's husband of Salīm Khān who had charge of the Panjāb, became a claimant for the sovereignty and styled himself Sikandar Khān. And Muḥammad Khān, who was nearly connected with Sher Khān and was the Governor of Bengal, aimed at general supremacy. Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr who was also a relation, set about obtaining the rule of India while Shaj'at Khān, who was commonly known as Sajāwal Khān, raised his head high in Mālwa. The vagabond Afghāns gathered together and caused confusion. Sikandar

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collected the army of the Panjāb and other vagabonds and meditated an attack upon Āgra. Mubāriz Khān and Ibrāhīm advanced with the same intention. At last by the wishes of Hīmū, Mubāriz Khān went off to the eastward, and a battle took place near Āgra, between Sikandar and Ibrāhīm. Ibrāhīm was defeated and had to retire, while his father Ghāzī Khān Sūr, who governed Bīāna, sheltered himself in the fort. Sikandar's affairs became prosperous, and he got possession of the country from the Indus to the Ganges. He collected an army and wished to march eastwards to dispose of the claimant to the throne and to become sole monarch. At this time the reverberation of the advance of His Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī for the conquest of India rose high. Tātār Khān and Ḥabīl Khān and a large body of troops were appointed to defend the Panjāb. Muḥammad Khān, the Governor of Bengal, determined to rid himself of Mubāriz Khān and other competitors. After some other events, a great battle took place near Capparghatta between him and Mubārīz Khān and Hīmū, and Muḥammad Khān fell. The treasures of Sher Khān and Salīm Khān came into Hīmu's hands. He sank into the enjoyment of corporeal pleasures, and in appearance his circumstances improved. At this time he fought battles with Ibrāhīm and other competitors. He was everywhere victorious. 340
And though he did not know how to ride a horse and was always carried about in an elephant-box (*ṣindūq-i-fīl* qr. *hauda*) he in his courage and audacity freely spent the money which had come of itself into his hands, and did great deeds such as men could not conceive. As Sikandar was established in Āgra, he went off to Bihār and Bengal. Khiẓr Khān, the son of Muḥammad Khān took his father's place and assumed a great title, calling himself Sl. Jalālu-d-dīn. He applied himself to the management of Bengal. Mubāriz Khān and Hīmū determined to go to Bengal, but spent some time in getting rid of their opponents. But I leave these details, which I have no inclination to describe in the closet of neglect, to proceed to my legitimate subject.

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CHAPTER LVIII.

Expedition of His Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī for the conquest of India, and victory thereof by the dominion-increasing auspices of the king of kings (Akbar).

Let it not be concealed from those waiting for strange impressions and the listeners for glorious news, that when the truth about the confusion in India and the tumult and uproar in this centre of peace and tranquillity, of which some hints have been already been given, again came to the hearing of His Majesty Jahānbānī Jannat-āshyānī, he addressed himself to the expedition, already determined upon in the recesses of his foreseeing mind, and having committed all the chaste ladies of his family in Kābul to the Divine protection, he appointed Shāh Walī *bakāwal-begī* the guardian of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm. The service of the ladies and the affairs of the province of Kābul were entrusted to Munʿim Khān, and His Majesty set out in the middle of Ẕū'l-ḥijja 961, (about 12th November, 1554), in a propitious hour and at a time which the heavenly motions made glorious, and the aspects of the stars made supreme. The nursling of Divine light, His Majesty the Shāhinshāh to wit, was then, as regards his elemental life, twelve years and eight[1] months old. The perfect understanding of that great one of both worlds was beyond computation. He was made the forefront of the army of spiritual and temporal victories. On the day of starting an omen was taken from the *dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ. As a great work was being unveiled the heralds of glad tidings from people and places spake loudly and with thousands of tongues. Among them this holy

[1] Text, *hasht*, but probably A.F. wrote *shash*, six, for Akbar was then barely 12½ lunar years old. According to our calendar he was only 12 years and 1 month old.

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master-couplet (*shāhbait*) on the front of the noble page emerged as a preamble of victory and was like the writing on the forehead of dominion.

Verse.

"Ask dominion from the auspicious bird (*murgh-i-humāyūn*) and from his shadow
[1] For the crow and the kite have not the master-plume of genius (text, *himmat*, but Ḥāfiz, apparently wrote *daulat*).

Though the practically wise applied this truthful verse to the 341
dominion and victory of His Majesty Jahānbānī, the far seeing of wisdom's Court understood it as announcing the great *khilafat* and the supreme sovereignty of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh and waited at the gate of the expectation of the upward [2] flight of the holy bird. His Majesty Jahānbānī laid firm hold of the strong hand of the Divine favour and grasped the stout cable of heavenly tidings and went off with few men—they did not amount to 3000,—but with large help from the armies of Providence, which could not be calculated by intellectual accountants. Bairām Khān obtained leave

[1] The lines come from an ode of Ḥāfiz beginning *kastagānrā aoṭalab bashid-u-quwwat nabūd*, Ed. Brockhaus II. 137 No. 216. The crow and the kite are taken to represent India See Elliot. Hist. III. 546*n*. where we are told that the expression "cawing crows" is used by Badl Chād and Amīr Khasrū to signify Hindūs. No doubt the allusion as to their complexion, and Elliot's note may also explain an obscure passage of Ḥaidar Mīrzā's (*Tar Rash*, Elias and Ross 399) where we are told that Khwāja Nūrā changed Humāyūn not to cast his shadow over a land where the parrot was less common than the kite. The translator's note to this passage seems erroneous. Though the parrot is common in India yet it is not so common as the kite, and apparently the Khwāja meant to warn Humāyūn against going to Sind or remaining in India. He cannot have meant Persia, for Humāyūn went there, and Ḥaidar says that he did not go to a country where the parrot was rarer than the kite. See also the line of Qāsim Kāhi (Badāonī III. 173) where he says that he is not a kite or a crow that he should adorn India. The lines quoted by Ḥaidar Mirzā are given also by Badāonī (II. 49) and are applied by him to India. They come from an ode by Ḥāfiz which begins *Khūshast khilwat agar yār yār-i-manbāshid*, Brockhaus' ed. II. 109, No. 189.

[2] Apparently this means that they waited in expectation of Humāyūn's death.

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for the purpose of setting some royal matters, and of arranging his equipment and remained in Kābul. His Majesty Jahānbānī went from Jalālābad[1] down the river on a raft, and encamped at Bikrām (Peshawar) in the end of Muḥarram 962, (near end of December, 1554). Sikandar Khān Uzbak who had done good service, was made the subject of favours and on that day was raised to the rank of Khān. On 5th Ṣafar, (31st December, 1554), the bank of the river Sind, known as the Nīlāb, was made the camping ground, and three days were spent there. Here Bairām Khān arrived from Kābul, and with sundry intelligencers brought the good news that Tātār Khān Kāshī[2] who had been appointed with a large force to guard the fort of Rohtās had, in spite of the strength of the fort etc., fled merely on hearing of the uprearing of the royal standards on the borders of the Indus. His Majesty took into account the good offices, old and new, of Sulṭān Adam Gakhar and sent him a gracious letter inviting him to come and do homage. As he had not a happy star, he made landholder-like excuses and represented that he had concluded a treaty with Sikandar who had taken his son Lashkari along with him. Should he come and do homage, he would both break his compact, and incur the risk of having his son killed. The imperial servants represented that it was proper to order the victorious army to look after him (Sulṭān Adam) before advancing further, and that it was not wise to move on and leave such a disaffected person behind. His Majesty, who was a mine of gentleness and generosity, said that he belonged to a family which was faithful from of old, and that recently he had done good service, as already related, and that to punish him now was not in accordance
342 with prestige, especially as he had used humble language and had made apologies.

When the grand army crossed the Indus, the Afghāns who were collected in the neighbourhood of Rohtās retreated and the army continued to advance. Every day a delightful spot presented itself, and cities and villages came under the shadow of justice and enjoyed the luxury of tranquillity. And now that we have come so far,

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[1] Similarly Wood went on a raft from Jalālabad to Peshāwar, p. 280.

[2] Bāyazīd calls him Iskāndar Sulṭāni Quzāq. Many MSS. including Badāonī's, have Kāsī.

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it is proper, before detailing events, to give the names of such of the companions of the stirrup of victory as were of high rank.

List.[1]

When the army arrived at the auspicious town of Kalānūr, Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, Ashraf Khān and Farḥat Khān were sent to Lahore to have the glorious name (of Humāyūn) proclaimed from the pulpit and placed upon the coinage, and also to give the

[1] The list is short compared with Bāyazīd's, I.O. M.S. 72 ff.)

1. Bairam Khān.
2. Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī.
3. Khiẓr Khw. Khān (Bāyazīd, Khiẓr Sl. Mughal.)
4. Tardī Beg Khān.
5. Sikandar Khān.
6. Khiẓr Khān Hazāra.
7. 'Abdu-l-lāh Khān Uzbak.
8. Mīrzā 'Abdu-l-lāh.
9. Muṣāḥib Beg.
10. 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibāni (or Sistānī).
11. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās
12. Khw. Mu'aẓẓam.
13. 'Alī Qulī Khān Andarābī.
14. Ḥaidar Muḥammad, *ākhta-begi.*
15. Bābūs Beg (Blochmann, 389)
16. Isma'īl Beg Dūldai.
17. Mīrzā Ḥasan Khān.
18. Mīrzā Nijāt.
19. Muḥammad Khān Jalāīr.
20. Sl. Ḥusain Khān.
21. Qandūq Sl.
22. Muḥammad Amīn *dīwāna.*
23. Shāh Qulī Nāranjī.
24. Tulak Khān.
25. Kākar 'Alī Khān.
26. Bāqī Beg *yātīsh-begī* (head of the guards).
27. La'l Khān Badakhshī (Bāyazid, an officer of Sulaimān).
28. Beg Muḥammad *ākhta-begī.*
29. Khw. Pādshāh *Marīẓ* (? sickly. Blochmann 459),
30. Kīcak Khw.
31. Khw. 'Abdu-l-bārī.
32. Khw. 'Abdu-l-lāh.
33. Mīr Mu'īn.
34. Mīr Ghanī.
35. Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn.
36. Mīr Muḥsin *Dā'ī.*
37. Khw. Ḥusain of Merv.
38. Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥai.
39. Mīr 'Abdul-l-lāh *qānūnī.*
40. Khanjar Beg (Bāyazīd, a relation of Tardī Beg).
41. 'Arif Beg.
42. Khw. 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad.
43. Mīr Sayyid 'Alī.
44. Mullā 'Abdu-l-qādr.
45. Mullā Ilyās (Elias) of Ardabīl (astronomer).
46. Shaikh 'Abu-l-qāsim Jorjānī. (Bāyazīd, Asterābādī).
47. Maulānā 'Abdu-l-bāqī.
48. Afẓal Khān, *mīr bakhshī.*
49. Khw. 'Abdu-l-majīd *dīwān.*
50. Ashraf Khān *mīr munshī.*
51. Qāsim Makhlaṣ.
52. Khw. 'Aṭā-u-llāh, *dīwān-i-bayūtāt.*
53. Khw. Abū'-l-qāsim.
54. Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān.
55. Mu'īn Khān Farankhūdī (Blochmann 434).
56. Khw. Amīnu-d-dīn Maḥmūd.
57. Mulk Mukhtār.

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inhabitants of that great city an order of protection from the mischief of strifemongers. Bairām Khān, Tardī Beg Khān, Iskandar Khān, Khiẓr Khān Hazāra, Ismā'īl Beg Dūldai and a large troop were sent against Naṣīb Khān Panj Bhaiya (?) who was stationed
343 at Harhāna (Harīana) while His Majesty himself went on to Lahore. The nobles of that country came forward to welcome him. They offered up thanks for this glorious favour and gave large presents. High and low were treated with royal favours according to their degree. On the 2nd Rabī'-ṣ-ṣānī, (24th February, 1555), the illustrious city of Lahore, which is in fact a great city of India, was made glorious by his advent, and all classes and conditions of men were freed from the evils of the times, and attained the objects for which they had been long waiting on hope's highway.

In the end of this month news came that an Afghān named Shāhbāz Khān had collected a number of Afghāns in Dīpālpūr and was indulging in evil intentions. His Majesty Jahānbānī sent to that quarter Shāh Abū'-l-Ma'ālī 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī, 'Alī Qulī Khān Andarābī, Muḥammad Khān Jalāīr and a number of brave officers. A hot engagement ensued, and both sides exposed their lives. The Sayyidzāda Abū'-l-Ma'ālī who was intoxicated with the world and proud of his beauty, got into difficulty but 'Alī Qulī Khān and other heroes performed wonders. The enemy was defeated and many of them were levelled with the dust. The imperial servants returned victorious. Now that I have proceeded so far it is necessary that I give a brief account of the victorious army which was placed under the leadership of Bairām Khān.

Let it not be hidden from the inquirers into events that when Bairām Khān arrived near *pargana* Harhāna (Harīāna), Naṣib Khān Afghān made a small resistance—suitable to his nature,—and then fled. Great booty in money and goods fell into the hands of the heroes. Families also were captured. As Bairām Khān had heard from His Majesty Jahānbānī that he had vowed there should be no imprisonment when he should, by God's help, conquer India, and that the servants of God should not be confined, he got on horseback and collected together all the families of the Afghāns and sent them with trustworthy people to Naṣīb Khān. And he sent as the proceeds of this victory, which might be regarded as the preface to countless others, presents of elephants, etc., with a petition of his

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own to the world-protecting court of His Majesty Jahānbānī. Having 344
offered up thanks for this agreeable victory, he left that place and advanced further. When he came near Jalandhar, the Afghāns thought it prudent to fly, and owing to the disputes which occurred in the victorious army, they were able to save their lives and the best of their property. The short account of this is that Tardī Beg Khān wanted to go after the dispersed Afghāns and Bairām Khān did not approve of this and did not give him permission. Tardī Beg Khān sent Bāltū Khān to Bairām Khān in order that by all means possible he might get leave to pursue them. Bāltū Beg came and delivered his message and Khwāja Mu'aẓẓam Sulṭān spoke harshly and abused him. Bāltū Khān retorted and the Khwāja used his sword and wounded Bāltū Khān in the arm. When His Majesty heard of this he wrote a letter of admonition and sent Afẓal Khān to explain matters. He conveyed His Majesty's counsels to the officers and brought about a reconciliation. Bairām Khān halted in Jālandhar, and assigned *parganas* in the neighbourhood to the various officers and sent them to their several posts. Sikandar Khān was appointed to Māciwāra. He went and thinking he had it in hand, advanced further, and took possession of Sihrind. Much property fell into his hands. Meanwhile Tātār Khān, Ḥabīl Khān, Naṣīb Khān, Mubārak Khān and a number of Afghān soldiers arrived from Delhi. Sikandar Khān did not think it prudent to remain in Sihrind and came to Jālandhar. Bairām Khān did not approve of this and was angry. He said that Sikandar should have kept his ground at Sihrind and have sent word to him. After much discussion the great officers took hold of the saddle-straps of the royal, everduring fortune and advanced from Jālandhar. When they came to the borders of Māciwāra, Tardī Muḥammad Khān and many officers did not think it advisable to cross the Satlaj. As the rainy season was near at hand the proper thing to do, they said, was to secure the ferries and to halt. When the violence of the rains was over, and the air had become temperate, they could cross the river. Bairām Khān and the farsighted perceived that it was right to cross the river and spoke properly in this sense. At length by the exertions of Mullā Pīr Muḥammad, Muḥammad Qāsim Khān of Nīshāpūr, Walī Beg and Ḥaidar Qulī Beg Shāmlū, Bairām Khān crossed the river. Tardī Beg Khān and the other officers were obliged to

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do likewise. The army of fortune was divided into four bands.
345 The centre was controlled by Bairām Khān, the right wing by Khiẓr Khān Hazāra, the left wing by Tardī Beg Khān, while Sikandar Khān and a number of active men were appointed to the vanguard. As the desires of the prince of the world were limited to the laws of justice and were in accordance with the Divine Will, the work of his ministers was daily more and more victorious. When the Afghāns heard of the smallness of the victorious army and of its having crossed the river, they hastily came up with a large force. The two forces encountered one another towards evening and a great battle took place. The farseeing soldiers chose a place near Bijana[1] (?) for the battle field and stood firm. All distinguished themselves, but at last night intervened. Even then they continued to discharge arrows. By a happy chance, which was the beginning to the victory, fire broke out in a very large village of thatched houses and this was like the lighting of thousands of lamps for the guidance of the troops. It was found on inquiry that this Divine aid was wrought by the exertions of the enemy. And what they had thought was for their advantage turned to their loss. In fact by means of this illumination, which was the vanguard of victory, the conquering heroes obtained information concerning the position of the enemy and were enabled to work havoc with their arrows. The foe did not know the position of the victorious army and shot in the dark and at random. When about three watches of the night had passed, the enemy was unable to resist any longer and took to flight. A great victory was gained. Elephants and much other property fell into the hands of the imperial servants. The chief of the booty was sent with a loyal petition to the Court. Next day they advanced and halted in Sihrind and 'Alī Qulī Shaibānī who had come up with the rear, was sent on with a body of troops.

One of the wonderful things was that when His Majesty heard that Tātār Khān had arrived with a large and well equipped army

[1] Māciwāra is on the S. bank of the Satlaj. Firishta says they crossed the river and halted on the bank of the Pacwāra stream. Is Pacwāra the name of the side of the river opposite Māciwāra? *Jab* means a trench and this may be the meaning here. Price read *baḥrī*, as some MSS. have it, and translates "by the side of a considerable fresh water lake." It is probably a place-name.

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at Māciwāra, he remarked to a number of eager spirits that the place was a great distance off and that whatever the Divine Will intended would take place before they could arrive. The best thing therefore was for them to take refuge at the sublime threshold and to implore victory from the almonry of Divine aid. At the same moment he raised high the hands of supplication and asked for the success of the advance forces of the royal army. Many days had not passed when the official report of the victory arrived and much booty was brought to the Court. On consideration, it was found 346
that the day of prayer and the day of victory coincided. He paid the devotions of thanksgiving for the Providential victory and opened the hand of liberality for mankind.

When Sikandar heard what had taken place, he marched against the royal army with 80,000 horse and a complete equipment. Bairām Khān with abundant prudence and courage remained firm in Sihrind and took measures to defend the fort. He sent representations one after the other requestiug the advance of His Majesty. As the latter was at that time suffering from cholic, he sent in his room the parterre-adorner of the *khilāfat*, viz., His Majesty the Shāhinshāh who always had victory at his stirrup. The cortēge of this *khedive* of the world had not gone far from Lahore when His Majesty Jahānbānī perfectly recovered, and on account of the distress of separation, and also out of precaution joined in the march. He directed that Farhat Khān should be the *shiqdār*[1] of Lahore, Bābūs Beg the *faujdār* of the Panjāb, M. Shāh Sulṭān the *amīn* and Mihtar Jauhar the treasurer. On the night of 7th Rajab, (29th May, 1555), the territory of Sihrind was illuminated by the royal advent. The officers did homage, and the drums of rejoicing were beaten. For fifteen days the officers had kept their ground in the face of such a large army and had occupied themselves in garrison-work. The royal tents were erected in a garden near the city. The arrangements for battle were suitably made and the army was distributed into four divisions. One was called by the honoured name of His Majesty Jahānbānī; another by that of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh; a third by that of Shāh Abū'-l-Ma'ālī; the fourth was entrusted to Bairām Khān. Each division bound the girdle of effort on the waist of their lives. The heroes displayed a willingness to risk their lives, and on

[1] Revenue officer, Jarrett II. 49.

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each side men drank the last draught in the cup of the sword. On both sides humanity and gentleness were practised so that the bodies of those who had sacrificed their lives, were reverently made over to their friends. The shortsighted looking to the plurality of the enemy and the paucity of the king's forces, became pale from unbecoming apprehensions, but the farsighted read the inscription of victory on the countenances of the imperial[1] servants and daily became more and more steadfast. Especially did His Majesty Jahānbānī, who was a world of resolution, hearten every one by fitting behaviour, and inspire them with courage.

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[1] *Aulīyā-i-daulat*, servant of the State, but here probably a periphrasis for Humāyūn and Akbar. See Lumsden's Persian Grammar, Calcutta, 1810, II. 363.

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CHAPTER LIX.

APPEARANCE OF GREAT MARVELS; AND THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF GOOD NEWS ON THE PART OF HIS MAJESTY THE SHĀHINSHĀH; AND OTHER FORTUNATE OCCURRENCES. 347

Though His Majesty the Shāhinshāh used his tender age as a veil and lived secluded, yet, as God the Creator willed that the real state of this great one of the age should be made manifest,—involuntarily did wondrous works, each of which was a competent witness to his lofty nature (*shāhide ast'adil*), hasten to the world of manifestation. Among the unusual things which at this time revealed themselves on the part of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, was this, that he came out on the roof of a house in the city and contemplated with his clime-comprehending glance the hostile army. It was so great an army that no one could imagine its being defeated, but he said that in a short time "our" men would disperse it. His entourage who knew of his far-sight and had often beheld his marvels, rejoiced at this tidings, and offered thanks to God. Things like this look strange to custom-worshippers and formalists. But the worshippers of truth, and the esoteric do not regard this occurrence or hundreds like it as strange when coming from one so eminent temporally and spiritually.

At this time Khwāja 'Ambar Nāẓir, who was an old servant, came from Kābul and applied for employment. His Majesty Jahānbānī made him over to the nursling of Divine light. Forthwith he entered into his service and used to explain to him the manners and customs of India, and he brought Indians before the Unique of the age. As the star of the men of India was powerful, their ways became pleasing to him. This was the first time that he conceived an inclination for hunting with the *cīta* (hunting leopard), and the first place where he saw the sport. For Walī Beg the father of the

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Khān Jahān[1] presented as peshkash a *cīta* which had come into his hands from the Afghāns at the battle of Māciwāra and was called Fateḥbāz (the gamester of victory). The farseeing who were in his entourage made conjectures about countless victories on seeing this strange form. The keeper of this *cīta* was called Dūndū and on account of his good qualities, he received the title of Fateḥ Khān.[2] And at this day when the insignificant well-wisher, Abū'l-faẓl, is writing this noble volume with a pen perfumed with sincerity,
348 Fateḥ Khān is in the service of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh and reckoned among the especial huntsmen. His Majesty who always dressed himself in outward disguises, and clothed himself in other garb, and kept his splendour hidden under various veils, made another screen for his beauty by his regard for this strange animal. But the rays of the sun and the fragrance of musk cannot be hid. On that day when fortune drew me to learn wisdom and to beatitude, and when by having the blessing of service, I became cognisant of the perfections of this chosen one of God, what prostrations of thanksgiving did I not perform, and what successes did I not obtain from this auspicious service! I was exalted spiritually and temporally, and I cleansed the chamber of my heart from superfluous desires. Now that the time of thanksgiving has arrived and that I wish to record my impressions—so that I may both give thanks and that a lamp of vision may be put in the path of the walkers in darkness, I am unaffectedly disturbed by the fact that I am in service and that there is a commercial nexus. Would that I had no outward acquaintance (with Akbar), and that I were not in the list of visible servants! so that the outwardly-seeing but inwardly-blind might not reckon this individual among the crowd of flatterers, and that men might, through my apparent exclusion be led to the goal and attain felicity. Good God! panegyrics have been written of old about ascetics who had not a tithe of the tenth part of the excellencies of this Khedive of the Age, nay, many of them had naught but external semblance, and yet, because there was no reciprocity in the matter, men void of insight imagine that these are not flatteries but are representations of the truth! But now, at this day, when the story of the Leader (*peshwā*) of mankind, whether

[1] Ḥusain Qulī, Blochmann, 329.

[2] Blochmann, 523.

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spiritual or temporal, is about to be told, I who have tracked the spirit of the age must bear on my heart's shoulder the burden of men's ill-understanding! But forasmuch as my first thought was to pay in some small measure my debt of gratitude, I am not saddened by this man-troubling burden (*bār-i-mardamāzār*). And wherefore should I be? And now rejoicing in my good intention I pass on as a swift nocturnal linkman! Many have gained the Truth and ta'en the highway of loyalty! I now leave this subject, to which there is no end, and return to the point in my narrative where I was.

In fine, His Majesty Jahānbānī waged a masterly war for about forty[1] days, and by taking thought, and by making preparations gave support to the hearts of the loyal and enabled them to adorn the field of battle. At length, on 2nd Sh'abān of the year in question (962), 22nd June, 1555, which was the watch-day (*naubat-i-taraddad*)[2] of the servants of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh Khwāja Mu'azzam, Atka Khān and others went forth and did manfully. On the other side Kālā Pahār, brother of Iskandar, came forward and 349
fought. Though it had not been intended that on that day there should be a general engagement, yet as something was to emerge from the curtain of fate, gradually the flames of conflict burst forth and rose high. The victorious troops advanced from all sides and steadily took post, so that there was a glorious battle-array.

Verse.

Two iron mountains moved from their places,
You'd say earth was moved from top to bottom,
Two armies drew their poniards in front of each other,
The centre and wings were drawn up in line,
The rush of arrows and the clash of swords,
Tore the marrow of elephants and the entrails (*zehra*, lit., gall-bladder)[3] of tigers.

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[1] Humāyūn had been less than thirty days at Sihrind for he arrived there on the night of 7th Rajab.

[2] I am not sure of the meaning of the word *taraddad* here. It usually means reiteration or returning *Naubat* means relieving guard. Apparently the meaning here is that the duty of keeping guard was with Akbar's division on that day. See Badāūnī I. 460 who uses the word *yazak*.

[3] The gall-bladder is supposed to be the seat of courage, and Jahāngīr

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By the auspicious influence of the fortune of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, a great victory was gained, and much booty fell into the hands of the imperial servants. A large number of the luckless foe went to the world of non-existence. Sikandar went off with his men to the Dāman-i-kōh of the Panjāb. Khwāja Musāfirī,[1] one of the gallant men, came in his path. When Sikandar saw that a man was going to attack him, he turned, but though he put his hand to his sword, he could not draw it. After many attempts he disengaged himself from him and came away from that dangerous place. What else but this can happen to those intoxicated with the world and proud of their glory? His Majesty Jahānbānī in the midst of the worldly success, which is a wine that overthrows men, was wise and made supplications to God. And he conducted himself with perfect wisdom towards all classes. What marvel then that he was successful! Obedience to wisdom the Sulṭān (Sulṭān-i-khird) fits the work to the desire. Firstly; it makes the intention good. Secondly; effort is made in work suitable to one's condition. Thirdly; when good results are obtained the credit of them is not given to oneself. And no author is recognised except the omnipotent God. In fine His Majesty in order to teach the superficial, and in order to show respect to the various degrees of supplication, did not confine himself to inward thanksgiving, but had recourse to external acts, and prostrated himself in prayer to God. Though when India was last conquered, the victory of His Majesty Gītī-sitānī Firdūs-makānī was a masterpiece, as has been already described, yet the wise and acute know that it was not like this present marvel. In fact[2] there have been few instances in past times of such a victory as this which was obtained by few against many and which came solely from the great throne of God. Just at the time of this victory there was an excessive storm of wind and rain. As this caused the destruction of a number of oppressors and ingrates, it may be regarded as belonging

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speaks in his Memoirs of dissecting a tiger and a leopard in order to discover the source of their vigour.

[1] Apparently this is the Bābā Dost Khwāja Khiẓr Musāfirī mentioned by Bayāzīd at p. 82*a* as taking part afterwards in the defence of Kābul.

[2] See translation, *supra*, p. 246. The account given in the present chapter about the battle's being fought on the day assigned to Akbar's division explains the expression at p. 246 about the blessing of Akbar's personality.

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to the successes of the servants of the State, and as a mark of the 350
destruction of the contumacious. But as it prevented a pursuit of the fugitives and gave them after a thousand agonies a release from danger it may be regarded as a respite to an ill-fated crew.

When by Divine aid such a great gift had been revealed, His Majesty sat on the throne of justice and appraised the services of the loyal and devoted. In order to bring out the jewel of the sincere from the potsherd of service-sellers the question arose, in whose name should the proclamation of victory be recorded? An order was given that everyone should lay in his claim. Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī, who was drunk with the wine of negligence, wished that the record of the glorious victory should be in his name. Bairām Khān who was conscious that the coming to India was by his exertions, and who, up to the time of the victory, had, in opposition to a crowd of men, supported the world-adorning views of His Majesty Jahānbānī and had conducted the conquest of the countries and the uprooting of foes, was keenly desirous that the proclamation should bear his name. The farseeing and wise who knew that the victory was due to the felicity of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh and nursling of Divine light, opened their eyes and ears in surprised contemplation of the speakers, and the experienced and the just, knowing that this great victory which had shed its rays on the day assigned to the watch (*naubat-i-mansūbān*) of the light of the garden of the *khilāfat* was due to the presence of his Majesty the Shāhinshāh, were astonished at the utterances of those men (Abū'l-ma'ālī and Bairām). At last, His Majesty Jahānbānī became by inspiration cognisant of the truth, and ordered the victory to be inscribed in the name of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh and thereby gratified the loyal far and near.

One of the strange occurrences of this time was the arrest of Khwāja Mu'azzam. The brief account is that a letter containing some lines by the Khwāja came to hand. In his contemptible understanding and wickedness, he had written improper things to Sikandar and had represented himself as his well-wisher. His Majesty was greatly surprised and called upon the Khwāja for an explanation. As he could not deny, he said[1] that his well-wishing (*daulat-khwāhī*)

[1] Apparently he maintained that the expressions in the letter about loyalty referred to Humāyūn and not to Sikandar. Price in his Retrospect gives a different rendering. His view is that Mu'azzam said he

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referred to His Majesty and that he had purposely contrived that the letter should come into His Majesty's hand in order that he should show him more favour, and cause him to be the performer of good
351 service. His Majesty ordered him into confinement and placed him in charge of Mīr Qālī. After arranging the matters of Sihrind, His Majesty proceeded by way of Sāmāna towards Delhi. When he came to Sāmāna he sent Abu'l-Ma'ālī with a number of officers such as Muḥammad Qulī Khān Birlās, Ismā'īl Beg Dūldai, Muṣahib Beg, Ibrāhīm Khān Uzbek, and others to Lahore so that if Sikandar should come out from the hills, they might hold him in check. The charge of the Panjāb was made over to Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī. On account of the pleasant climate of Sāmāna, and the violence of the rains ordered a halt there for some days. While then, a report came from Sikandar Khān Uzbek, stating that by God's help he had come to Delhi and that the enemy had not withstood him, but had fled. The proper thing now was to exalt the site of India's throne by establishing there the *masnad* of the Lord of the Age. On receipt of this news His Majesty marched from Samāna, and on Thursday 1 Ramaẓān, 20th July, 1555, alighted at Salīmgaṛh which is on the north of Delhi and on the bank of the Jamūnā. On the fourth of the same month he entered the city and became established on the throne of the *khilafāt*.

On this day and while on the march His Majesty the Shāhinshāh struck a *nīlagāo* (an antelope, *portax pictus*) with his sword and took it as a prey so that the huntsmen were surprised,[1] while the acute obtained a sign of his capturing the booty of a sublime intention, and were made glad. His Majesty Jahānbānī who from the beginning of this blessed campaign till he came to Delhi and conquered India had given up the eating of animals now turned his thoughts towards the making a beginning (of eating flesh). On this day he rejoiced exceedingly and ordered that a piece of the *nīlagāo* be dried and kept in order that when after the Ramaẓān he should be disposed to eat animal food, he might make his first meal from this flesh. He then returned thanks to God.

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wrote disloyally in order to give Humāyūn an opportunity of exercising his favourite virtue of forgiveness. Mīr Qālī may mean the head-cook.

[1] B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 has *ghiẓa* instead of *ḥairat-afzāī* so that the meaning would be "it became food for the huntsmen."

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All the servants of the threshold of the *Khilafāt* received high offices and noble fiefs. Sirkār Ḥiṣār and its neighbourhood were given as a *jāgīr* to the servants[1] of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh. Omen-takers recognized this as the fort[2] for the distresses of the world, and again drew a presage for the daily increasing dominion of His Highness. Bairām Khān was presented with Sihrind and various other *parganas*. Tardī Beg Khān was sent to Mewāt, Sikandar Khān to Agra, 'Alī Qulī Khān to Sambal, and Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān Ākhta Begī to Bīāna, which is near Agra. By the blessing of the royal advent, and the beatitudes of the spiritual and temporal khedive, India was made a garden of dominion and auspiciousness. Mankind attained good fortune. His Majesty stayed in the fort of Delhi and was continually engaged in pleasing God, and he watered the rose-garden of sovereignty with the stream of justice. He 352
forever kept before him obedience to the Creator, and the prosperity of his creatures and so adorned the throne of the *khilāfat*.

Among the occurrences which were the cause of increasing his joy, was the arrival of Shāh Walī[3] Atka from Kābul. He brought news of the health of the chaste ladies, and also many details. He gave the joyful news that God had given a son to Māh Jūjak. His Majesty returned thanks to God for this good news and gave a feast and poured the coin of desire into the lap of mankind. He gave that rose of fortune the name of Farrukh Fāl, and rewarded Shāh Walī for his news by the title of Sulṭān and sent him back to Kābul with presents. He also gave him letters of greeting and affection.

Among the occurrences of this time was the arrival of Rustam Khān who was a leading man among the Afghāns. The brief account of this affair is that when the Atka Khān and a number of the royal servants proceeded towards Ḥiṣār, they halted on the day of Khūrdād 6th Shahryūr=Wednesday, 25th Ramẓān, two kos from Ḥiṣār. Rustam Khān, Tātār Khān, Aḥmad Khān, Pīr Muḥammad of Rohtak, Bījlī Khān, Shihāb Khān, Tāj Khān, Ādam Khān Qiyām Khānī and

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[1] The meaning is that Ḥiṣār was given as an appanage to Akbar.

[2] B.M. Add. 27,247 has *iḥṣār* in which case the meaning is "the shutting off or restraining the evils of the world."

[3] Perhaps this is the Walī Beg mentioned in Blochmann 518. He was son of Payanda (the part-translator of Bābar's memoirs?) and nephew of Ḥājī Muḥammad Koka.

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a number of Afghāns came out of Ḥiṣār and prepared to fight. Though the Afghāns were nearly 2,000 in number and the royal servants about 400, a great engagement took place and by Divine help the victory was gained, and seventy of the enemy were killed. Rustam Khān fled and strengthened the fort of Ḥiṣār. The contenders of fortune besieged it for twenty-three days. When Rustam found himself in difficulties he came to terms. He was sent to Court along with about 700 men of note in the charge of Mīr Laṭīf and Khwāja Qāsim Makhlaṣ, and he did homage along with many others. After some time an order was given that he should get a proper *jāgīr*, but on the condition that his sons should be guarded in Bikrām in order that they might enter on the path of favour and also that the road of vigilance and caution might not be abandoned. That simpleton rejected this condition, which was a means of confirming his obedience, and was about to abscond. When this was found out, he was imprisoned and committed to the charge of Beg Muḥammad Ishak Āqā.

353 One of the occurrences of this time was the affair of Qambar Dīwāna. The short account is that he was one of the common men or rather of the unknown men of the camp. When after the victory of Sihrind, the royal standards went on to Delhi, this Qambar gathered together a number of his own set of vagabonds and indulged in plunder and rapine. Booty was continually coming into his hands, and was distributed by him, and out of cunning, he was continually sending petitions to the Court. Proceeding from Sihrind he went fighting on and got possession of Sambal. There he established himself and sent his adopted son, who had received the name of 'Ārifu-l-lāh to Budāōn. Rai Ḥusain Jalwānī, who was a leading officer among the Afghāns, was there and was got rid of without a struggle. From there Qambar 'Alī went on to Kānt Gōla[1] and devastated that country. There he fought an irregular (*bītuzukāna*, without method) battle with Rukn Khān a leading Afghān and was defeated. From there he came to Budāōn. Though this madman was always sending petitions and making representations of obedience and good

[1] Kānt o Gola, Blochmann 373. They are in Rohilkand, and nearly correspond to Shahjahānpūr. Elliot V. 498 note, and his Supp. Glossary II. 167.

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service, his words and his deeds did not agree. He extended his foot beyond his carpet and made men Khāns and Sulṭāns of his own motion, and gave them standards and drums! Frenzy took possession of him and often from madness or assumed madness and fraud, he gave up his own house to be plundered. There continually appeared in him irregular proceedings which were allied to madness. When then facts repeatedly came to the notice of His Majesty he issued an order to 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī to send him to Court, and to punish him if he resisted. Just when the madman, having been defeated by Rukn Khān, had come to Budāōn, 'Alī Qulī Khān after having settled the affairs of Mīrat came to Sambal. After arranging matters there he came to Budāōn. Though he sent a person to call him, Qambar did not appear, and said "Just as you are a slave of the king, so am I one of the office-bearers of the expedition, and I have got this province by the sword." At last 'Alī Qulī Khān took to arms and when Qambar was defeated, he took refuge in the fort of Budāōn, and sent a petition to Court. When His Majesty got this account of him, he sent Qāsim Makhlaṣ to encompass him with favours and to bring him to kiss the threshold. Before Qāsim had reached Budāōn, and brought this message of deliverance, 'Alī Qulī Khān had killed him. The short account of this is that when Qambar strengthened the fort, and the siege was being protracted, 'Alī Qulī Khān sent to him Muḥammad Beg Turkamān and Mullā Ghiāṣu-d-dīn. He imprisoned these envoys, and they secretly won 354
over a number of people to their side and having by craft overcome the garrison, they made Qambar a prisoner. 'Alī Qulī Khān sent his head to Court. The just heart of the king was grieved at this and he sent a firmān of rebuke to 'Alī Qulī Khān. He asked why he went to war when he (Qambar) was making proffers of obedience and wished to submit, and why did he kill him without orders after getting him into his power? His Majesty repeatedly said to those near him that he had wished to see this man and that if he had found on the tablet of his forehead truth and rectitude, he would have shown him favour and have educated him.

One of the occurrences of this time was the ingratitude of M. Sulaimān. The brief account of this is that when the royal standards went off to India, Tardī Beg Khān, who held Aṇdarāb and Ishkamish in his *jāgīr*, was ordered to join. Muqīm Khān remained behind

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to look after the *jāgīr*. M. Sulaimān thought this a good opportunity to get hold of the territories. First, he tried craft, and sought to win over Muqīm Khān to his side. When this failed, the Mīrzā threw off the mask and besieged Andarāb. Muqīm Khān was compelled to come out with his family, and by fighting his way through he got away from that dangerous spot and came to Kābul. One of the occurrences of this time was the killing by Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān Akhta Begī of Ghāzī Khān[1] the father of that Ibrāhīm who had had an itching desire for a throne. The story is as follows: When Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān was sent to Bīāna, Ghāzī Khān, who was the governor, could not resist and took refuge in the fort. Relying upon the promises and engagements which were held out by Ḥaidar Muḥammad, he came out; but Ḥaidar Muḥammad fixed his eyes on his goods and chattels and broke his promise, and put him to death with the sword of injustice. When His Majesty Jahānbānī heard of this, it did not commend itself to his just mind. As he (*i.e.*, Humāyūn) was at a distance, and had only recently come to India he ostensibly refrained from inflicting punishment on him but he announced that Ḥaidar would never again bind[2] on his belt. And in truth what the fate-interpreting tongue had uttered remained in force till he left this world. Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān who was the Mīr Bīyūtāt (*i.e.*, officer in charge of buildings, &c.), was sent to inquire into the matter and to appraise the property. His Majesty went on, in ways well-pleasing to God, in taking care of his subjects, in building up the world, and in giving repose to mankind.

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[1] In B.M. Add. 27,247 the words are differently and more grammatically arranged. The Ibrāhīm here referred to is the Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr who is described in text p. 339 as having contended for the throne of India with Sikandar and as having been defeated by him near Agra.

[2] Apparently the prophecy was that his arm would wither. Bayāzīd tells us that Ḥaidar's arm became useless. Perhaps this was ascribed to Humāyūn's prophecy or curse, but Bayāzīd says it was in consequence of a wound that he received in Afghanistān. It seems that Humāyūn was regarded as one who had the power of imprecating disaster on those who had offended him. Another instance is given by Jauhar and Gulbadan Begam as having occurred in Sind.

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CHAPTER LX.

Expedition of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh to the Panjāb in accordance with the orders of His Majesty Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshayānī. 355

During this time that the world-conquering soul of His Majesty Jahānbānī was managing with justice the territories of India, unpleasant reports about Shāh Abū-l-Ma'āli came to the effect that being intoxicated with the harmful wine of the world he was troubling the people, and was conducting himself in ways contrary to the king's commands. As His Majesty Jahānbānī had a special regard for him he considered such reports as contrary to the truth and as inventions of the envious and malignant. But at length it was noised in the royal camp that Sikandar had come out from the hills and it became certain that this infatuated *Sayyidzāda* had without authority severed Farḥat Khān from the governorship of Lahore and had appointed one of his own creatures in his room. Also that he was laying hands on the royal treasure. By Divine inspiration the resolution became fixed in His Majesty Jahānbānī's holy soul, which was a mirror showing what was right for country and empire, that the Panjāb, which is one of the great provinces of India, should be made illustrious by the blessing of the protection and government of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, and that, if it seemed proper, Abū-l-Ma'ālī should have Ḥiṣār[1] and its neighbourhood. Moreover as he was sending about this time for the chaste ladies from Kābul it was right that the Panjāb should be in the possession of His Majesty

[1] Ḥiṣār, we are told in the previous chapter, had been conferred on Akbar, and the meaning apparently is that if Akbar (and Bairām) thought proper, Ḥiṣār might now be given to Abū-l-Ma'ālī, in exchange for the Panjāb.

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the Shāhinshāh's servants. Though the army was large enough to quell Sikandar yet for political and personal reasons the name "auxiliary" was used. In the beginning of the year 963, November, 1555, in an auspicious hour which befitted the accession to the throne of the seven climes, His Majesty the Shāhinshāh the Divine nursling was appointed (to the Panjāb) according to the rules of sovereignty and splendour. Bairām Khān was nominally appointed as guardian of His Highness, but in fact the education of that support of dominion was committed to the fortunate auspices of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh. A number of loyal and faithful followers attended on his stirrup.

When they arrived at Sihrind the royal servants who were in Ḥiṣār Fīrūza obtained the blessing of service and were delighted. In that auspicious station Ustād 'Azīz Sistānī who for his good service and loyalty had received the title of Rūmī Khān[1] and had no equal in pyrotechny and in shooting with guns had the felicity of entering the Shāhinshāh's service. It was here that his shooting began and in a short time he became a master in this strange craft,
356 just as he is a master in every act and science. And wondrous masterpieces, such that volumes could not contain the accounts of them, were displayed by this exhibitor of perfections in this as in other acts. What shall I say or what shall I write about the totality of this holy personality? For without exception when any person who shall have studied some particular art or science, whether with mature scientists, or with master craftsmen, and whether in whole or in part, and have acquired practice therein by studying for years with able teachers enters the service of this scrutinising intellect and universal genius, he gets lost in contemplating his abundant knowledge and is struck with astonishment. And he thinks to himself that apparently His Majesty has spent all his time in nothing but this art. But afterwards he says no one could acquire such skill, it must be the gift of God! And one of the wonderful things is that he enters into contradictory dispositions and varied characters in one and the same *seance*, for this is not difficult to the world-adorning mind. What capacity have philosophers, or learned men,

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[1] Perhaps the Rūmī Khān Ḥalabī, *i.e.*, of Aleppo, mentioned in Blochmann 441.

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or artists to keep his company except for a time and on their own subject? Such lofty understanding and such wide intelligence are not within human powers. Rather the power of an angel would not suffice. May Almighty God long preserve this glorious pearl for the aligument (*intizām*) of mortals!

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CHAPTER LXI.

Brief account of His Majesty Jahanbānī Jainnat Āshayānī, and description of some of his remarkable inventions and regulations.

As the affairs of the Panjāb had been happily arranged by the expedition of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh there, His Majesty Jahānbānī remained in Delhi and employed himself in the work of political administration. He gave his attention to the reconstruction of the territories, the extirpation of enemies and the conquest of other provinces. He repeatedly said that he would make several seats of government, and labour for the regulation of India. Delhi, Agra, Jaunpūr, Māndū, Lahore, Qanauj and other suitable places would be chosen and in every place there would be an army under the charge of a prudent, farseeing, subject-cherishing, and just officer, so that there should be no need then for an auxiliary force. And he would not keep more than 12,000 horse attached to his own person. He also used to say that he would have embroidered gold and silver seats prepared to be used in the public assemblies by the princes and by such men of his entourage as were to be exalted by special honour so that they might sit upon them when an order to that effect was given. For it was likely that the affections of the great and worldly,
357 who had not reached the palace of loyalty but still remained in the bazar of traffic, and of loss and gain, would not be captured merely by gifts of property, and that until their honour and prestige were increased they would not be won over.

From the beginning of his career till now his mind was exercised in strange inventions and in showing forth recondite truths. Among these was this that at the time when His Majesty Gēti Sitānī Firdūs Makānī proceeded from Kabul to Qandahār he left His Majesty Jahānbānī in Kābul to look after affairs. One day His Majesty was riding in the environs of the city and exploring the plains and

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meadows. On the way he said to Maulānā Rūḥ Ullāh, who was his teacher, "it has occurred to me to take an augury from the names of three persons whom I may find on the road, and I shall build the foundations of my dominion (*daulat*) thereon." The Maulānā said the name of one person would be enough. He replied "A secret inspiration has communicated itself to me." After going a little distance a wayfarer of mature age appeared and when they asked him his name, he replied "Murād Khwāja." After him another man appeared who was driving an ass loaded with wood. When they asked him his name he said "Daulat Khwāja." Upon this the inspired tongue (of Humāyūn) said that "if the name of the next person that comes be Sāādat Khwāja it will be a strange and beautiful coincidence, and the star of joy (*murād*) will ascend from the horizon of auspiciousness (*sa'ādat*)." At that very moment a man (a boy, in Khwāndamīr's account) appeared, who was grazing some cattle, and when they asked him what his name was he replied "Sa'ādat Khwāja." The servants in attendance were astonished at this marvel, and all felt assured that the lord of auspicious fortune would by Divine favour attain to lofty rank and become possessed of dominion.[1]

When these mysterious glad tidings were fulfilled and the rose garden of hope was made fresh and verdant by the stream of justice he founded his affairs, sacred and secular on joy (*murād*), dominion (*daulat*) and auspiciousness (*sa'ādat*). And he divided all the servants of the fortunate threshold, or rather all the inhabitants of his dominions into three classes. He called his brothers, and other relatives, his officers, his viziers, and all his soldiers *Ahl-i-daulat*. For it was clear that without the help of this body of men the ladder of dominion and fortune could not be climbed. He called the philosophers, the 'ulamā, the chancellors (*ṣadūr*), the sayyids, the shaikhs, the Qūzīs, the poets and the other learned men, the judges, nobles and skilful persons *Ahl-i-sa'ādat*, because the honouring of these auspicious persons, and the association with them were a means of gaining everlasting auspiciousness. He called architects, painters,

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1 This story is given in Elliot V. 118 and 236 who remarks that it first appears in Khwāndamīr. Niẓāmu-d-dīn and Ferishta assign it to the period just before Humāyūn's conquest of India. Khwāndamīr calls the teacher Masīhu-d-dīn Rūḥu-lla

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358 musicians and singers *Ahl-i-murād*, because they were the delight of all the world. Similarly he divided the days of the week among the *Ahl-i-daulat, sa'ādat and murād*, to wit, Saturday and Thursday belonged to Ahl-i-sa'ādat, and on these two days his attention was given to the regulators of knowledge and devotion. The reason of appropriating those two days to the *Ahl-i-sa'ādat* was that Saturday is assigned to Saturn, and Saturn is the patron of shaikhs and ancient families. Thursday is Jupiter's day, and that is the star of learned men and of other noble orders. Sunday and Tuesday were assigned to the *Ahl-i-daulat*, and on them, royal affairs, and the management of world-government were transacted. The reason for thus assigning these two days was that Sunday appertains to the sun whose rays regulate rule and sovereignty, while Tuesday is Mars's day and Mars is the patron of soldiers. Monday and Tuesday were days of joy (*murād*). On these days boon-companions and favourites and others of the *Ahl-i-murād* were treated with special favour. The point in selecting these two days was that Monday is the Moon's day, and Wednesday is Mercury's. Both of these have a special connection with household matters (*amūr-i-biyūtat*). Friday (*jam'a*), in accordance with its name, applied to all objects, and on it all the classes of humanity participated in the royal bounty.

One of the arrangements which characterised the *dīwān*-days was that when the throne of the *khilāfat* was set up and His Majesty being seated thereon was advising the *Dīvān*, information was given to the people by beat of drum, and when he left the *Dīvān*, cannoniers announced the fact to the subjects by the discharge of cannon. And on these days keepers of the wardrobe [1] would bring several suits of apparel, (*dast-i-khelāt*), and the treasurers several bags of gold near to the palace, so that their might be no stoppage to the gifts and largesses. Several brave men stood armed, and with cuirasses on their breasts.

Another of his inventions was that of three golden arrows which were an allusion to the three divisions [2] of *sa'ādat, daulat* and *murād*. Each of these was assigned to one of the leaders of the three classes in order that he should supervise the works thereof. And it was provided that so long as each of the holders of these arrows

[1] *Karkīrāqcīān*, Blochmann 87 *n.* 2 nd 616.

[2] *Sahm* which means both a division or segment, and an arrow.

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exerted himself in the management of the duties appertaining to that division (*sahm*), which consisted in acting according to the will of God and in loyalty, he should be the subject of favour and should be secure on the *masnad* of authority. But if ever he should become intoxicated by the wine of grandeur and transgress the path of justice, or from some evil motive should avert his eyes from loyalty, and should restrict his zeal to the acquisition of wealth, the arrow of 359
his design would not reach the target of success and the writing of deposition would be drawn on the page of his condition, and he would meet with a fitting retribution. Mīr Khwānd the chief chronicler (*Mīr Muwarrikh*) has recorded in his *Qānūn-i-humāyūnī* [1] that in the time of his service the arrow of *sa'ādat* was entrusted with absolute authority to the most excellent of the masters of learning and perfection—Maulānā Farghali,[2] and the opening and shutting, the contraction and expansion, of the affairs of Sayyids, Shaikhs, 'Ulamā, Qāẓīs, and teachers, and the inquiry into the claims of ecclesiastics (*arbāb-i-'amāīm, lit.* wearers of large turbans), and the appointment and removal of those entrusted with the works of religion, and the assignment of stipends and *siyūrghāls* were all in his charge. The arrow of *daulat* was with the prop of sovereignty—Āmīr Hindū Beg, and the shutting and opening, the binding and unloosing of the great affairs of the officers and viziers, and of all the government-clerks, and those entrusted with civil affairs, and the fixing of the pay of the soldiers, and the appointment of the household servants rested with him. The arrow of *murād* and of the works of architecture was assigned to Amīr Waisī. He had to look after the buildings and the arrangement of matters of pomp and pageantry and to care for the perfecting of the things of splendour and glory.

Another of his inventions was the distribution of arrows into twelve classes. Each order of men was assigned to an arrow. The arrangement was as follows: The twelfth arrow, which was of the finest gold, was reserved for the royal quiver, *i.e.*, for Humāyūn and Akbar. The eleventh was for the brothers and other kinsmen and such of the sons of kings as were servants of the threshold of dominion. The tenth arrow was for the Sayyids, the Shaikhs, and the

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1 *Cf.* Elliot V. 116 and B.M. MS. Vr. 1762, and Add. 30,774.

2 This is the man of whom Ḥaidar Mīrzā writes so severely, and who was drowned at Causā.

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'Ulamā. The ninth for the great officers. The eighth was for the intimates (*maqarrabān*) and the *ankacīān* who held *manṣabs* (offices). The seventh for the other *ankacīān*.[1] The sixth for the heads of[2] clans. The fifth for the distinguished young volunteers. The fourth for the cashiers (Blochmann, 45). The third for the soldiers (*jūānān-i-jargah*). The second for artificers.[3] The first for doorkeepers,[4] watchmen, and the like.

Another of his inventions was his dividing the department of State into four classes corresponding to the four elements, *viz.*, Fire, Air, Water, and Earth. And for the transaction of the business of

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[1] The word in text is unintelligible and is no doubt corrupt. A footnote says that on the margin of one MS. there is written ايچكي īckī, which is explained as meaning head-writer. Perhaps the copyist thought of, or wrote bitikcīān, official writers, see Jarrett II. 47. The *n* in the text is clearly wrong, and this letter does not occur in A.F.'s original, *viz.*, Khwāndamīr, who has ايچكيان Zekīān, B.M. MS. Or. 1762, p. 138, Zeker gives ايچي meaning a brother-in-law, and perhaps this is the word, or it may be connected with ايچكار īckār, inner, and consequently intimate, or ever with ايچكي Īckī drink, or with ايچكره meaning elegant, slender. From its following *maqarrabān* it clearly means intimate associates of some kind.

[2] *Sarkhailān-i-qabāīl.* Elliot V. 123, renders the corresponding passage of Khwāndamīr "the *harems* and the well-behaved female attendants." But Khwāndamīr's words are *mat'alliq ast ba sarkhailān qabāīl u yuzbakīān* (*i.e.*, Uzbeks) and apparently the 12 divisions had reference only to males. The fifth which Elliot renders young maid-servants is in A.F.'s text *īkka jūānān-i-bahadur*, and perhaps means the volunteers or independent warriors (*Ekkahā*) referred to in Erskine's Supplementary Remarks, Hist. II. 541, as men who joined the service, either alone, or with a few followers, as volunteer soldiers of fortune. Perhaps these Ekkahā were the men afterwards called Ahadī or Aḥadī in Akbar's time, see Blochmann, 20*n* and 161. Īka يكه is a Mongolian word, and means great. Quatremére N. and E., XIV.

[3] *Shāgird peshagān.* This expression is often used for civilians or laymen attached to an army, such as shopkeepers, citizens, and the like.

[4] Khwandāmīr has the word *darbānān* but he has not the word *pāsbānān.* Instead of *pāsbānān* he has *sārbānān.* See B.M. MSS. Or. 1762, p. 133 and Or. 5850, p. 196. The pages which should contain the account of the arrows are wanting in the translation in the B.M. MS. Add. 30774. There is a gap after p. 76 or 49*b*. A note at the end of Or. 5850 makes the curious mis-statement that the work is by Gulbadan Begam!

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each of these four departments a vizier was appointed. The artiller and the arrangements of armour and arms and of other things with which fire had to do were called the Fire Department. Khwāja 'Abdu l-Mulk was appointed to be vizier of it. The wardrobe (*karqīrāqkhāna*), the kitchen, the stable, and the necessary management of the mules and camels was called the Air Department. The charge of it was given to Khwāja Laṭīf Ullāh. The arrangements 360
of the *Sharbatkhāna*, the wine-cellar (*sūcīkhāna*), and of canals was called the Water Department. Khwāja Ḥasan was appointed the vizier thereof. The affairs of agriculture and of buildings [1] and the administration of exchequer-lands (*ṣabṭ-i-khāliṣāt*) and of some of the buildings (*biyūtāt*) were called the Earth Department. The vizier was Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn Mīrzā Beg. In every one of the departments one of the Amīrs was employed. For instance, Amīr Nāṣir Qulī was the Mīr Sarkār, or head-officer, of the Fire Department and always wore red.

Another of the inventions of this time was that four large barges were set in the river Jamūna (Jumna) and that the master-carpenters constructed [2] on each of them a *cārṭāq* (a square house) of two storeys and of very elegant shape. The barges were so joined together that the *cārṭāqs* faced one another. Between every two of these four barges another *ṭāq* (platform) was made [3] and thus there appeared an octagonal reservoir between the barges.

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[1] *'Imārāt.* Perhaps the word here means colonization or the settling of ryots, for we have buildings (*bīyūtāt*) mentioned immediately afterwards.

[2] The text says that the carpenters made the barges too, but I presume that the skill of the *ustādān-i-naṭjār* was chiefly shown in constructing the houses upon them. The *cārṭāqs* are perhaps square buildings or they may be buildings with four pillars, see Vullers *s.v. cārṭāq.* But, as Quatremére points out N. and E., XIV. 498, the word *cār*, four, is often vaguely used.

[3] *Lit.* were by the field of power made into fact. A.F. has been simply copying Khwāndamīr, and I confess I do not fully understand the description, or how the tank or reservoir was octagonal. I suppose, however, that the four barges formed a square and that the space between them, which was probably planked over, made a portion of the river into a tank. The corresponding passage of Khwāndamīr is thus translated by Munshī Sadasūk Lāl, p. 90, of B.M. MS. Add. 30, 774 :—

"The four boats which, according to royal directions, were made by the most clever carpenters in the water of the Jumna. In each of these boats there was made a large room

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Another of his excellent inventions was his arrangement of shops and the putting up of a bazar on boats. This increased the amazement of the rare of intellect. In the year 939, 1532-33, when His Majesty went from Fīrūzābād-i-Dihlī (*i.e.*, Delhi) to Agra, the capital, by way of the river, and was accompanied by most of the Amīrs and pillars of the State and all the *īkcīān*[1] and officers, a bazar of this kind was made and carried down the Jamūnā. Everyone could get what he wanted in that bazar.

In like manner the royal gardeners made, in accordance with orders, a garden on the river.

Another of his inventions was a movable[2] bridge.

Another of his wonderful inventions was a movable palace. This palace was composed of three storeys which were of cut beams. The master-carpenters had so joined the pieces together that whoever looked at them thought that the whole was of one piece. Whenever they wanted they could take it to pieces and convey it to any country. And the ladders (or steps) to the upper storey were so constructed that they could be opened out or shut up at pleasure.

One of the wonderful inventions of that holy mind was a cap (*tāj*) which was alike magnificent and agreeable to wear. The border (or margin) which went round the *tāj* had two divisions (*furja*), and each of these was in the form of the figure seven (V), and thus by there being two figures 7 (VV) the number 77 was produced, which

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(having four doors or pillars) of two storeys exceedingly nice. The boats were joined together in such a manner that the four apartments stood opposite each other, and by the junction of each two boats another apartment was produced and between all the four a figure resembling a reservoir of octagonal form was made." Price says: "The four vessels were connected by a strong platform or some species of gallery in such a manner that the pavilions were placed in a situation exactly opposite to each other, perhaps in the form of a lozenge, and between each of the vessels was interposed an additional pavilion, making altogether the number of eight and forming in the centre of the whole a beautiful tank or pond of water of eight sides."

[1] This is the word *ankacīān* already referred to. Possibly it may be here a mistake for *bitikcīān* or writers.

[2] This is described at length by Khwāndamīr, p. 139*a*, of Persian text and 112 of translation. It is perhaps characteristic of A.F. that this, perhaps, the only really useful work of Humāyūn, is left undescribed by him.

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was the numerical value of the word *'izz*. Here it was called the *tāj-i-'izzat* or cap of honour. This was invented in Badakhshān [1] and 361
when His Majesty came to Agra and appeared before His Majesty Getī Sitānī Firdūs Makānī the latter was much pleased.

Another of his inventions was a tent (*khirgā*) which had twelve partitions corresponding to the signs of the Zodiac. Each mansion (*burj*) had lattices (*pinjarahā*) [2] through the interstices of which there shone the light of the stars of dominion. And there was another tent [3] which was like the Heaven of Heavens which encompasses the heaven of the fixed stars. This surrounded the other tents and as the crystalline sphere (*i.e.*, the Heaven of Heavens) is undotted (with stars) so this tent was without lattices.

One of his pleasure-increasing inventions was the "carpet of mirth" (*basāṭ-i-nishāṭ*). This was a round carpet corresponding to the orbits of the spheres and the elemental spheres. The first circle which corresponded to the crystalline sphere was white, the second blue (*kabūd*), the third black, like Saturn, the fourth, which was the house of Jupiter, was light brown (*ṣandali*), the fifth, which was related to Mars, was ruby-coloured, the sixth, which was the house of the Sun, was golden, the seventh, which was the house of Venus, was bright green, the eighth, which was the station of

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1 The *tāj-i-'izzat* according to Khwāndamīr was not used only by Humāyūn, but was for the nobles also. Only Humāyūn's was all of one colour, whereas their's were of several colours. He may have invented it in Badakhshān, but the chronogram of its construction, *tāj-i-s'aādat*, given by Khwāndamīr yields 939, or two years after Bābar's death.

2 Blochmann 225, account of *pinjarahsāz*, or lattice-work.

3 Khwāndamīr's description is at p. 122 of translation and 140 of Persian text. "A large tent which like the empyrean heaven that covers the inferior ones surrounded all the petty tents and took them within itself like a cover. Like the crystalline sphere, on which there are no spots of the fixed stars and the planets, this had also no lattice or balcony round it." Khwāndamīr explains that the outer tent was distinct from the inner one and could be used separately. The inner tent which represented the twelve signs of the Zodiac was perhaps the tent mentioned by Gulbadan Begam and called by her *mihr-āmīz*, *i.e.*, associated with the sun. The word which Sadasūk Lāl has translated balcony is *qan'aāt*, so perhaps the outer tent had no flaps or side-walls.

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Mercury, was bluish (*sūsanī*, *i.e.*, lily, or iris-coloured). For the nature of Mercury is composite and when blue and rose are mixed the result is *sūsanī*. And the reason why *sūsanī* was chosen in preference to other colours was that several philosophers have called the colour of Mercury that of collyrium (*kuḥlī*), and the *sūsanī* is nearer to collyrium than other mixed colours are. The ninth circle, which was the station of the Moon, was white. After the circle of the Moon came the region (*kura*, *i.e.*, globe or sphere) of fire and air, then that of earth and water. The inhabited quarter of the earth was divided into seven climes. He himself occupied the golden circle (*i.e.*, the one consecrated to the Sun) and there he adorned the throne of the *khilāfat*. Each section (or group) was ordered to sit in accordance with the one of the seven planets which was appropriate to it in the circle which corresponded therewith. Thus, the Indian officers sate in the circle of Saturn, while the Sayyids and the 'Ulamā sate in the circle of Jupiter. The persons who occupied each circle made use of dice, on each side of which there was represented a human figure in a different position. According to each one's throw he assumed a position which corresponded to the figure that turned up. For example, if a standing figure turned up he stood, if a seated, he sate down, and if a reclining one he lay down. This was a means of increasing mirth.[1]

Another of his excellent devices was the wearing of clothes each day corresponding to the colour of the planet of that day. Thus on Sunday he wore a yellow robe, which is the colour appropriated to the Sun, who is the regent thereof. On Monday[2] he wore

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[1] Perhaps some will think that Humāyūn's courtiers, like Mr. Peter Magnus' friends, were easily amused. This carpet is described by Khwāndamīr, Persian text 155, translation 206: It appears to have been of enormous size, for, he says, that each of the seven circles had 200 grades (?) so that in all 1,400 persons could sit in it. The bright green, *sabzrōshan*, which is given as the colour of the circle of Venus, is said in the dictionaries to be the name of a kind of pigeon. Blochmann, pp. 294, 299, renders *sabz* by "bluish." Sadasūk Lāl renders *sūsanī* by violet. The expression *umrā-i-Hindī* used with reference to the circle of Saturn means Indian-born officers whether Hindus or Muḥammadans, for Khwāndamīr says that the *Mashāīkh* also sat there.

[2] Khwāndamīr says that when the moon was near the full Humāyūn wore white.

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green, which is appropriate to the Moon, and so on. Another of his inventions was the drum[1] of justice. If the claim of anyone related to some dispute he beat the drum once. If his grievance consisted 332
in the non-receipt of stipend, or wages he struck twice. If his goods and chattels (*māl-u-jihāt*) had been seized by oppression, or had been stolen, he complained by beating the drum thrice. If he had a claim of blood against anyone he beat the drum loudly four times.

The notes of the inventive genius of this *khedive* of holy type are many, but the above are enough to enable the understanding and the acute to comprehend the rare jewels of his soul. It is now better to abridge words and to come to the proper subject.

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[1] This is an institution as old as Nūshirwān. Khwāndāmir makes the next sentence more intelligible by prefixing the word *andak* small to the word *makhāṣamat*, dispute or suit. In the Lucknow Museum there are a number of large drums which came from Agra, and are said to belong to Akbar's time. Perhaps they are the remains of one of Humāyūn's institutions.

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CHAPTER LXII.

INCIDENCE OF A FLASH OF INDICATION OF A JOURNEY TO THE WORLD OF HOLINESS ON THE INWARD MIRROR OF HIS MAJESTY JAHĀNBĀNĪ JINNAT ĀSHIYĀNĪ, AND HIS DEPARTURE FOR THAT WORLD.

Let it not be concealed from inquiring minds that at about the time when His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, the young shoot of the parterre of insight, obtained leave to go to the Panjāb, there frequently rose on the lips of His Majesty Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī the mention of a departure to the world of holiness. Contrary to his laudable habit of regarding such references as unbecoming (*makrūh*), as being repugnant to the management of affairs, and of avoiding them in conversation, he now took pleasure in speaking on the subject. Seemingly the flash had pictured itself in the antechamber of his mystery-knowing heart. Among such references there was this that one day he quoted with commendation the true words of His Majesty Getī-sitānī Firdūs-Makānī, when he remarked in a meeting of friends that a servant of his used to say that whenever he saw the graves in Ghaznīn[1] he felt an inclination to die. Following up this, His Majesty would say that when he contemplated[2] Delhi and its shrines the words recurred to his memory, and he thought how sweet they were! At about the same time and when he was proceeding towards the eternal world he said to several of his familiars: "This day after paying my morning devotions a mysterious thing occurred and a secret inspiration brought this quatrain on my lips:"—

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[1] "Here (Ghaznīn) is the last resting-place of Ḥakīm Sanāī and many other saintly personages." A.F. in Āīn, Jarrett, II, 408.

[2] Probably Humāyūn was referring to a visit which he paid to the shrines and graves in and round Delhi in company with Sidi 'Alī shortly before his death. See p. 53 of the Admiral's book.

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Verse.

"O God, make me wholly Thine.
Acquaint me with Thine attributes.
Tyrannous Reason hath crippled my soul.
Call me Thine own madman[1] and set me free."

Tears fell from his truth-seeing eyes while he was reciting these lines, and complete detachment was manifested on his irradiated brows. About the time, too, when the Court was at Delhi, the eye-brightener of the *khilāfat*, to wit, His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, one night beheld in a dream that someone was pulling up his[2] musky (*i.e.*, black) locks. When he awoke he told the dream to Māham 363
Anaga, the mother of Adham Khān. She summoned all the skilled interpreters and asked them what the dream portended. When this question was put to His Majesty Jahānbānī he said: "Evil will be far from his (Akbar's) head." Afterwards he told them quietly of his own inevitable doom, and administered consolation to them. Constantly during those days he was uttering words which had for the organs of the farseeing among the courtiers the savour of a passage from this transitory world which all must quit, and which divided[3] the joints and marrow of the faithful of soul. Among other things, he wrote with his own hand on the arch of his portico these opening lines of a poem by Shaikh Āzarī:—[4]

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1 *Cf.* Erskine, Hist., 535, note. His translation and account of the circumstances differ somewhat from the text. Apparently the poet contrasts the cold light of reason with the ecstacy of madness (or love). The translation in Erskine's version of the Akbarnāma in the B.M. is nearer the original.

2 The text has *ānḥazrat*, which presumably stands for Humāyūn, but a footnote says that several MSS. have *īshān*, and all the MSS. that I have examined in the B.M., I.O., and R.A.S. have *īshān*, and so has the Lucknow edition. I have therefore adopted the variant. I think that what Akbar saw must have been the pulling of his own locks, otherwise there would have been no cause for alarm on his account, and it is hardly likely that his father, then a man of 50, would have black hair.

3 I have paraphrased the passage. The literal translation is: "The faithful of soul were cut to pieces."

4 The poetical name of Jalāl-ud-dīn Ḥamza of Isfarain or Mihrjān near Nīshāpūr. He died in 866 A.H. Beale's Or. Dict., 90. See also Rieu., Cat. I, 43*a*. According to the account there Āzarī, who took his poetical name from the month of his birth, was born at Marv and died in 866 A.H.=

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Verse.

I've heard that on this gilded dome (the sky) 't is writ
The end[1] of all things is praiseworthy.

He also when near his departure reduced his consumption of opium, so much so that he said to his intimates "We'll see for how many more days two or three pellets (*habb*) will suffice." He had seven days' divided supply and wrapped in paper, and made over to his body-servants, and he said to them "this is all the opium we shall eat." On the day which was the first stage of his journey to the region of holiness and detachment, there remained four pellets. He sent for these, and partook[2] thereof in rosewater.

At the close[3] of Friday Rabī'-al-awwal 963, Shāh

1461-62. Badaūnī, III, 193, says that Maulānā Bekasī is the authority for this story. He quotes the couplet.

[1] Another rendering might be: "To meditate on the end of all things is praiseworthy." Price translates: "Of all mankind the end is happy."

[2] The meaning is not quite clear. Probably A.F. means that Hūmāyūn took one of the four pellets along with rosewater. It is hardly likely that he would take four all at once. The day when he sent for the opium is clearly, I think, the day of the accident, and not of the death, and the time would be in the course of the day and before the accident, which occurred at evening. Probably the number four is dwelt upon as indicating that Hūmāyūn had set aside the exact number of pellets that would last till his death. If Friday was the day of the accident and he took one pill on that day, and survived till Monday, as Sidi 'Alī says, this would be the case. According to other authorities he died on the evening of Sunday, the 26th January, or 13 Rabī'-al-awwal. This is the date given in the Bādshāhnāma of 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd, Bib. Ind. ed., p. 63.

[3] *Akhir-i-rūz.* But perhaps the īẓāfat is wrong, and the translation should be: "At length, on Friday," &c. A.F. does not give the day of the month; but, as he says later on, that the officers concealed the accident (or at least its seriousness) for seventeen days and then proclaimed Akbar on 28 Rabī'-al-awwal, we may take it that the fall occurred on Friday, the 11th Rabī'-al-awwal, corresponding to 24th January, 1556. *See* Mrs. Beveridge's translation of Count Noer's Akbar, I. 67, note. The date, 11 Rabī'-al-awwal, given at the end of Stewart's translation of Jauhar is not in the original, and the whole sentence is an addition. There is a good deal of discrepancy about the dates of Humāyūn's fall and death, and on these points reference may be made to the note above quoted and also to Mr. C. J. Rodgers' note in the J.A.S.B. for 1871, Vol. XL, p. 133, and to Mr.

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Budāgh,[1] 'Ālam[2] Shāh, Beg Mūlak,[3] and others who had returned

Blochmann's remarks thereon. A.F.'s statement that the fall occurred on a Friday is supported by the circumstance that a number of worshippers were assembled at the adjoining mosque, as would naturally be the case on a Friday, and also by the testimony of Kātibi-Rūmī, the Turkish admiral, Sīdī 'Alī Rëīs. He was in Delhi at the time; and, though he does not expressly say so, he was apparently present at the last audience. His words (Vambéry's translation, Luzac, 1899, p. 55) are: "All was ready for the start (the Admiral's). Humāyūn had given audience on Friday evening, when, upon leaving his castle of pleasure, the Muezzin, announced the Ezan just as he was descending the staircase. It was his wont, whenever he heard the summons, to bow the knee in holy reverence. He did so now, but unfortunately fell down several steps, and received great injuries to his head and arm." Truly the proverb rightly says, 'There is no guarding against fate.'

"Everything was confusion in the palace, but for two days they kept the matter secret. It was announced to the outer world that the sovereign was in good health, and alms were distributed amongst the poor. On the third day, however, that was on the Monday, he died of his wounds."

It seems to me probable that the Turkish Admiral is the person referred to by A.F. as Caghatāī Khān. No officer of Humāyūn's or Akbar's of that name is mentioned anywhere, and Sīdī 'Alī may have got the sobriquet of Caghatāī Khān on account of his proficiency in the Caghatāī language. See the Turkish publisher's preface, Vambéry, l.c., p. XVII. Sīdī 'Alī, too, had just come from Gujrāt. Another reason for believing Friday to be the day, is that Friday was Humāyūn's day for holding receptions and granting audiences. *See* A.N.Cap., LXII. On the whole then, unless it can be established astronomically that Venus did not rise on Friday, 24th January 1556, I think we may take that to be the day of the accident. This date is further corroborated by Sīdī 'Alī's statement that he left for Lahore on a Thursday in the middle of Rabī'-al-awwal. He did not leave till after the death, and Thursday would be the 17th Rabī'-al-awwal. Vambéry's translation, contrary to that of Diez, makes Thursday the day of the Admiral's arrival at Lahore, but this is clearly wrong.

With regard to the place and circumstances of the accident there is

1 Blochmann, 371 and 382.

2 If this was Khān 'Ālam Calma Beg, Blochmann, 378, he must have returned from Mecca before Kāmrān's death. But perhaps it is not. 'Ālam Shāh is mentioned at p. 325 of text as one of those who accompanied Kāmrān to India.

3 It would seem from this as if Beg Mūlak had repented and gone after Kāmrān.

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from the Ḥijāz, and Caghatāī Khān and some men from Gujrāt came and made reports. Also Pahlwān Dōst Mīr Barr, and Maulānā Asad came from Kābul with representations from Mun'im Khān. At the end of the day he came out on the roof of the library which had recently been fitted up, and gave the people who were assembled at the chief mosque the blessing of performing homage (*kornish*). For a considerable time he asked questions about Holy Mecca and about Gujrāt and Kābul.

After that he sent for all the mathematicians, for it was expected that Venus would rise on that night and he wished to observe her.

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a good account by Mr. Rodgers in the paper already referred to. He corrects the mistakes of Elphinstone and Marshman. I visited the place in September, 1899. The building is known as the Sher Mandal from having been built by Sher Shah and is described by Syed Ahmad in his Aṣār Ṣanādīd (*see* also Garçin de Tassy's translation). It is an octagonal building of red stone and has two storeys. But the first is now solid, *i.e.*, has no room in it. It has inside stairs leading up to the second storey, which is an octagonal room fitted with niches (*ṭāq*), which perhaps were used as bookshelves. From this two separate flights of steps lead up to the roof, on which there is a small open cupola supported on eight pillars. One of the flights is shown by the guides as that from which Humāyūn fell. There is a turn in the stairs and the steps are of granite, a foot high, and steep and narrow. The stairs open out, it should be stated, in the body of the roof, so that Humāyūn fell through the roof rather than off it. He certainly did not fall over the parapet. "The stairs come up on both sides of the cupola, in the space intervening between it and the parapet." (Rodgers). Presumably Humāyūn's intention was to sit down on the part of the roof which formed the first step of the stair, and to rest his feet on the second step (*Zīna-i-duwam*). It was the cold weather and so he would naturally be wearing a long dressing-gown. The guides say that the body was wrapped in cotton. As we know from the Maaṣir Raḥīmī it was brought away from Delhi when Hīmūn defeated Tardī Beg and got possession of the city. It was kept for a time at Sirhind and then brought back and kept near the Purāna Qila' till the grand tomb, built by Humāyūn's widow, Ḥājī Begam, was ready.

The Sher Mandal is to the south of Delhi and about four miles from the railway station. It is near the Jamna and was still nearer it in old times. Hard by, is the Jama' Masjid of Sher Shāh, and Humāyūn's tomb is not far off. The reason probably why Hūmāyūn was then residing at the Sher Mandal was because that neighbourhood is the site of the city of Dīnpanāh, which was founded by Hūmāyūn in earlier and happier days.

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It was his excellent intention that when Venus rose and the moment became auspicious he would hold a grand assembly and make promotions of officers. At the beginning of the evening he wished to descend and when he came to the second[1] step, a reciter (*muqrī*), by name Miskīn (wretched), raised an untimely call to prayer. His Majesty, out of respect to the call, wished to sit down where he was. As the steps *(darjāt)* of the stair *(zīná.)* were sharp *(tez)* and the stones slippery *(laghzanda)* his blessed foot caught in the skirt of his robe at the moment of sitting down and his good staff slipped. He lost his feet and fell upon his head, his right temple receiving a severe blow, so that some drops of blood issued from his right ear. As he possessed a heart acquainted with mysteries he immediately, and in order that he might give comfort and also make dispositions for the world, sent an affectionate dispatch containing a report of his wel- 364
fare to the nursling of the light of fortune by the hands of Naẓr[2] Shaikh Cūlī.

One of the wondrous flashes of his (Akbar's) intelligence was that in the middle of that very day (the day of the accident, not of the announcement) he had[3] said to some of his suite that a great misfortune would happen to an eminent man and that probably he would die.

The loyalists who were on the spot endeavoured to conceal[4] the

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1 *Zīna-i-duwum.* The exact meaning of the expression is doubtful. Naturally one would think that it referred to the second step of the top stair, but *zīna* means a stair rather than a step, and the word *darjāt* as used just below to mean the steps. Perhaps A.F. means the second flight of steps counting from below, or he may have supposed that the fall was from the lower or second flight of steps. The stairs are certainly very steep and awkward and might easily cause a nasty fall.

2 "The recital of the *āẕān* must be listened to with great reverence. If a person be walking at the time he should stand still; if reclining sit up." Hughes' Dict. of Islam, 286.

3 Bayāzīd enters him on his list as Shaikh Naẕr Cūlī Turkistānī and says that after the conquest of India Akbar made him Mīr 'Ādl. Presumably Naẕr was his name, and Cūlī his title, from having been with Humāyūn in the desert. The Mīrāt-i-'Ālam, B.M. Add., 7657, p. 971*a*, gives a copy of the letter which Naẕr Shaikh conveyed. See translation of it in Blochmann's remarks on Rodgers' paper l.c.

4 *Mīfarmūdand.* This is the formula used by A.F. when mentioning Akbar's utterances.

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dreadful occurrence and took measures to send information to the heir-apparent of the *masnad* of the *khilāfat* and to collect the principal officers who had obtained leave to various parts of the kingdom. With extreme prudence they kept this life-destroying event from the public for seventeen days. Those who were present at court and the counsellors of the threshold of the *khilāfat, viz.*, Khiẓr Khwāja Khān, 'Alī Qulī Khān, Laṭīf Mīrzā, Khiẓr Khān Hazāra, Qūndūq Khān, Qambar 'Alī Beg, Ashraf Khān, Afẓal Khān, who were in the list of helpful ministers *(wuzrāī kifāyāt pēsha)* and Khwāja Ḥusain of Merv, Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥai, Pēshrau Khān, Mihtar Khān, and after some days Tardī Beg Khān, who inscribed on his heart's tablet the office of Amīr-al-Umarā [1] (Blochmann, 240) assembled together and on the 28th of the same month, 11th February, 1556, they recited the *khuṭba* in the famous name and lofty titles of the *khedive* of the age, and so healed and mended the distracted world and gave the terrene and terrestrials a message of enduring restoration. The stewards of heaven, who had been in expectation of this, rejoiced, 'and the desires of the administrators of the natural world were accomplished. Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥai Ṣadr recited this couplet:—

Verse.

If the world's new year be destroyed,
Let the hundred-leaved red rose remain.

Several persons had recited this verse, and it had become well known and had been made the subject of conversation at assemblies. A strange thing was that at the same time one of the literate *(faẓlā)* had found the second line [2] to give the date of the accession of the *Khedive* of the Age, but this was by writing the word *gul* with an ī, *gulī*, though in one sense the ordinary orthography does not lend itself to this form. And during the days of concealing this fatal affair they on one occasion dressed up Mullā Bēkasī [3] in the clothes

[1] That is, no doubt, they endeavoured to conceal the gravity of the accident. This agrees with what Sīdī 'Alī tells us.

[2] The second line yields 953 and if ī be added it yields 10 more or 963. I think the meaning is that 'Abdu-l-Ḥāi uttered the verse without any thought of its being a chronogram, and that the strange thing was that it was afterwards found that a slight alteration made it into a chronogram.

[3] Sīdī 'Alī Reīs, the Turkish ad-

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of the deceased *(lit:* that pardoned pinnacle) and brought him out on the top of the terrace *(aiwān)* which was His Majesty's place of sitting, and showed him to the people with his face towards the river. The people performed the *kornīsh* and were in some measure relieved from their distress and confusion.

When the sad misfortune was made known a great disturbance and trouble, such as was natural at a crisis like this, arose. The officers exerted themselves to soothe hearts and give people confidence and did what was proper at this time of dispersion both in 365
respect of friends and of foes. They did what they could to mend the breach and to cement the crack. And how could the bond (*'aqd*) of the eternal fortune of this noble family not attain corroboration and shape when the world-adorning glory of the personality of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, the true heir of sovereignty, had seized the summit of the throne of the *khilāfat* of the terrene and of terrestrials. Good God! How could it enter into the circle of the thoughts and imaginings of the farseeing that a being so wondrous in his perfections and so befriended of fortune, at once the arranger of the visible world and the acquirer of spirituality, should so soon leave this earth? But as the time had come when the Creator would give rejuvenescence to the old world and give a new education to mankind,—a time which had not arrived in many cycles of the past,—of necessity He designed to exhibit the nobly-constituted and consummate paragon who should be the perfection of mortals. Con-

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miral, l.c. 57, tells this story and confirms A.F.'s account. He calls the representative Mullā Bī and says he bore a striking resemblance to Humāyūn, though he was of slighter ("shorter," in Diez) make. Sīdī 'Alī says the deception took place on the Tuesday, and he gives himself the credit of having suggested the concealment. But Gulbadan Begam tells us that the same thing was done when her father died. Badāūnī, III, 192, has an account of Bēkasī, *i.e.*, I presume the orphan or destitute one, but singularly enough he says nothing about his impersonation of Humāyūn. Bēkasī seems to have been a native of Ghaznīn and he died at Peshawar in 973, 1566. He was a poet, and Badāūnī gives specimens of his verses. It is interesting to find Sīdī 'Alī confirming A.F. in the small matter of the impersonation's having taken place on the riverside.

In F. H. Diez's translation, in his Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien, Berlin, 1815, p. 209, the name is given as Mullā Bikjissi. His translation seems to be better than Vambéry's.

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sequently the occurrence of this unavoidable event, though in the eyes of the superficial a subject of mourning and sorrow, might be reckoned by the eyes of the mature of vision as a treasury of glory and beauty. For by the bounteous presence of this sublime pearl of sovereignty the visible and invisible worlds became again glorious, and the market-square of dominion, spiritual and temporal, became active. And as the lofty intelligence of this lord of the age was come to perfection, and the constituent elements of the rule of this great-thoughted one had been put in order and the die of dominion had turned up inscribed with his name, seeing that with real ancestorhood he wore the vesture of sonship, if the ruler of the age (Humāyūn) had on account of his right-seeing and good qualities been preserved in the prison of visible life, it must have followed that, on account of the submission to the noblest, which is proper according to the rules of wisdom, this eminent one of the age (Humāyūn) should submit to the nursling of light (Akbar). But as the robe of fatherhood is an imposing one and cometh from God, it could not harmonise with obedience to the offspring. Also the happiness of children cannot be recorded in the book of fate except when they submit to their fathers and obey their behests. Consequently it was unavoidable that the beginning of the feast of fortune should be the lord of the earth's leaving this world.

In fine, after giving consolations and congratulations, the imperial servants who were collected in Delhi separated in order to unite distracted hearts, and each hastened to his own place. Tardī Beg Khān, who in concert with them was at Delhi, in order to arrange the affairs of this city, sent the insignia of sovereignty along with Ghulām 'Alī Shashangasht and other trusty servants to the world-protecting court and made declarations of obedience and devotion. M. Abū-l-Qāsim,[1] the son of M. Kāmrān, was also sent to do homage.

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[1] This apparently is the same person as the Ibrāhīm mentioned as having, when a child, wrestled with Akbar. He probably had his name changed when he became father of a son. I regret to say that Akbar afterwards had him put to death in Gwālīār.

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CHAPTER LXIII.

Of the dominion-increasing acts of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh from the time of his felicitous setting out for the Panjāb till his sacred accession. 366

The brief account of the fortune-encompassing condition of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh from the time of his being dispatched to the Panjāb till his glorious accession is that when the standards of fortune were turned towards the Panjāb the Atka Khān and other servants came from Ḥiṣār Fīrūza and met him on the way, in accordance with an intimation to that effect, and had the honour of paying their respects. When fortune's equipage arrived at Sihrind all the king's[1] servants who had been appointed as auxiliaries to Shāh Abū-l-M'aālī, such as Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Muṣāhib Beg, Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmud, Farḥat Khān, Ṭāhir Muḥammad, son of Mīr Khurd, and Mihtar Taimūr Sharbataī, came away without leave (from Abū-l-M'aālī) on hearing of the advance of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, and hastened to obtain the bliss of service, for they had been troubled by the evil fellowship of that ill-regulated young man. They were favourably received. Sikandar, who had come out of the hills, withdrew to them again before the victorious army had encamped. The infatuated Mīr who had marched out to put him down hastened back to Lahore. When it became certain that the province had been given to His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, and that he was proceeding thither, Abu-l-M'aālī felt constrained to come with a body of troops to the bank of the Sulṭānpūr river (the Bīās) and to do homage. His Majesty out of kindness, and in order to ratify the favour that had been shown by His Majesty Jahānbānī himself indicated to Abū-l-M'aālī that he should take a seat

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1 That is, Humāyūn's servants. The Atka Khān and others who came from Ḥiṣār were Akbar's special retainers.

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in the high assemblage, and encompassed him with favours. But inasmuch as the easily intoxicated Mīr had been made drunk by one gulp of the world's wine he, after obtaining leave and returning to his quarters sent a message that "my position[1] with His Majesty Jahānbānī is universally known; and especially your Highness may recollect that at the *qamargha* (ring-hunt) in Jūī[2] Shāhī I ate with His Majesty Jahānbānī in the same place and off the same plate; you were present, and had your portion (*alūsh*) sent to you. Taking then my position into consideration, why, when I came to your habitation, was a separate rug put down for me, and why was there a separate tablecloth? "His Majesty a mine of sense and urbasity, smiled at his ignorance, and said to Ḥājī Muḥammad Sīstānī who had brought the message "Tell him the regulations of State and the laws of love are distinct, you have not with me the position that you
367 had with His Majesty Jahānbānī. 'Tis strange that you have not discriminated between these two positions, and have complained." The Mīr was greatly abashed.

His Majesty went on towards the hills in order to extirpate Sikandar who was stated to be in Mānkot and its neighbourhood.

When the army of fortune encamped near Harīāna a swift courier arrived and apprized Bairām Khān of His Majesty Jahānbānī's fall. Bairām Khān did not think it expedient to advance further, and moved the army to Kalānūr in order that they might halt for some days in that pleasant place. Near Kalānūr Naẓr Shaikh Cūlī arrived and produced the sublime mandate[3] (*firmān*). Just about this time the tidings of the inevitable events reached the royal hearing, and His Majesty displayed the weeping and lamentation which befitted the condition of affection and love. The distress and internal affliction which were experienced by that lofty-souled one exceeded human conception. Bairām Khān, Atka Khān and Māham Anaga essayed to comfort him, but as his sorrow sprang from excessive love what they regarded as topics of consolation only augmented his grief. This

[1] Humāyūn used to call him son.

[2] This was Akbar's appanage, which makes the favour shown to Abū-l-M'aālī the more striking.

[3] The Mirāt-i-'ālam B.M. Add. 7657, p. 271*a*, gives what purports to be the substance of the letter. There is a translation of the passage in J.A.S.B., Vol. XL. for 1871.

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chosen one of God expends such sorrow of heart and consideration for individual men! How grieved and afflicted he is at the death of any one who has a savour of sincerity, devotion, and ability! It was fitting that such a disposition should show itself in his holy personality under circumstances which were in old times motives for rejoicing among the unthinking so that men of the world who regard only what they perceive by their senses may acknowledge the true grandeur of this great one, and that such acknowledgment may be a means of guiding all mankind, and that the guidance may result in general enlightenment and charity. If it were not for this reason, how could the wide domain of the knowledge, piety and devotion of this nursling of the light of glory permit that such censure of the decrees of Providence should contract the law of submission? At length by the assistance of far-reaching reason he conveyed himself to the asylum of patience and employed hismself in alms-giving and in other good works which may benefit those who have travelled to the abiding world. Poets and sages composed elegies and chronograms. Among them was Khwāja Ḥusain of Merv who made a *tarkībband* in an elegy, about that cupola of pardon, some lines of which are as follows:—

Verse.[1]

O heart, thou too must hear the sound of death.
Death's morning must blow on thy life's ascension,
As the order for tasting death is for all men.
Be sure that the sherbet of death must be drunk.
This name of life which they imposed upon you.
Is a name that must be carried on to the side of death.

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1 A note to the Lucknow edition says that a *tarkībband* is a composition in which the metre changes after seven or more verses. According to Dr. Ranking's book or Prosody, Bombay, 1895, p. 12, this is the definition of *Tarjīband*. Khwājah Ḥusain made a famous poem about the birth of Jahāngīr. He is said to have died at Kābul in 979. It is singular that the verses do not occur in most MSS. The editors of the Bib. Ind. edition say in a note that they are only to be found in the Lucknow edition. They do not occur in any of seven MSS. in the B.M. which I have examined. Unfortunately the editor of the Lucknow lithograph (1284 A.H.) does not tell us the sources of his text beyond vaguely stating at p. 8 of his preface that he was supplied by his publisher with several good copies of the book.

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Be not proud of this rose and garden of life.
Autumn's breeze must blow on this rose and garden.
368 Thou hast heard with thine own ears that such an one remaineth not
Others's ears must receive tidings of thee likewise.

Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥai found this chronogram:—

Verse.

Alas, Alas! My king fell from the roof. (963).

Maulānā Mas'aūd of Ḥiṣar composed this:—

Verse.

Hūmāyūn Pādshāh was united to God. (963).

But this was by writing the sacred name (Hūmāyūn) without *alif*. Maulānā Qāsīm Kāhī made this chronogram:—

Verse.

Hūmāyūn Pādshāh fell from the roof. (962).

This chronogram is one year short. A difference of one or two years may be allowed in the case (of the dates) of buildings, but not in obituary chronograms.[1] A number discovered this chronogram:—

[2] *Verse.*

Let Jalālu-d-dīn be the kingdom's heir. (963).

The spiritual and physical perfections and the notes of reason

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[1] A.F. means that as buildings are often begun in one year and finished in another, an error of a year or two in the chronogram is not of importance. For an account of Qāsim Kāhī, *see* Blochmann, 209, and 566, and Ṭabaqāt Akbarī, Lucknow ed., 396.

[2] Dr. Ethé gives in his catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the India Office, No. 1441, p. 793, a chronogram by Hijrī which deserves to be recorded. It is:—

حیف زان پادشه عارف دانای حکیم

Alas! for the king, the saint, the sage (963).

With reference to A.F.'s statement that Qāsim Kāhī's chronogram is defective by a year, it may be remarked that many seem to have thought that 962 was the year of the death. Bayāzīd, 81*a*, gives this date and so does Jauhar B.M. MS., 16, 711, p. 145*a*. It is also the date given in the verses engraved under the cornice at Sikandar. The stanza is:—

ز نهصد فزون بود شصت دوسال
که شاه اکبر آن سایه ذو الجلال
بدالاے زرین مسند نشست
که بر تخت او گشته افلاک پشت

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and knowledge in this unique one of the world were greater than can be recorded. He was thoroughly versant in various sciences, rational and traditional (*'aqlī u naqlī*). Especially was he distinguished in the mathematical sciences. He always consorted with philosophers. Illustrious mathematicians obtained bliss at the foot of his throne. He desired to establish observatories and had collected the equipments thereof. He had fixed upon several sites for observatories. He also regarded with favour poetry and poets. And as he had a metrical turn he spent the intervals of time, between spiritual and temporal obligations, in composing poetry. The *divan* of his poems is in the grand library. The following quatrains are taken from that frontispiece of marvels:—

Quatrain.

Oh! heart, fret not in presence of the rival,
Tell not thy heart's condition to any physician.
What has happened to thee from that tyrant
Is a woeful tale, and a very strange event.

Another.

Oh! heart, rejoice in the presence of the friend,
In his service faithfully consume thyself.
Each night sit rejoicing in the thought of the friend,
Each day make a New Year by meeting him.

Another.

Oh thou, whose tyranny is a world's flag,
The day when I see not oppression from thee is oppressive.
The sorrow that comes from the tyrannous sphere,
What sorrow is it to me when there is the sorrow of love for thee?

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though possibly this may be explained as only meaning that 962 years were completed.

In the Tārīkh Alfī, I.O. MS. No. 3293, p. 430*b*, 963 is given as the date, and no doubt this is correct, but perhaps many people were misled by Akbar's introduction of the Faẓlī year and counted 963 as beginning with the vernal equinox of the year of his accession. It, therefore, seems unnecessary to have recourse to the emendation of the chronogram suggested by Mr. Rodgers, in his valuable paper on Eastern Chronograms, R.A.S.J., for 1898 p. 718.

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God be praised! the exposition of this noble catena which, like the catena of the skies, is upheld by God and hath a holy refuge, and of which one extremity is bound to Adam Ṣafī, the morning of Creation, while the other is linked with the ascension of the sun of
369 the Shāhinshāh's personality, has been set forth with concision and brevity and in a fresh style other than that coming from the tainted pen of the deckers (*basmacīān*) of epistolary models. By drawing up this grand catalogue and glorious preamble, Abū-l-faẓl—that airy particle—has obtained benediction, and many mysteries and points of wisdom have found insertion as ancillaries. Were these truths, and mysteries separated from the main chronicle, they would form a choice book brimful of the marrow of wisdom.

Verse.

I made a cup of wine out of my blood.
Not a jar of vinegar that blisters the breast.
There are many truths in each dot of it,
Who does not perpend them, comprehends them not.

Though in so far as regards ordinary readers what I have recounted up till now of the events of the ancestors may seem superfluous and a flux of words, yet the great society of truth-knowers is well aware that into this book of Divine praise—may no evil eye approach it!—I have not introduced, from the beginning to the end, a single superfluous letter. An account has been given of divers screens—veils of the sacred Shāhinshāh-beauty,—and behind each screen there is the bridal face of genius. Away, away! Where is the screen, and where is the secluded bride? One beauty there is which assumes several manifestations, and within these is one genius which is full of radiance and which informs[1] the world-illuminating Beauty.

Verse.

He who knows speech knows
What kind of speech this is.

How can I, whose heart is pawned in one place, turn towards the two worlds? What profit is there in the writing of histories? Two swords will not lie in one scabbard, or two purposes in one heart.

[1] I adopt the variant *gīrū* which I believe to be the Turkish گیرو *gīrū*.

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Do not take into consideration the distracted souls of the inconstant, for where is the heart of those heartless, earthly-natured ones that can be subjected to consideration? But for the sage inquirer into causes the truth is illustrated by the ascent of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, and so the afflicted world of secondary causes has been brought into the noose of design. And by profound contemplation and good fortune, the stewards of fate, who, owing to the happy auspices of this individual, have brought the chapters of felicity to a conclusion, have revealed the world-adorning beauty of the Shāhinshāh in the exponents of this sublime catena, so that the genuine love for that unique one of the divine temple has given zeal for the writing of this lengthy chronicle. The convention of discourse has been made animated, and the rose garden of ornaments been watered. Neither has there been any flagging in the single-heartedness of this desert-traverser. The progressive beauties of the true beloved have been set forth, and the degrees of love's sciences have received their full ascension.

Now what the vulgar and the superficial have regarded as a digression has been concluded and the time has come for what both sections (of readers) regard as the true object. I hope I may obtain 370
my wish in the noble enterprise.

Verse.

My pen whose point is a mysterious tongue,
Is the treasure-opener of a secret mine,
From him who regards it with gravity
I ask justice, not acclamation.

Verse.

May this work be worthy applause!
May God grant that so it may be.

END OF VOLUME I.

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Errata and Addenda.

1. P. 3, n. 3. Aḥmad 'Alī Khān, keeper of the Rāmpūr Library Rohilkand, showed me a passage in a commentary on Anwarī's Odes, which offered an explanation of the phrase, 18,000 worlds. It said that *alf* had the meaning of perfect, or complete, because one thousand was the highest number used in *abjad,* or alphabetical numeration, and that therefore 18,000 meant only 18. This latter number was arrived at by adding together the four worlds, *viz.*, the *'Ālam jabarūt, 'Ālam malakūt, 'arsh,* and *kursī,* the seven heavens, the four elements, and the three *mawālid,* موالید ثلاثه, *i.e.*, the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms. The commentary was by Abūl Ḥasan Firāhānī, and gave as the authority for the statement 'Abdu-r-razzāq Kāshī Sulṭān-al-'Ārifīn's Tawīlāt. The passage occurs at p. 82*b*, of the Rāmpūr MS. and is an explanation of a verse where Anwarī plays on the two meanings of the word *alf, viz.*, 1,000 and also the first letter of the alphabet. It also occurs in B.M. MS., Or. 361 p. 43*a* Rieu 556*b*.

2. P. 5, last line. The best translation of the epithet *istīsqā bakhsh* seems to be "answerer of the prayer for rain." "See Lane 1355*b*. The reference is to Akbar's alleged miracle of causing rain to fall, and also to his satisfying the thirst of all who wander about, panting after the truth. Blochmann 164.

3. Do., n. 4. See Āīn text I, 158 where the lover ('Āshaq) and the loved (Māshūq) are described as one.

4. P. 6, n. 2. See Tennyson's paraphrase in his "Al N., II, Dream." e four

5. P. 7, n. 2. Several of the lines occur in Faizī's Ma constiadwār, B.M. MS., Add. 7795 p. 25, Canto on Speech. n one

6. Verse, Delete capital in Thy. Niẓāmī's lines are addr to an earthly prince, and A.F. employs them in the same sense. barī,

7. P. 11, n. 3. I.O. MS. 4 has *zā*. ght

8. P. 12, l. 6. Perhaps the following is a better translation: "Rather the aim of praise is to place this vain, self-adorning, self-auctioning, carnal soul on the threshold of submission and the pedestal of supplication and humility, and to cast it out of sight so that

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inward happiness may be graced by outward surrender, and the inner and outer natures may be decked with lowliness and be fitted to the modesty of the bosom of purpose and become the praise of the life-giving creator."

9. P. 12, n. 4. See Faiẓī's Nal Daman, last Canto, p. 138 of Newal Kishore's ed., 1893.

بر طاق نظر کشدم این دیر
که جلوهٔ عین سبک سیر

"I drew (or erected) this dome on vision's arch.
To be the glory of the swift-rolling eye.

See also for use of the phrases *khudārāī* and *khweshtan-gazīnī*, A.F.'s description of the initiation of a novice in the "Divine Faith," *Āīn*, text I, 160 and Blochmann 166.

10. P. 16, l. 7. These two epithets occur in the beginning of the 'Iyār dānish.

11. P. 16, n. 1. Maulvī Abdul Ḥuq Abīd informs me that the meaning here is that Akbar provided food for his people. The phrase "servants of God" means here mankind, or at least all Muḥammadans.

12. L. 13. Perhaps the translation, children of Noah, and n. 2 are wrong, for the word in the text is نوع and not نوح.

13. P. 20, l. 9. Maulvi A. H. A. informs me that I have missed the point here. The meaning of *khūrda-angez* is "to find fault with," and the translation should be "his equity finds defect in the evenness of Farwardīn, his courtesy derides the breeze of Ardibihisht," *i.e.*, his ability surpasses that of Farwardīn, and his sweetness smiles ior to the zephyrs of Ardibihisht. See for similar hyperboles escription of Spring in Vol. II, p. 81.

4. P. 21. Notes 3 and 4. R.A.S., MSS., 116 and 117 *taḥrīr* and perhaps this is a preferable reading to *tajabbar*. eference may be to the cancelling of bonds by tearing the top of document, or to the shrouds with which malefactors provided omselves when suing for mercy.

15. P. 23, four lines from foot. The word in text is *harfsarā* fluent, but this does not make good sense. I should be inclined to prefer *ḥarfsard*, which is apparently the reading of R.A.S. MSS., Nos. 117 and 119. See Bahār-i 'Ajam-ed, Newal Kishwar 1894

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s.v. *ḥarfsard*. *Ḥarfsarā* however like the word *sakhn-sarā* used later on by A.F., may mean a word-twitterer, *i.e.*, one who indulges in empty verbiage. Maulvi A. H. A. thinks that *ḥarfsarā* is right.

16. P. 24, l. 14. *Az rāh-i-mijāz mīdān-īd*, etc. Read, "this follower of the truth knows from observation of the outer world."

Do. last line. The words "what strength has Saha," etc., ending with the word atom, form a quatrain, and should have been printed as such. The literal translation of the last clause is "less than an atom."

17. P. 25, n. 3. Possibly A.F. was thinking of the Anwar Suhailī. That contains 5 or 6,000 verses and A.F.'s chief mode of abridging it in the 'Iyār dānish is to omit them.

18. P. 26, last line and n. 2. The most correct translation of *b'azz-i-murād* seems to be "with respect to desires." A.F. intimates that he is not ambitious. See also p. 374 of this translation, note 1.

19. P. 27, n. 2. The expression about wearing the cap on the crown of the heart may remind us of the passage in the Anabasis II. 5, where Tissaphernes says to Clearchus that the help of the Greeks will enable him to wear his diadem lightly on his heart. See Grote, 4th ed., VII, 240.

20. P. 29, n. 4, l. 6. For 227 read 247.

21. P. 32, n. 2. Read *Shahristān*.

22. P. 33, n. 3. For Fardōs read Firdūs. It may be noted here that Gītī in Gītīsitānī is pronounced Getī in India, and is so spelt by Blochmann.

23. P. 35, l. 4. Perhaps *tamīz* here means, to cleanse.

24. P. 35, l. 5. *Tan-i-Wāhid* is perhaps explained by A.N., II, 43, where we have the word *akhshījīān*, *i.e.*, possessed by the four elements. It is applied here to ordinary mortals in whom the constituents are not fused together and unified, but are at war with one another.

25. P. 42, second para. According to the Tabaqātī Akbarī, end of account of the 23rd year, the dream occurred on the night of the birth. Lucknow ed. 339. 'Aārif Qandahārī says it occurred on 4 Rabī'-al-awwal 947.

26. P. 45, last line and n. 5. Perhaps *ḥarf-i-namūdār darmyān būd* merely means that the subject of the *namūdār* was under

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discussion. *Cf.* text 162, l. 5, where ḥarf-i-*rukhṣat darmiyān award* means he introduced the subject of leave.

27. P. 53, m. l. 6. For 43*c* read 43*a*. In the same note for pistadin read pistachio, and spot for South, do for Hajrī read Ḥijrā and add, Ḥijrī was the *takhallaṣ* of a poet. See Budāūnī III, 386 and Tabaqāt Akbarī, Lucknow ed. 401. He was long in the service of M. Hindāl and was descended from Aḥmad Jām, and so would be a relative of Ḥamīda. His *dīvān* is in the A.S.B. library, Cat. p. 117, and also in the I.O. library, Ethé No. 1441 of p. 793. It contains odes in praise of Akbar and a chronogram for Humāyūn's death, but I could not find any interesting historical allusion in the poems, or any reference to Ḥamīda.

28. P. 53, n. I think it clear that A.F. means that K. Muʿazzam was only the half-brother of Ḥamīda. At p. 55 he uses the word aʿyānī to denote a full-brother.

29. P. 54, n. 2, last sentence. For Procyon read Sirius, and delete the last four words. The epithet applied to Procyon is ghamīza, the obscure (?)

30. P. 55. According to local tradition, Akbar was born in the fields about a mile outside of the fort. See a paper by N. V. Mandlik read 8th March, 1855, and published in his writings and speeches, Bombay, 1896, p. 199, and also the Calcutta Review for January 1900. Possibly the old fort stood where the Akbar memorial now stands, for V. N. Mandlik says that the old fort was destroyed and a new one built by Nur Muḥammad Kulhara in 1746.

31. P. 58, second line. Though ṭāūs means a peacock it also means a handsome man or woman and the root is ṭūs, beautiful. A.F. applies the term to Rūpmatī II, 137. It seems to have been a title in use among the Afghans. See the story of Kāmrān's reception by Selim Shāh in Budāūnī (Ranking), and see also Bābar's Memoirs where Ṭāūs Khān is given as the name of an Afghan chief.

32. P. 58, verse third, last line. The correct translation appears to be: "Easily carried away the hearts of lovers of the difficult," meaning, I presume, the critical and not easily pleased.

33. P. 62 near foot. For "rouse" read "roused."

34. P. 66, n. Yes; Allāh has properly three ls, so that 66 is right.

35. P. 66, n. 1. For 3436 read 343*b*.

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36. P. 66, n. 2. For Jafar Ṣadiq read J'āāfar Ṣādiq.

37. P. 69, n. 2. For Taṣhīlāt read Tasahīlāt. It means, simplifications, or easy lessons.

38. P. 73, n. 1, col. 2, line 11th. For 711 read "7 lines."

39. P. 77, n. 2. Alcochoden is evidently the same word as *Kadkhudā* with the article prefixed.

40. P. 82, n. My remark about the Canon Masudicus is, I believe, erroneous. From Rehatsek's description it would seem that there is no astrology in the work. The copy in the Mulla Fīrūz library is in good condition, and very legible. There is also a copy in the Nawab of Rāmpūr's library.

41. P. 83, n. In last para. delete the repetition of the words "et ex hoc adorogen," and substitute "dorongen." In last sentence of same paragraph read "A difficulty arises."

42. P. 91. For Carden read Cardan.

43. P. 92, l. 1. It seems probable that 22 was regarded as a mystic number from its being that of the letters of the Hebrew, Syriac, and, presumably, of the ancient Arabic, alphabets.

44. End of last para. Substitute the translation "Alas! I have no brother to rise high in my service," delete note 4 and substitute "آرزو is here used in the sense of regret."

45. P. 96, n. 1. Delete comma after Shīraz. In this note I have mixed up two distinct princes. The Buyide 'Azad-ad-daula ruled in Bagdad. Alp Arslān whom Col. Jarrett calls 'Azad-ad-daula belongs to the 12th century. Fatḥulla whom Budāūnī calls Shāh Fatḥulla came to Akbar's court in 990 A.H. See Budāūnī, Lowe, 326. There is a long account of him, taken chiefly from Budāūnī, on the Darbār Akbarī of Azād.

46. P. 111, n. 3. Humāyūn's death and Akbar's accession occurred when the sun was in Gemini. Can *hashtam-chaharam* mean the 32nd degree? B.M. M.P. Add. 27, 247 has *hashtam dar chaharam*, *i.e.*, 8 by 4. In the Bādshāhnāma Bib. Ind. I, 66, Akbar is said to have been born when the sun was in Scorpio. I think now that the proper translation is "As the 8th and 4th Houses are Gemini with respect to the degrees."

47. P. 112, l. 18. Delete comma after Mars, and insert one after Jupiter.

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P. 117, second para. For "copied in sketch" read "exactly copied."

P. 117, n. 3. The word occurs again in A.N. II, p. 11, l. 16.

P. 123. The account of Humāyūn's dancing seems to be taken from the Tārīkh Alfī, though there the circumstance is said to have only occurred once. The passage occurs in the description of the events of 949 A.H. and at page 572*a* of B.M. MS. Or. 465 and is as follows:—

یکی از مقربان صادق القول آن حضرت نقل کرده که اکثر اوقات بخلوتی در آمده
ملاحظه زانچه طالع میفرمودند نوبتی بی اطلاع آن حضرت چون نزدیک
آن خلوت رفته شد آواز پای مسموع گشت چون دیگری دران خلوت راه نداشت
بعد از امعان نظر معلوم شد که آن حضرت از غایت شوق دست افشاني میفرمودند
و بعد از وقوف بر اطلاع غیر فرمودند که سبب رقص شوقي است که از ملاحظه زانچه
طالع این فرزند سعادتمند بدل راه یافته *

48. P. 130, five lines from foot. Dāya Bhāwal means the nurse Bhāwal, and the word dāya is used immediately before with reference to Jījī. Dāya Bhāwal is evidently the same person as Bhāwal Anaga who is mentioned soon afterwards, and A.F.'s meaning is that though there is a statement that Bhāwal was the first nurse, the ascertained fact is (*taḥaqīq ānast*) that Akbar was first of all suckled by his mother, then by Fakhr-i-nisā, then by Bhāwal. Bhāwal or Behāwal is probably a form of the Persian word *bahāwar* precious and which is sometimes spelt *bahālū*. Presumably A.F. by speaking of her as a special servant, *khidmatgār-i-khāṣ* of Humāyūn, means that she was one of his concubines, and of course she must have been a mother. Possibly she was Māham Anaga. Māham, as I have stated elsewhere, means "my Moon" and is a common appellation of women. The author of the Darbārī Akbarī, p. 749, makes the curious statement that Bhāwal Anaga was the daughter of one Jogā Barhār,* and that she was introduced into the harem of Humāyūn by his father Bābār. There her attractive face and manners captivated Humāyūn, but her star paled before the sun of Miriam-Makīnī's presence, and the king made her over to Jalāl Koka (?). Still she remained in the harem, and became one of Akbar's nurses. No authority is given for these statements, and I do not know where the author found them. It

* Qu. Parihār?

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looks as if he meant to identify her with Māham Anaga, and to represent the latter as a Hindu. This view might coincide with Budāūnī's remark that Akbar was from his earliest years associated with low Hindus. I cannot find the tribe or caste Barhār either in Crooke, or Sherring, though there are some names nearly approaching to it, and I was told in Upper India that there was such a caste. A.F. mentions (A.N. II, 210, top line), the caste Parihār in describing Gondwāna. He also mentions there one Jogī Dās a younger brother of Sangrām Sā. The Parihārs were Rajputs and were rulers of Bandelkhand before the Candels, Sleeman's Rambles ed. 1893, I, 175 note. It is possible that the Jalāl Koka of the Darbārī Akbar may be another name for Nadīm Koka, and that the facts stated there may be a solution of the mystery of Adham Khān's parentage. There certainly is, as Elliot remarks, a mystery about the paternity of Adham Khān and it may be that though his mother was married to Nadīm Koka, Humāyūn was his father.

49. P. 132, last line. Maulvī Abdul Haq Abīd informs me that the meaning of the words sākinān-i-majāma-i-uns is "the dwellers of the gathering places of Divine love, or, the members of the congregations of Divine love," *i.e.*, the angels.

50. P. 134. In an article in the R.A.S.J., for January 1889, p. 99, I endeavoured to show that Māham Anaga was the wife of Nadīm Kokaltāsh. The mention of his name at p. 135 as one of those left at 'Umarkot in charge of Miriam-Makānī perhaps supports this view. It appears from a note by Garcin de Tassy at p. 11 of his abridged translation of Syed Aḥmad's book on the Delhi monuments, Paris, 1861, that the author of Colonel Hama's MS., noticed in the article above referred to, was probably Mīrzī Hidayat Ullah for it is stated by Garcin de Tassy that Hidayat Ullah was a grandson of Mīrzā Koka and wrote a Tārīkh or chronicle in 1070 A.H. or 1659. See also p. 129. Hidayat Ullah's chronicle is not in the B.M. or I.O., and I have been unable to find out where it is, for Garcin de Tassy does not tell us and there is no reference to the MS. in Syed Aḥmad's book. Hidayat Ullah's name occurs in Beale's Oriental Biographies. See below p. 475, n. 3. To the remark about Adham Khān's age at end of note in p. 134 it may be added that A.F. describes Adham as taking a prominent part in the beginning of the seige of Mānkot. He could hardly have done

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this if he had been no older than Akbar who was then only fourteen.

51. P. 139, last lines. The late Mr. Rodgers states, R.A.S.J., for 1898, p. 729, that this chronogram is by Faiẓī, but this seems to be a mistake. A.F. does not ascribe it to his brother, and the latter was not born till some years after Akbar's birth.

52. P. 154, n. 3. Probably this is the correct translation. A.F. means apparently that previous works, though voluminous, have not treated the subject in a satisfactory manner.

53. P. 166, n. 8. For Īfan read Ifīn.

54. P. 180, last sentence. The expression *dar parda ārāī* receives elucidation from its recurrence in text I, 347, top line. This, I think, disposes of the suggestion inserted by Dr. Bloch in a note at the end of this fasciculus. See also II, 42 of text, l. 10 and do. 43, l. 10. By the expression, remaining behind the veil, A.F. not only means the period before Akbar's birth, but also the time before he revealed himself to the world. *Cf.* Blochmann, p. 124, n. 1 and p. 13, line 12.

55. P. 182, verse. These lines occur in Sharafu-d-dīn's preface to the Ẕafarnāma, *i.e.*, in his Tārīkh Jahāngīr.

56. P. 201, n. 2. There is a mistake in this note. The Prolegomena says ten, but only gives five names.

57. P. 204, l. 10. Read *Shāhnishānī*.

58. P. 217, n. 2. Gauhar Shād's death is described in the Maṭla' Sa'ādain, and the date given is 9 Ramẓān. Sām Mīrzā in his anthology R.M. MS. Add. 7670, p. 46*b*, says Qatalu-d-dīn Muhammad Duānī was the author of the chronogram. He gives the quatrain.

59. P. 218, l. 14. For "gave" read "give."

60. P. 222, l. 6. For "then" read "these."

61. Do. Shahrbānū's name is also omitted in Shīrāzī's text, and in the Alwar MS. only four daughters are mentioned. Shahrbānū apparently means the Moon-lady. For "Bābar's," p. 222, n. 1, read "'Umar Shaikh's."

62. P. 223, beginning of chapter, and n. 2. For "king of the four quarters and of the seven heavens" read king of the throne of the seven worlds." The word *cahār* is often used, as Quatremère has shown in his notes to the Maṭla' Saādain without really meaning four. *Cahār bālish* really only means the pillows of the *divān*,

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or the *divān* itself. By the *haft manẓar* is meant here probably the seven climes, or the seven heavens, or the seven planets. It is however worthy of notice that the Quṭb of Delhi was known as the Mināaa-i-haft manẓar, *i.e.*, the minaret of seven stories. See Garçin de Tassy's translation of Syed 'Aḥmad's work on Delhi, Paris 1861, p. 86. As Delhi was Bābar's capital, it is possible that here A.F. is alluding to the Quṭb.

63. P. 223, n. 4. For Jānī read Jāmī.

64. P. 228, two lines from foot. Text and MSS. have Bektūb. Erskine, 170, has Bektob.

65. P. 232, n. last sentence, read *Khālazāīd*. It means "full aunt." Bābar in the account of his father's children speaks of one daughter as being *hamshīrazāīd*, *i.e.*, full sister, of Nāṣir.

66. P. 233, line 18. Before 917 read "in the month of Rajab."

67. P. 234, top line and n. 1. Usually called Najm Ṣānī from his having succeeded Najm Zargar Gilānī. His real name was Yār Aḥmad Ispahānī. The Haft Iqlim I.O. copy 329*b* says he was put to death by Ubaid Ullah on 3 Ramẓān 918. These occurrences are detailed in the T. Alfī B.M. MS., Or. 465, 514*b* and also in the Ḥabību-s-siyar, and in the lives of Ismāīl and Ṭahmāsp by Khwāndamīr's son Maḥmūd, as well as in the anonymous author of the life of Ism'aīl, B.M. MSS., Or. 2939 and 3248. A.F. is correct in saying that Bābar had at first won the victory; Ubaid Ullah lay in ambush and turned the victory into a defeat. The victories which Bābar previously gained occurred near Ḥiṣār and were won against Shaibānī's sons Ḥamza and Mahdī Sulṭāns. See Shaibānī' letter B.M. MS., Or. 3482 68*b* where a list of his children is given.

68. Do., n. 1. In the anonymous life of Ism'aīl, p. 215*a*, it is stated that one ward of Karshi was exclusively occupied by Caghatais, and that they begged for Bābar's protection. He interceded for them with Najm Ṣānī, but it was in vain. On the day of the battle Najm Ṣānī put Bābar in the reserve. When Bābar saw that the battle was lost he fled to Ḥiṣār.

69. P. 238, n. 5, for "taken" read "taker." The derivation here given seems correct, and is supported by Gulbadan Begam's Memoirs, p. 8*c*, where Qāsim Beg is described as writing to Bābar that a new prince had been born, and suggesting that his name should be

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made a prognostic of the conquest of India, *ba shagūn* fatḥ-i-*Hind u takht alimash.* The last word is Turkī and means "taking." In consequence of this letter Bābar called his son Hindāl.

70. P. 241, top line. Read Biban.

71. Do., n. 3. A.F. is evidently copying Shaikh Zain here. He has B.M. MS., Or. 1999, 51*b*, "*ba zinjīr u khām-i-gāo.*"

72. P. 243, n. 1. See Shaikh Zain 88*a*. The page is misplaced in MS. and should come after 57*b*.

73. Do., l. 14. For *tūlghāma* read *tūlaqma.*

74. P. 244, n. 5. Possibly Bābar does not name Taimur because he was not a *bādshāh,* but only an Amīr. But most likely it is because Taimur did not acquire the sovereignty of Hindustan. He merely plundered the country and returned. A.F. reckons Taimur, for at p. 245 he calls Bābar the fourth conqueror.

75. P. 244. The comparison with Taimur's forces is taken from Shaikh Zain, B.M. MS., pp. 53*b* and 55*a*. Zain has naukar-turk Turkish servants instead of naukar-i-naukar. He also gives 18,000 as the number of horses who can occupy a *farsang* though he reckons Taimur's total force at 72,000.

76. P. 246, note 278. More probably the reference is to the battle of Pānīpat with Hemū though Akbar had little personal share in the victory. Instead of "many rebellious chiefs" read "so many refractory chiefs."

77. P. 247, n. 4. Zain l.c., pp. 63*c* and *b* says Alaūddīn brought a diamond to India. Mūtamed Khān says in the Iqbālnāma that Alau-d-din got diamond from Vikramādītya. In this he is merely copying A.F. My opinion now is that it is not certain that Bābar means that his son got the diamond from Vikramādītya's heirs. His language is vague and perhaps all he means is that the diamond was one of the things that Humāyūn got when he was investing the fort. At any rate Bābar's account is not that of an eyewitness. Zain makes Humāyūn the spokesman to his father. He says the diamond was reckoned worth 2½ days of the world's income. The word in Add. 27, 247 is خراج and I am sure that income is a better translation than expenditure.

78. P. 248, beginning of para. Zain has Tuesday the 29th.

79. P. 249, n. In Persian quotation read in second line صده و سک و ا in third خراست and in fourth line first word واج

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intead of واخ and also دارند for دارد and فرد for او مرد to complete the sentence should be added و زن یک شاهر خر انعام شود.

80. P. 257, last para. and n. 4. Shaikh Zain, p. 98*b*, says that Ibrahim's mother was sent to Kābul and the Tārīkh Maḥmadi B.M. Or. 1824, p. 57*a* says that on the road the lady flung herself into the Indus and drowned herself. The author gives as his authority for this statement the Iqbālnāma of Mūtamed Khān, and I have verified the reference. It also appears from the Iqbālnāma that the lady's name was Bava بوا. But this was only a sobriquet, and perhaps was the name by which Bābar called her. It means in Hindi, sister and paternal aunt.

81. P. 264, verse. For cap read veil.

82. 266, n. 5. It appears from Bābar's Memoirs, Erskine 274, that Khān Mirzā was alive on 4th September, 1519, or Ramaẓān 925, for the Jān Nāsir there mentioned as coming from his government seems a clerical error for Khān Mīrzān; O, p. 272, we see that Kipak had been sent to him, and presumably this was to summon him to his presence.

83. P. 272, n. 2. Insert comma after him, and delete comma after Ḥaidar.

84. P. 273, n. 1. Probably Alwar is correct. The child probably was born at Alwar which was his brother Hindāl's appanage afterwards, and received his name from the place.

85. P. 277, near foot. Read "He bade adieu to this faithless world on 6 Jamāda-ul-awwal 937 in a garden (cārbāghe) in Agra, on the banks of the Jamna, which that springtide of fortune had made verdant."

Add. note 2*a*. The local tradition is that Bābar was temporarily buried in the Rāmbāgh (originally perhaps[1] Ārāmbāgh) on the left or east side of the river, about two miles above the railway bridge. Mr. Keene says in his guide to Agra, p. 1, that according to the Akbarnāma Bābar was buried in the Cārbāgh some miles lower down the river and nearly opposite the Tāj. But the Akbarnāma says nothing about where the body was buried, and A.F.'s words are that the death occurred in a *Cārbāgh*. Any laid out garden is called a *Cārbāgh*, meaning perhaps that it is rectangular, or divided into

[1] Rām may however be the original form. Rām is an abbreviation of Ārām and here has nothing to do with Rām the Indian hero. See Hyde, p. 263 and Steingass s.v. *rām*.

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squares by paths. Bābar's body remained in the garden for several years, and perhaps would never have been removed if Humāyūn had not been driven out of India. Bābar tells us that the east bank of the Jamna was called Kābul by the Indians in allusion to its gardens. Perhaps this gave rise to the story that Bābar desired to be buried in Kābul, or it may be that his son satisfied his conscience by thinking that his father's body was deposited in a place known as Kābul. At all events it seems to have lain there till after the battle of Kanauj and the consequent flight from India when Bābar's widow Bīka Begam performed the pious duty of removing it to Kābul. See the story in Jauhar (Persian text) and in Erskine's History II, 325 n. It is clear from Jahāngīr's reference to Bīka Begam in the Tuzuk, p. 51, lith. ed. that she was Bābar's widow and that consequently it was not Bābar's daughter M'asūma, or Humāyūn's wife Ḥājī Begam who removed the bones.

There does not appear to be now any trace of the grave in the Rām Bāgh, as the Cārbāgh is now called. The garden seems also to have been known as the Gul-afshān. There is a long account of the making of the Cārbāgh in Bābar, Erskine 341, and also in Shaikh Zāin's Tārīkh Bābārī B.M., Or. 1999, p. 83*b*. It was on the east side of the Jamna, and opposite the fort. S. Zāin calls it Cārbāgh-i-hasht bihisht, a name which also occurs in Bābar. S. Zāin gives a poem about the garden, ending in the chronogram خانه کعبه آفاق. These three words Khāna kāaba āfāq, *i.e.*, house of the Kaaba of the horizons yield 935.

86. Nizāmu-d-dīn calls Mahdī Khwāja "*dāmād,*" but "*dāmād*" means husband of the king's sister and husband in general as well as son-in-law. Gulbadan Begam, who is a better authority on the point, calls Mahdī Khwāja *īzna, i.e.*, brother-in-law (it may also mean son-in-law) of Bābar. In the Ḥabīb-as-siyar B.M., MS. Add. 16,679, p. 370*a*, line 16, it is stated that Mahdī Khwāja was the husband of Bābar's elder sister Khānzāda Begam. The entry refers to the year 922. In the Bombay lithograph and in B.M. Add. 17,925 the name Khānzāda is not given but it is stated that Mahdī Khwāja was married to two sisters of Bābar, that he was the son of Mūsa and grandson of Mīr Murtaẓa, and that on the mother's side he was descended from Abul Khair Khān (Shaibānī's grandfather). In the Majālis Nafais of 'Ali Sher, a Khwāja Mūsā is described as a rich man who bought

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verses from poor poets and passed them off as his own. Apparently Ibrāhīm Qanūnī a famous musician who is also mentioned in the Majālis as well as in Sām M. Taḥfat B.M. MS. 7671, p. 64*b* was a son of Khwāja Mūsā.

87. P. 278, *Cf.* A.N. III, 580. The 34th year corresponds to 997-998 A.H. or 1588-89. The Memoirs were partially translated before this, first by Shaikh Zāin, and second by Payanda Ḥasan Ghaznavī and Muḥammad Qulī Moghal in 994 *et seq.*, *i.e.*, 1585. It also seems to me from a MS. in the Alwar Palace-library that the so-called 'Abdurraḥīm's translation existed in Humāyūn's time. See Asiatic Quarterly Review for July and October 1900.

87*a*. Do., n. 2. For Tempel read Teufel.

88. P. 279, Verse. This quatrain is given in a Persian MS. of the Shaw collection in the Indian Institute, Oxford, No. 309 and called the Jām'a-al-muqāmāt, "collection of assemblies." The circumstances under which Bābar came to compose it are also given there. We are told that he won the victory over Rānā Sanga owing to the mysterious aid of Maulāna Khwājaga Aḥmad, otherwise known as Maqdūm 'Aāzim. So he sent Darvesh Muḥammad Sārbān to him at Dahbād near Samarkand with presents and this verse. The saint is said in return to have written part of the Risāla-Bābarī. (Bābar's Memoirs ?)

89. P. 280. Mr. Blochmann has given a translation of this passage at p. 220 of the Proceedings A.S.B. for 1874. There are several mistakes in my rendering. For the account of Shāikh Zain this should be substituted. "Shāikh Zain Ṣadr, great-grandson of (*ba do wāsṭa*, two removes) Shāikh Zainu-d-dīn Khwāfī. He had acquired a knowledge of science, was of quick parts and was skilled in poetry and the art of letter-writing. He was distinguished by his long association with His Majesty, and became an Amīr in the time of His Majesty Jahānbānī Jinnat-Āshiyānī." See at p. 219 l.c., the inscription on S. Zain's mosque at Kachparwa.

90. Do., line 12. For "paternal" read "maternal."

91. Do., Fārighī. For an account of him and specimens of his poetry see Budāūnī, Ranking 616. Budāūnī says that he and his nephew died in the same year (940 A.H.)

92. P. 281. Mr. Blochmann has "surkh widāī kuhnah, a little-known poet." The word which I have rendered "inartificial" is

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be-ta'yīn, and should be rendered "obscure." He is mentioned in 'Alī Sher's Majālis, p. 41*a*, of Persian translation.

93. Do., l. 6. Insert indefinite article before *masnavī*.

94. P. 285, n. 2. Māham most probably means "My moon." It was apparently a common appellation for women. *Cf.* Māham Anaga, and the name of Taimur's wife. See Schuyler's Turkistan II. 97, ed. 1876, where we are told that a beautiful lady who was executed at Bokhāra was commonly known as "My moon of Kenin ghaz." *Cf.* the proper names Nuram, and Shāikham, *i.e.*, My light and my Shāikh. If Maham be regarded as a Turkī word it should from the law of the sequence of vowels be spelt Māhim as in P. de Courteille.

94*a*. The fullest accounts of this worthless character, M. Zamān, Mīrzā are to be found in B.M. MSS., Or. 2939 and 3248. He was married to Bābar's daughter in Kabul in 921 or 922, and a few months afterwards his father-in-law sent him back to Balkh as governor. He was not a success there, and could not resist the Uzbegs. In 934 Bābar summoned him to India and settled a large estate upon. He ended his days by being drowned at Causa.

95. Do. According to the Mirāt Sikandarī four letters passed between Humāyūn and Bahādūr; verse I, p. 293, belongs to Humāyūn's first letter, and verse II to the second, *viz.*, that which was written on receipt of Bāhādūr's first reply. The M. Sikandarī Bombay lithograph 237 gives Humāyūn's second letter, and at 235 Bahādūr's reply. The latter is very insolent in tone and it is no wonder that it offended Humāyūn. It blames him for his treatment of M. Zamān and taunts him with boasting of the deeds of his seventh ancestor (Taimur) while having nothing of his own to show. It winds up with a verse to this effect. The translation in Bayley's Gujrat, p. 374, is very erroneous. A translation of the M. Sikandarī has lately been published at Bombay by Faẓl Ullah. The correspondence will also be found in B.M.'s MS., Or. 3482, pp. 104-106. I do not think Bayāzīd was M. Zamān's custodian. More probably he was his fellow-prisoner.

96. P. 295, Verse. See also T. Alfi, p. 115, of B.M., Or. 465. The second couplet is from Ḥāfiẓ, Brockhans, p. 141, Ode 220.

97. P. 296, 2nd line. The figure 1 is misplaced. It refers to "weak head" on top line.

98. P. 297, n. 4. In a letter to Erskine, Mountstūart Elphinstone,

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see his life by Colebrooke, comments on what appears to be Bābar's suppression of facts about the Prince of Hind, whose name he seems to have used. I presume Elphinstone refers to Alāūddīn whom Bābar used as a tool.

99. P. 298, n. second col. For 960 read 96 n.

100. P. 302, n. 1. There were at least three Rūmī Khāns, *viz.*, 1ts. The man whom the Portuguese called Khwāja Sofar, who built the fort of Surat, and whose head was carried off by a cannon ball at the second siege of Diu in June 1546. 2nd. His son whom the Tārīkh Muḥammadi calls Khwāja Maham, who was killed in the same siege, just at its close in November 1546. See Tevius, p. 441. 3rd. Rūmī Khān, Bahādur's artillery-officer who deserted to Humāyūn and was poisoned after the taking of Cunār. Some information regarding Rūmī Khān the artillerist and Khwāja Safar will be found in the Barq-al-Yamān of Quṭbu-d-dīn of which De Saçy has given an abstract in N. et E. IV. It appears from it that Rūmī Khān the artillerist's real name was Mastafa Beg and that he was the son of Bairam and nephew of Sulaimān. He came to India in the Turkish fleet commanded by his uncle in 936. Khwāja Safar came at the same time and both were well received by Bahādūr, Mastafa getting the title of Rūmī Khān and the governorship of Diu, and Safar being made governor of Surat. The story of Rūmī Khān's being poisoned is confirmed by Quṭbu-d-dīn. Erskine, Hist. II, 82 n., says that the first Rūmī Khān is buried at Surat, and Tevius, p. 385, of his commentaries, seems to say that his obsequies were celebrated at Diu. 'Aārif Qandahārī gives the verses in which the chronogram of the building of Surat fort occur, see Blochmann 354, and says they were written by Aḥmad Shīrāzī known as Raẓaī. The name of the builder of the fort is given in the verses as Khān 'Aāẓim Khān Khudawand Khān.

101. P. 306, n. 2. Dele *dīn*.

102. P. 307, three lines from foot. Read "Aghazwār," (like Aghaz or Oghuz'). He was Governor of Herat and also Atāliq.

103. P. 309, three lines from foot. Read "Gawars."

104. P. 314, 11 lines from foot. For "wrong" read "strong."

105. Do., n. 1. The page reference is wrong.

106. Do., n. 2. For Monday read Tuesday.

107. P. 316, n. 3. After Narīād insert "and Aḥmadābad."

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108. P. 317, second line and n. 1. We are told in the M. Sikandarī that Humāyūn called him a "black slave" *Ghulām-i-sīah*. 'Imād-ul-Mulk is stated, Bayley's Gujrat p. 400, to have been the son of Tawakkal chief of the royal *Khāsah* Khailān. He was put to death at Surat by Khudawand Khān Rūmī in 1545, l.c, 435 and 436.

109. Do., second last para. For Nansārī read Nausārī.

110. P. 321, n. 1. Ferishta calls it Ghāt Karcī and an article by Mohan Lāl Vishnu Lal Pandia in J.A.S.B. for 1897, p. 167, states that Ghāt Karcī is the name of a town close to the town of Bānswāra.

111. P. 323, 13th line for "reporting" read "repenting."

112. P. 323, n. 3. Sofar or Sofarus of the Portuguese, probably the epithet refers to Rūmī Khān's complexion as the word means the pale or yellow. Sofar however is a proper name and may have been Rūmī Khān's real name or it may have been given to him on account of his Greek origin, for the Greeks are called the sons of Aṣfar (the superlative of safar. Lane 1699*b*). According to Damian a Goes, who calls him Khwāja Coffarus, he was born of a Turkish mother and a Christian father in the island of Chios. See Damian's Diensis Oppugnatio, Cologne 1602, published by Birckmann, p. 279.

113. P. 329, n. 2. This genealogy is also given in A.N. II, 64. I am inclined to think that Nūru-d-dīn first married Gul-barg, a daughter of Bābar not named by Gulbadan, and had by her Selīma, and that then in Humāyūn's reign, and probably after the death of her first husband Ishān Taimur, he married Gulrang. It is Pashā, not Pāshā Begum. Nūru-d-dīn belonged to the Naqshbandi order.

114. P. 331, second para. *Cf.* Jarrett II, 122, where it is said that the Bengalis make boats so high that when attached to the shore they overtop the walls of a fort. Rūmī Khān then seems to have adopted a Bengali stratagem.

115. P. 338, n. 2. Beale, O.B.D., p. 265, of ed. 1894, says that Shaikh Phūl or Bahlūl's tomb is on a hill near the fort of Bīāna. Maḥommed Bakhshī is said to have buried him there. The brothers were descended from Farīdu-d-dīn-'Aṭṭār, and their father's name was Qiyāmu-d-dīn, and he is buried at Ghāzīpūr.

116. P. 341, n. 2, l. 3. For "East" read "West." Narhan is probably correct for Bayāzīd, 148*b*, speaks of Narhan as a ferry near Tājpūr where Khwajah Zechariah and others had a *Jāgīr*.

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There is a pargana Tájpūr mentioned in the Āīn Jarrett II. 130 as in Sarkār Tāndha. Of course this is not the Darbhanga Tājpūr.

117. P. 344, 5 lines from foot. Dele the word "learned" within brackets.

118. Do. n. 2. For *Shihna* read *Shahna*.

118*a*. Do. n. 4. For Roebach read Roebuck.

119. P. 352, seven lines from foot. For *ābrūyān* read *beābruyārn*.

120. P. 357, n. 1. A Sārang Khān is mentioned in Taimu's. Institutes, Davy and White, as a brother of Matu Khān and as ruling in the country of Multan.

121. P. 360. There is an obscurity about Ḥamīda Bānu's parentage. In B.M. M.S. Add. 7688, which is a collection of letters, there are three addressed by Nawāb Bilqīs Makānī Miriam Beg to her mother and sister. They also appear in the similar collection, Or. 3842, 147*b*. Apparently the writer is Ḥamīda Banū, for they belong to her time, *viz.*, the reign of Ṭahmāsp, and they are such as she might write in a foreign country. They also immediately follow the correspondence of her husband, Humāyūn. Bilqīs Makānī is a name given to Ḥamīda in the T. Sindh, and Miriam Beg may be Miriam Makānī. In the first letter the writer calls her mother Sulṯānam and begs her good offices for one Ṣafī Khān, whom she describes as being the son of her *lala* or guardian. The second is to her sister, Zainab Begam, and is to the same effect. The third is to her mother and consists of inquiries after her health. It is forwarded by one Khwāja Riẓwān who had come to explain his offences. The compiler of the book describes these letters as addressed to the writer's own mother and sister, and if so, we learn that her mother was called Sulṯānam and her sister Zainab. But possibly they are addressed to ladies of Ṭahmāsp's family whom she may have adopted as her mother and sister. Ṣafī Khān is described in the letters as a Saiyid of noble family, and he may be the Amír Ṣafī mentioned in Sām Mīrzā's Taḥfat Sāmī B.M. MS. P. 45, as belonging to a noble family of Saiyids and as coming from Nīshāpur. He was a caligraphist. The three letters are written in high-flown Persian. It is, however, possible that the writer was the niece of Ṭahmāsp and daughter of M'asūm Beg whom Humāyūn is said to have married in Persia. Jauhar 75.

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122. P. 360, n. 2. He is also probably the Bāba Dost Bakhshī whom Bayāzīd in his list p. 74c. calls Bābā Dost Cūlī (because he accompanied Humāyūn across the desert) and who, he says, acted as Humāyūn's Bakhshī on the way to Persia. Bayāzīd mentions Bābā Dost Bakhshī and his son, Dost Muhammad, several times in his account of the siege of Kabul by M. Sulaimān. He praises the valour of the son and describes, 85b., how Bāba Dost Bakhshī had the command of a battery during the siege and how he laid a trap for M. Ibrahim. At p. 926 Bāyāzīd tells how when Mun'im Khān decided that he would not go to India on account of Bairām Khān's being all powerful, he bade Bāyāzīd go back to Kābul. Bazzāid said he could not go back alone, and when Mun'īm insisted on his return he begged and obtained that Bāba Dost Bakhshī should be sent back with him. This seems to show that Bāba Dōst was a *persona grata* with the Begams.

123. P. 362, n. 1. The source of the Maaṣir's information (and consequently of Mr. Blochmann's) is the Tabaqāt Akbari Lucknow ed. 339. The presentation of the record is placed there in the end of the 23rd year. 'Mīr Ali Akbar was afterwards disgraced and imprisoned.

124. P. 364, n. 2. Read Ḥijrī. His poetry is not religious. There were two poets of this name, and the *divāns* of both of them are in the I.O.

125. P. 369, n. 1. The passage is explained in T. Alfī p. 570*a* of B. M. MS. Or. 465, where it is stated that 'Abdu-l-Ghafūr said what he should not have said about the distressed condition of Humāyūn's army. "*Sakna cand ke namībāyīst guft az pareshānī lashkarīān Ḥaẓrat guft.*"

126. Do. n. 2. The story is also told in the T. Alfī 570*a*. The unfortunate men took refuge with Humāyūn. Yādgār Nāsir said he wanted to settle revenue accounts with them and induced Humāyūn to send them to him. Humāyūn sent them with a guard, but Yādgār Nāsir got rid of the guard and then sent the zamindars to Shāh Ḥusain. Possibly the story is another version of that told by Ṭāhir Nasyānī. See his Tārīkh of which there is a copy in the Rampore Library, and also Elliot I, 253.

127. P. 372, n. 2. The Mirāt-i-'Aālam B. M. MS., p. 261, says expressly that the diamond was the one obtained by the victory over

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Ibrāhīm. It also says, later on, that this was the diamond given by Humāyūn to Ṭahmāsp.

128. P. 376, n. For "author's" read "author."

129. P. 378, n. 3. Another division is noted by Mutʿamid Khān in the preface to his Iqbālnāma. According to it the first volume is an account of Akbar's ancestors, as in Bib. Ind. ed. The second comprised the occurrences of 47 years, and was divided into two parts, *viz.*, the first thirty years, making a *qarn*, and the second part extending from the 31st to the 47th year and unfinished. See the translation of passage in preface to Gladwin's translation of the Āīn.

130. P. 382, n. 4. I am now inclined to think that Hardwār must be wrong, though it is difficult to say what the right word is. Possibly it is merely a copyist's blunder, Hardwār هردوار having been written for حدود ḥadūd, boundaries, which occurs in other narratives of the occurrence, where we are told that Bairām came *az ḥadūd-i-Gujrāt.*

131. P. 385. With reference to this story see the quotation from the Dabīstān in Blochmann 163 n. The informant referred to therein is ʿAzīz Koka's own mother Jījī, and not Ḥamīda.

132. P. 402, n. 5. Apparently there is no pun, A. F. merely means that Nāzuk was only a king in name.

133. P. 404, n. 8. Read "nearly the meaning of the word religion."

134. P. 405 l. 6. For "chastity" read "charity" and for 'king of king' read 'king of kings.'

135. P. 413, n. 2 top line. For "merely" read "surely."

136. The letter is also given in the collection B.M. MS. Or. 3482, p. 104. The letter is in very humble terms. Tahmāsp's quotation from Ḥāfiz about the *humā* was happy, for *humā* is part of Humāyūn's name and in his letter Humāyūn had compared himself to a bird or moth flying towards the sun.

These collections also contain a long and interesting letter from Humāyūn written after the defect of Balkh and detailing Kāmrān's misconduct, etc. There is also a very long letter from Ṭahmasp to Sulaimān, the Sultan of Turkey (which, however, was never sent), in which he holds up Humāyūn as an instance of pride going before a fall, and tells a story of a dream that Humāyūn had while in India.

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137. P. 416, n. 4. It has been suggested to me that Shahristan is a mistake for Shahr-i-sīstan, the city or capital of Sīstān. But it appears from Yāqūt, Meynard 253 and 301, that the old capital of Sijistān was called Rām Shahristan, and was three *farsakhs* from Zaranj.

138. P. 417, end of first para. For "'amwān" read '*anwān*.

139. P. 427, l. 8. The Mirāt al 'Aālam has Sābir Daqāqq, *i.e.*, a fuller.

140. Do. n. 1. For "three" read "two."

141. P. 443, last line read "For the world's law is sometimes this, sometimes that." Amīr Shāhī's ode will be found at p. 18*a* of B. M. MS. Add. 7788, and at 37*b* of Add. 23,612. The lines which follow the last distich quoted by A. F. are not very intelligible. Amīr Shāhi was originally of Sabzawār. There is a full account of him in Daulāt Shāh's work, Browne's ed.

142. Do. n. 5. Read p. 198 for p. 19. The word *cārgāh* is *cārkāh* in Ilminsky. Add. 27,247 of B. M. has Sābir Qulī for Sābir Qāq. and *dar muqām* sairgāh, *i.e.*, theatre or place of recreation for *sihgāh*. Qāq seems to be right, for the 'Aālam Ārāī has the jingle *Ḥāfiẓ Sābir Qāq ke nādira wy a fāq*. Add. 27, 247, seems to be the only MS. which has *sairgēh*, but it also occurs in the Afzal-at-Tawārīkh p. 122*a* of B. M. MS. Or. 4678, and in the Aalam Ārai Rein, Cat., supplement 7654, p. 173*a*. See also the *dar muqām panjgāh* of Budāunī I, 481, where Dr. Ranking's translation, p. 622, seems to be wrong.

143. P. 434, n. 3. Read Yate for Yates.

144. P. 438, four lines from foot. Though Barda' or Barza' be the name of a place in Azarbaijān, yet the word here probably means "packsaddle,"

145. P. 442, n. 5, l. 3. For "to" read "of."

146. P. 444, n. Olearius' account of Tabrīz may also be consulted.

147. P. 445, n. 8. Probably one of the two daughters who died in the second year of Akbar's reign during Miriam Makānī's journey from Kabul to India.

148. P. 446, n. 3. See also Ethe's Cat. I. O. MSS., p. 1210, No. 2219.

149. Do. See Badāūnī, Ranking, 619, for another correction by Humāyūn.

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150. P. 447, third line from foot. For "forwardness" read "audacity."

151. P. 451, line 4 and n. Dele. figure 1.

151*a*. P. 459. For Babū Dōst read Bābā Dost.

152. P. 465, l. 22. Insert the word "over."

153. P. 470, l. 14. Last word. Dele the word "as."

154. P. 475, n. 2. For "as" read "is."

155. P. 477, n. 1. For "in" read "near" Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl. Possibly the place is the Qibcāq pass of Jarrett II, 400.

156. P. 481. The editors of text point out in a note that both these chronograms are wrong, one yielding 954, and the other 955 and they observe that 952 as the true date.

157. P. 491. n. For Istālāf read "Istālif."

158. Do. n. 1. For "is" read "in."

158*a*. 489. note, last line. For I. 46 read II. 46.

159. P. 494. Line 4, and note. The Mūīn who was Qāzī of Lahore is probably the officer mentioned at Vol. II, p. 163, as appointed to Malwa, and seems to have been different from Sharafu-al-din's father.

160. P. 497 n. For "Leydon" read "Leyden." Deerstalking is described by Bellew, Journal of Mission to Afghanistan, p. 327, as a favourite amusement of the Afghans.

161. P. 500 line 19. For "this Mīrzā" read "the Mīrzā."

162. P. 502, line 18. For "Zāmān" read "Zamīn."

162*a*. P. 504, n. For "Shaīrbānī" read "Shaibānī."

163. P. 505, n. Apparently Junaid was also called Amīr Qutlaq Qadam. See Mahmūd's life *Of* Ṭahmasp. B. M. MS. Or. 2939, 129*b*, and T. Alfī 536*a*. line 7.

164. P. 508, *l*. 5. *aqābain* if it is the dual.

165. P. 521, n. 2. For Hiibak read Heibak.

166. P. 530, text and note 1. *cf*. Bayley's Gujrat 446 Suṭṭān Maḥmūd had commanded his officers to give up the house of anyone guilty of either of those offences to *halan, i.e.*, to plunder. See also Bombay lithograph of Mirāt Sikandarī p. 302. The reference to Bayāzīd is p. 35*b*. of his memoirs.

167. P. 2. 537, n. 2. For "on" read "in".

168. P. 539, n. Erskine's opinion is confirmed by Humāyūn's letter to Ṭahmāsp B.M. MS. Add. 7688 p. 105*b*.

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169. P. 545, n. 3. There is a good deal about Bairam Oghlān in Mahmūd's lives of Ismāīl and Ṭahmāsp. He was an Uzbeg and governor of Balkh under Kisten Qara. The Aḥsan Tawārikh 101*b*. speaks of Bairam's attacking Herat. He had been ruler of Gurjistan and was eventually killed in battle. See l. c. pp. 129*b* and 133*a*.

170. Do. n. 7. In Humāyūn's letter to Ṭahmāsp giving an account of the expedition to Balkh he is called Khwāja Bāqī.

171. P. 557. I have not found this story about Ism'aīl's handkerchief in the anonymous life of that prince, but there is a sensational account of his crossing with his troops the rivers Kūr and Aras (Araxes), *viâe* p. 55*a*. But the story is told at length by D'Herbelot with only this difference that it was a slipper which Ism'aīl threw into a trench.

172. P. 576, n. 1. For ابلي read خعت

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Additional Errata and Addenda.

1. P. 59, n. 3. For Ilahad Faiẓ read Ilāhdād Faiẓī, and for No. 1890 read B.M. MS., Or., 1890.

2. P. 117, n. 2. *Bajins* probably means here "accurately, in facsimile."

3. P. 119, n. 3. For Cholgīl read Cholgii.

4. P. 160, n. 4. For Farāj read Faraj.

5. P. 163, l. 8. For "Domes of Haramān" read "ancient domes."

6. P. 192, l. 14. "The Jāmūqa tribe" should apparently be "Jāmūqa's tribe," see p. 193.

7. P. 200, 7 ll. from foot. For Īsū Mangū read Īsū Mangā.

8. P. 203, last sentence. There is a variant which makes it the Amīr who honoured the saint.

9. P. 218, l. 3. For Abū Bakr read Abā Bakr.

10. Do., l. 6. For Bābī read Bābāī.

11. P. 225, last line. For "or" read "and."

12. P. 227, l. 3. Put comma after "killed."

13. P. 229, l. 10. See Sām Mīrzā's Taḥafat, B.M. MS. Add. 7670, p. 44, for an account of the origin of the name Khwāb-bīn.

14. P. 233, n. 1. For Maḥmūd Ḥasan read Muḥammad Ḥusain

15. P. 234, l. 9. Insert figure 5 after Jām.

16. Do., l. 13. "The country of Hindustan." Akwardly expressed, for Bābar was not then seeing Hindustan. But the akwardness is in the original and is apparently due to the fact that Bābar wrote his Memoirs after conquering India. The word both in the Turkī and the Persian is *Nawāhī*, and this is rendered by P. des Courteille "les abords."

17. Do., n. 4. For Barīk-al read Bārik-ab.

18. P. 236, five lines from foot. For "his six brothers" read "six of his brothers."

19. P. 237, n. 4. The remark near the end of this note is wrong, for the Muḥammadan Ararat is not what Europeans call Ararat, but

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is a mountain called Jūdī Dāgh belonging to a range south of Lake Van and east of Jazīra-b. Omar. It lies a long way S. S. W. of what is now known as Mount Ararat.

20. P. 239, l. 4 from foot. Akwardly expressed, for of course Humāyūn arrived before Lahore was taken. There should be a full stop after "taken," the word "and" should be deleted, and "on" made On.

21. Do., n. 4. The Bāgh Wafā was at Adīnapur (Jalālābād), the Bāgh Ṣafā was higher up the river near Cār Bāgh, and there was another Bāgh Ṣafā in the Salt-Range.

22. P. 242, top line. For gabions substitute *tūrās*. They were not gabions, but light wattles (?) which the soldiers carried as they marched. See Bābar 86, and P. de. Courteille 151.

23. P. 248, l. 15. The words "according to their rank" are misplaced. They should come after "presents."

24. P. 253, 4 lines from foot. Perhaps Qāẓī Zīā is the Zīau-d-dīn Nūr Beg of Khwandamīr's Humāyūn-nāma, and who, he says, got the title of Amīr-i-Zakāt.

25. P. 254, l. 3. Insert H.M. before Jahānbānī.

26. P. 256, l. 20. Jājamū'. This town is in Unao, Oude.

26*a*. P. 260, n. 1. Cancel note. Beg Mīrak was not Niẓāmu-d-dīn's grandfather.

27. P. 262, l. 3. For Urdū Shān read Urdu Shāh.

28. P. 265, l. 18. For Kram read Karim.

29. P. 267, l. 11. Insert comma after Qāsīm.

30. P. 277, Verse. The whole verse is given by Khwandamīr in his Humāyūn nāma. See translation by Sadu Sukh Lāl, p. 45, of B.M. MS. Add. 30,774.

31. P. 281, last sentence. Perhaps this Kīcak or Kūcak was the brother whom Khwāja Kilān left in Qandahār, when he deserted his post, and who surrendered to Ṭahmāsp. The Afẓal Tārīkh B.M. MS. Or. 4678, p. 96*a* says he was a brother of Khwāja Kilān. The Aḥsān T.B.M. MS. Or. 4134 calls him, p. 107, Kachī Khān and Maḥmūd Or. 2939, p. 1831 calls him Kechak khān.

32. P. 285, Verse. For the first two lines substitute

The year of his auspicious (*humāyūnash*) birth is "May Almighty God increase thy stature."

The second line is a chronogram. In n. 4, for *qadran* read *qadrā*

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and for *Zādakallāhu* read Zādak Allah. Perhaps Sāmānī only means that he was a native of Sāmāna (in India).

33. P. 293, l. 4. Read Kanār for Kānār.

34. P. 294, n. 1. Abū Turab's account shows that Bahādur was present at the battle of Pānīpat, though he did not take part in it.

35. P. 295, Verse II. This comes from Ḥāfiẓ Ode 220. Brockhaus 141.

36. P. 296, l. 9. Abū Turāb says in history of Gujrāt, p. 13*a*, that the twenty krors of old coinage were equal to 30 krors, 50 lakhs *murādi*. *Murādī* is explained in dictionaries as meaning small money.

37. P. 302, n. 1. Abū Turāb, p. 79, also gives the title of Khudāwand Khān to Khwāja Ṣafar.

38. P. , last line. Khwāndamīr gives his full name, p. 72 or 47, as Maulānā Muhīu-d-dīn Muḥammad Farghārī.

39. P. 315, n. 1. For *Kaifu* read *Kaif*. But I doubt if Humāyūn suspected any play on the word. The real explanation of Humāyūn's anger seems to be that the chapter of the Elephant is a denunciatory and terrifying one, and used in compositions which convey threats. Perhaps Humāyūn remembered that it was so used by Shāhrukh, the son of Taimur, in a threatening letter which he addressed in 833 or 835 A. H. to Barsbāī, the Sulṭān of Egypt. See the story in the extract from Makrīzī given in De Sacy's Chrestomathie Arabe II. 84. Instead of the letter beginning with Bismillah, it began with the Sura of the Elephant, and quoted the whole of it. The rest of the letter was filled with menaces. Barsabāī replied in similar style.

40. P. 316, n. 4. Apparently the 'Alam Lūdī here mentioned is 'Alaū-d-dīn, the uncle of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān.

41. P. 317, n. 1. Yes, Khudāwand Khān was a very old man. Abū Turāb says, 28*b*, that he was Akhūnd of Sulṭān Moẓaffar and had been Vizier and Vakīl of four Sulṭāns. Ferishta says he was the father of Cingīz Khān, not the son, and Abū Turāb makes the same statement.

42. P. 320, l. 7. Asāwal is spelt Ashāwal in Sir Theodore Hope's book on Aḥmadābād, and is the spot where the original chieftain was defeated by Qāsim.

43. P. 324, l. 10. Abū Turāb tells this story, but he does not give his informant's name. He only says that he was an Akhūnd and

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had been Bahādur's teacher and that in this way he had become acquainted with him. Nor does he say anything about his informant's taking an oath. Qu ? is the Quṭbu-d-dīn of A.F's story Abū Turāb's uncle ?

44. P. 325, n. 2. I have seen somewhere that there was a mosque in Aḥmadābād called Masjid Ṣafā, but that it was not built till 994 A.H.

45. P. 336, l. 19. For Bābā Khān read Bābā Beg.

46. P. 341. I now incline to think that Narhan is correct. It is a well-known ford and is mentioned in the 2nd volume. But though A.F. has written Narhan, it does not seem likely that Humāyūn went so far east.

47. P. 359, l. 17. For 'Abdu-l-Mākrī read Abdāl Mākrī.

48. P. 368, n. 1. Shāh Ḥusain had a son by Gulbarak B. who died young.

49. P. 396, n. 1. For J. V. read I. O.

50. P. 407, n. 2. See Burnes' Cabool, 1842, p. 115. He says the correct name is Dingote, and that it is 6 m. above Kālā Bāgh.

51. P. 408, l. 10. After Khāwand, for Muḥammad read Maḥmūd.

52. P. 416, n. 4. The following note by George P. Tate, Esq., of the Indian Survey, has been kindly furnished to me by Mr. Irvine :—

"Qila'-i-Uk. Ūk is the ancient name of a small district to the north of the Hamūn-i-Helmand, and therefore of Seistān, the chief towns of which are Lāsh and Juwain. The names of these towns are existing at the present day, but the name of the district has apparently fallen into desuetude, as it does not seem to be generally known. Qila'-i-Ūk would therefore merely mean the principal fort, or capital of the district, the name of which, if it had one, was not generally known. A similar case can be found not far off from that locality. In the Ẓafarnāmah the author writes of the capital of Seistān as Shahr-i-Seistān, and does not mention it by name. This practice still holds good. The word "Shahr" is used, as we use the word "town," with reference to London. Rarely, or never, is the "Shahr" or capital, spoken of by its name of Nasratābād. This is the modern capital. The site of the ancient capital of Seistān is at a short distance to the N.-E. of the modern capital. Ūk, judging from its propinquity to Seistān, pro-

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bably was subject to the (Kāiānī) Maliks of Seistān, from whose country it was divided by the Helmand, if the Helmand at that time did not find a more southerly outlet for its waters, which seems to me to have possibly been the case.

"Humāyūn, if he passed through Ūk on his way to Persia, took a route which at the present day lies within the Afghan border, and the reason of his adopting this route would probably have been the evil reputation for lawlessness earned by the inhabitants of the Kohistān, that is, the country around Neh and Birjand, through which the trade route (now in use) between Seistān and Mashhad passes. This would probably have been the shortest route to Mashhad, had it been safe to use it."

53. P. 434, n. 3. For Gazargāh read Gāzargāh.

54. P. 439, last line. For Zailāq read Yailāq. Yailāq means summer-quarters, and the translation should apparently be "first stage of the summer-quarters"

55. P. 436, n. 7. For Qadār read Qīdār. See Genesis xxv. 13.

56. P. 440, n. 1. For Bayāzīd 176, read Bayāzīd 17*b*.

57. P. 442, n. 2. This identification is wrong.

58. P. 443, n. 2. For Ṣāfī read Ṣafī.

59. Do., n. 3. For Saddī read Sadd.

60. P. 445, l. 6. For Paik Muḥammad read Beg Muḥammad.

61. P. 448, last para. It would seem from Gulbadan Begam's Memoirs that either he or his relative Kecak or Kucak wrote an account of Humāyūn's adventures in Sind. Kicak is said to have been a brother of Khwāja Kilān, so that Khwāja Ghāzī was related to him also. Note 5 is not altogether correct. Khwāja Ghāzī and Rustam Koka fell into disgrace in Persia for stealing Humāyūn's jewels, but he got over that and was made accountant when Humāyūn returned to Afghanistan. But there he was dismissed for defalcations, see p. 544. In the passage of the Āīn referred to by me as Blochmann VII, A.F. is represented as saying that the office of Mashrif was higher than that of *diwān*, but surely there must be some mistake, for at p. VI., last line, Blochmann translates Mashrif as clerk, and at p. 544 we are told that Afẓal was promoted from being Mashrif to being diwān. Perhaps the word at p. VII is not Mashrif, but Masharrif-i-diwān, *i.e.*, the exalter of the diwān or the Diwān *par excellence*.

61. P. 448, l. 4. Brother (*barādar*) seems a mistake here for

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brother's son (*barādarzāda*), see p. 542, last para., where Kokī is described as the paternal uncle of Ḥājī Muḥammad.

62. P. 448, l. 13. The description here evidently refers to Maḥram and not to Ḥasan.

63. P. 548, near foot. For Bābā Sihrindī read Bābāī Sihrindī.

64. P. 460, near middle. For Muḥammad M. read Muḥammadī M.

65. P. 466, l. 20. For Kot Laka read Kohlakā, and translate "hill-country." Lakā means country.

66. Do. 7 lines from foot. For "strive" read "strove."

67. P. 475, n. 3. Nadīm Koka is called Nadīm Beg by Khwandamīr in his Humāyūn-nāma, p. 149*b*, and is described as a Turk and as in high favour with Humāyūn, and the recipient of a khilat. He calls him *janāb amārat shʿaār farkhanda iṭwār* Nadīm Beg *muhrdār* (sealer).

68. P. 482, n. 2. For "come back to Humāyūn" read "gone back to Kāmrān."

69. P. 520, l. 7. Insert marginal number 271, and p. 521, l. 5, from foot insert 272.

70. P. 522, n. 2. A.F. calls him Buyatāt at pp. 543 and 565.

71. P. 526, n. 3. For Gulbān read Gulbār.

72. P. 529, l. 10. The word "*jamjhama* is used again in text II. 117, and clearly means there a morass or collection of water.

73. P. 530, l. 11. For Bābī read Bāba, and in next line insert "army" after victorious.

74. P. 534, l. 6. For Bārgbegī read Bārbegī.

75. P. 540, n. 1. For tamaatogh read tumāntogh.

76. P. 541. For marginal number 248 read 284.

77. P. 543, last para. This is an interesting paragraph and requires elucidation. It appears from the Āīn, Blochmann VI, that the words Vizier and Diwan are synonymous. The meaning, then, seems to be that Khwāja Qāsim Buyatāt had been made the Vizier or head of the department, and that then Mīrzā Beg had been appointed in his room. He was a poet and apparently inefficient and consequently Khwāja Ghāzī exercised unlimited power. That he was a dishonest man is proved by Gulbadan Begam's Memoirs, where we learn that he stole Humāyūn's jewels. Apparently the investigation was undertaken at the suggestion of Mīr Barka, who belonged to Sabza-

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wār, and is called in the Āīn Sayyid Barka. Ḥusain Qulī was made *muḥassil* of the affair, *i.e.*, apparently reporter of the findings of the committee. The word *mutaghallib* is given in Steingass as meaning victorious or powerful, but here it seems to be used in the sense of embezzling, and it is so understood by the Lucknow editor, who says the Khwājas were found guilty of *taghallab*, *i.e.*, embezzlement. I think we should render the passage here "the fraudulent clerks."

78. P. 543, l. 4 from foot. For Khawānd read Khāwand.

79. P. 544, n. 1. This note is wrong. The Ḥasan Qulī meant is probably the sealbearer often mentioned by Bayāzīd. See p. 440, n. 1.

80. P. 544, l. 9. For "condemned" read "defaulting."

81. Do., l. 11. Insert Jahānbānī after "His Majesty."

82. P. 551, l. 6. *Dele* stop after Muḥammad.

83. P. 68, l. 16. Insert on margin 303.

84*a* n. 2. *Dele* last sentence. The word in the Memoirs is Bakhshi.

84. P. 599, l. 17. *Dele* word "as." This last sentence, about Jogī Khān, has no connection with the account of the Gakkars, and should have been put into a separate paragraph and prefaced by the words "In fine."

85. P. 600, l. 9. Possibly the clause within brackets refers to Kāmrān and not to Salīm Khān. Substitute at l. 11, "assistance for his own ruin" for "auxiliaries for his disloyalty.

86. P. 608, n. 3. For "Newcomb" read Newcome.

86*a*. P. 612. According to the Darbār Akbarī, p. 312, it was 'Abdullah Sulṭānpurī who sent the boots and also a whip.

87. P. 614. For Salīm Shāh read Salīm Khān. A.F. is always careful not to style Sher or his son Salīm, Shāh.

88. P. 623. The list is A.F.'s not Bayāzīd's and should not have appeared as a note.

89. P. 665. Ferishta says that he, after search, found Humāyūn's *divān*, and he gives extracts from it.

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DEDICATION

In Memory of

J. H. B.

M. T. B.

L. S. B.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

When the Asiatic Society of Bengal did me the honour of inviting me to translate the Akbarnāma, I replied that I doubted my ability to make a complete translation, and suggested that I might edit the manuscript version by Lieutenant Chalmers. My suggestion was accepted, and I accordingly obtained from the Royal Asiatic Society the loan of the Chalmers' manuscript and permission to print it. I soon found, however, that the translation was too abridged to be made the basis of my work, and that it was necessary to execute a new version. Chalmers' manuscript was of great service to Elphinstone and Count Noer, and it has also been of much use to myself, but there are many gaps in it, and Abul Faẓl's language has throughout been greatly compressed. One gap near the beginning extends to over ninety pages of the printed text, and has the effect of omitting the account of Akbar's birth, with the prognostics and horoscopes appertaining thereto, as well as the notices of his ancestors from Adam down to his grandfather (Bābar). The reader may judge of the extent to which abbreviation has been carried, when I state that the Chalmers MS. consists of two thinnish volumes of foolscap, and that the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the Persian text, occupies three large quartoes which aggregate 1,600 pages.

The task of translation has occupied me several years, and the work has not been very congenial, for Abūl Faẓl is not an author for whom one can feel much sympathy or admiration. He was a great flatterer and unhesitatingly suppressed or distorted facts. His style, too, seems—at least to Western eyes—to be quite detestable, being full of circumlocutions, and both turgid and obscure. He is often prolix,

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and often unduly concise and darkly allusive. His one merit—and it is one which he specially claims for himself—is his laboriousness. He was an unwearied worker, and when we blame him and lament his deficiencies we shall do well to consider what a blank our knowledge of Akbar's reign would have been, had not Abūl Faẓl exerted himself during years of strenuous effort to chronicle events and institutions. His work also has the imperishable merit of being a record by a contemporary, and by one who had access to information at first hand.

I regret that the work of translation has not devolved upon a better Persian scholar than I am. I have endeavoured to do my best, and I have sought assistance in many quarters. I now desire to express my gratitude to my friends, Maulvi Abdul Haq Abid, the late Mr. J. Beames, Mr. A. G. Ellis of the British Museum, Mr. Irvine and Mr. Whinfield, and to the translation of the Āīn-i-Akbarī, by Professor Blochmann and Colonel Jarrett, and the works of Major Price. I am also indebted for much literary assistance to my elder brother, Mr. David Beveridge. There are, I am sure, many mistakes in my translation and notes, but there would have been many more but for the assistance of my friends. I regret that I have been obliged to make two long lists of Errata and Addenda. In part this has been due to the translations being made in England and printed in India, and in part to increase of knowledge. The translation of the second volume, which carries on the history of Akbar's reign to the middle of the seventeenth year, has been completed by me, and I am about to begin the translation of the third and last volume. The translation has been made from the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the text, but I have consulted many MSS. in the British Museum, the India Office, and the Royal Asiatic Society's Library, &c. The Bibliotheca Indica edition is by no means so good as it might have been, for the learned native editors* were destitute of geographical or historical knowledge. Hence they have often made mistakes in the names of persons and places. They have also no explanatory notes. In their preface they are severe upon the Lucknow edition. No doubt that edition has many faults, but it was the first in the field, and it is on the whole a creditable monument of the enter-

* It is stated in the Persian preface that nine MSS. and the Lucknow lithograph were used in the preparation of the edition. None of the MSS. was of an early date.

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prise of the publisher, Munshi Newal Kishor, and of the liberality of the Maharajah of Patiala. The editor, Maulvī Ṣādiq 'Alī, also deserves honourable mention. He has added numerous notes, and though many of these are trivial, yet there are also many which are really enlightening.

Since completing the translation, I have seen a remarkable MS. of the first volume of the Akbarnāma in the possession of Saiyid 'Alī Bilgrāmī. This is evidently a rough draft and contains several things which do not occur in the MSS. of the finished work. Among them are one or two letters of Humāyūn. I have given an account of this MS. in R. A. S. J. for January 1903, p. 115.

H. BEVERIDGE.

4th September 1902.

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DEDICATION

IN MEMORY OF

J. H. B.

M. T. B.

L. S. B.

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

When the Asiatic Society of Bengal did me the honour of inviting me to translate the Akbarnāma, I replied that I doubted my ability to make a complete translation, and suggested that I might edit the manuscript version by Lieutenant Chalmers. My suggestion was accepted, and I accordingly obtained from the Royal Asiatic Society the loan of the Chalmers' manuscript and permission to print it. I soon found, however, that the translation was too abridged to be made the basis of my work, and that it was necessary to execute a new version. Chalmers' manuscript was of great service to Elphinstone and Count Noer, and it has also been of much use to myself, but there are many gaps in it, and Abul Faẓl's language has throughout been greatly compressed. One gap near the beginning extends to over ninety pages of the printed text, and has the effect of omitting the account of Akbar's birth, with the prognostics and horoscopes appertaining thereto, as well as the notices of his ancestors from Adam down to his grandfather (Bābar). The reader may judge of the extent to which abbreviation has been carried, when I state that the Chalmers MS. consists of two thinnish volumes of foolscap, and that the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the Persian text occupies three large quartoes which aggregate 1,600 pages.

The task of translation has occupied me several years, and the work has not been very congenial, for Abūl Faẓl is not an author for whom one can feel much sympathy or admiration. He was a great flatterer and unhesitatingly suppressed or distorted facts. His style, too, seems—at least to Western eyes—to be quite detestable, being full of circumlocutions, and both turgid and obscure. He is often prolix, and often unduly concise and darkly allusive. His one merit—and it is one which he specially claims for himself—is his laboriousness. He was an unwearied worker, and when we blame him and lament his deficiencies we shall do well to consider what a blank our knowledge of Akbar's reign would have been, had not Abūl Faẓl exerted himself during years of strenuous effort to chronicle events and institutions. His work also has the imperishable merit of being a

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record by a contemporary, and by one who had access to information at first hand.

I regret that the work of translation has not devolved upon a better Persian scholar than I am. I have endeavoured to do my best, and I have sought assistance in many quarters. I now desire to express my gratitude to my friends, Maulvi Abdul Haq Abid, the late Mr. J. Beames, Mr. A. G. Ellis of the British Museum, Mr. Irvine and Mr. Whinfield, and to the translation of the Āīn-i-Akbarī, by Professor Blochmann and Colonel Jarrett, and the works of Major Price. I am also indebted for much literary assistance to my elder brother, Mr. David Beveridge. There are, I am sure, many mistakes in my translation and notes, but there would have been many more but for the assistance of my friends. I regret that I have been obliged to make two long lists of Errata and Addenda. In part this has been due to the translations being made in England and printed in India, and in part to increase of knowledge. The translation of the second volume, which carries on the history of Akbar's reign to the middle of the seventeenth year, has been completed by me, and I am about to begin the translation of the third and last volume. The translation has been made from the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the text, but I have consulted many MSS. in the British Museum, the India Office, and the Royal Asiatic Society's Library, &c. The Bibliotheca Indica edition is by no means so good as it might have been, for the learned native editors* were destitute of geographical or historical knowledge. Hence they have often made mistakes in the names of persons and places. They have also no explanatory notes. In their preface they are severe upon the Lucknow edition. No doubt that edition has many faults, but it was the first in the field, and it is on the whole a creditable monument of the enterprise of the publisher, Munshi Newal Kishor, and of the liberality of the Maharajah of Patiala. The editor, Maulvī Ṣādiq 'Alī, also deserves honourable mention. He has added numerous notes, and though many of these are trivial, yet there are also many which are really enlightening.

Since completing the translation, I have seen a remarkable MS. of the first volume of the Akbarnāma in the possession of Saiyid 'Alī

* It is stated in the Persian preface that nine MSS. and the Lucknow lithograph were used in the preparation of the edition. None of the MSS. was of an early date.

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Bilgrāmī. This is evidently a rough draft and contains severa things which do not occur in the MSS. of the finished work. Among them are one or two letters of Humāyūn. I have given an account of this MS. in R.A.S.J. for January 1903, p. 115.

4th September, 1902. H. BEVERIDGE.

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wār, and is called in the Āīn Sayyid Barka. Ḥusain Quli was made *muḥassil* of the affair, *i.e.*, apparently reporter of the findings of the committee. The word *mutaghallib* is given in Steingass as meaning victorious or powerful, but here it seems to be used in the sense of embezzling, and it is so understood by the Lucknow editor, who says the Khwājas were found guilty of *taghallab*, *i.e.*, embezzlement. I think we should render the passage here "the fraudulent clerks."

78. P. 543, l. 4 from foot. For Khāwand.

79. P. 544, n. 1. This note is wrong. The Ḥasan Qulī meant is probably the sealbearer often mentioned by Bayāzīd. See p. 440, n. 1.

80. P. 544, l. 9. For "condemned" read "defaulting."

81. Do., l. 11. Insert Jahānbāni after "His Majesty."

82. P. 551, l. 6. *Dele* stop after Muḥammad.

83. P. 68, l. 16. Insert on margin 303.

84*a* n. 2. *Dele* last sentence. The word in the Memoirs is Bakhshi.

84. P. 599, l. 17. *Dele* word "as." This last sentence, about Jogī Khān, has no connection with the account of the Gakkars, and should have been put into a separate paragraph and prefaced by the words "In fine."

85. P. 600, l. 9. Possible the clause within brackets refers to Kāmrān and not to Salīm Khān. Substitute at l. 11, "assistance for his own ruin" for "auxiliaries for his disloyalty.

86. P. 608, n. 3. For "Newcomb" read Newcome.

86*a*. P. 612. According to the Darbār Akbarī, p. 312, it was 'Abdullah Sūlṭānpurī who sent the boots and also a whip.

87. P. 614. For Salim Shāh read Salim Khān. A.F. is always careful not to style Sher or his son Salim, Shāh.

88. P. 623. The list is A.F.'s not Bayāzīd's and should not have appeared as a note.

89. P. 665. Ferishta says that he, after search, found Humāyūn's *divān*, and he gives extracts from it.

Note to Errata and Addenda No. 48

I have since found the source of the author of the Darbārī Akbarī's statement about Bhāwal Anaga. It is the Akbārnāma, vol. III. pp. 742, 43 Bib. Ind ed.

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There the death of Bhāwal Anaga is recorded, and it is stated that she was the daughter of Rai Jogā Parhār (perhaps the Parmār or Pūar of Jarrett II. 242) and that Humāyūn after his marriage with Miriam Makānī gave Bhāwal in marriage to Jalāl Goīnda (*i.e.*, reciter or singer.) It is also said that she was the first to nurse Akbar. She died in the 43rd year on 24 Tīr (about 4th July 1598) so that she must have been well over seventy. She is evidently quite a different person from Māham Anaga.

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AKBARNĀMA.

CHAPTER I.

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

The chain of arrangements in Creation's work-shop, which is a truth-showing exhibition of evidences, and an illustration of self-existent power, needs to be linked to the sway of a lofty soul which may, by help of the Divine arm, sustain the burden of the universe, and can, by the strength of its perfect intelligence, supply both substance and system to the work of the terrene and terrestrials. The splendour of glory streams from his fortune's forehead; the lightning of sublimity shines from the tablet of his actions; the beam of justice's balance is steadied by his potent arm; the institutes of sovereignty's forum receive lustre and currency from his care and consideration. Ingots of fine gold, which are the coins of heaven's treasury, receive their perfect assay from his true die, and night-gleaming jewels, which are polished stellar orbs, behold greatness by being set in his tiara. The parterres of the Caliphate are watered by the stream of his scimitar, and the hexagonal earth irradiated by his banner's Crescent. The echo of his dread drums o'erpowers the roar of the world's calamities; the gleaming ensign of his greatness lightens up the dark, dust-stained world. He lays the dust of discord by the water[1] of his world-opening sword, and quenches calamity's lightning by the cloud of his sphere-shading umbrella. The portico of his gate is the compass of the wanderers in the desert of longing, and his threshold becomes the prostration-precinct of the goal of the stiff-

---

1 *Āb*, i.e., the wave-markings on a Damascene blade.

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necked ones of pride's antechambers. His genius was compressed for the repair of the ruined abode of hearts; his nature was formed from birth for the knitting together of the community of souls. Love for him hath its home in the innermost chambers of the hearts of one and all; invocations to him repose on the tongues of high and low. Nay, the orders of plants, which are stationary shewers-forth of glory, were made verdant and juicy from the fountains of his bounty, and received growth from the vernal breezes of his liberality. Even the genera of inorganic substances, which remain steadfast in one place, received abundant favour from the impress of his justice, and attained to noble destinies from his grace.

Verse.

Not only do living beings attain peace, pleasure, and glory,
From the faith and the justice of the crowned,
By justice's Spring, grass grows out of stone,
Grass becomes a sprout, and the sprout a fruit-bearing tree.
The glory of justice gives such an impress on earth
That dust turns stone, and stone turns silver and gold.

As the sacred personality of this nursling of fortune's parterre was a shining and a glorious proof of this, and claimed as of right the sublime dignity, and as the good news of dominion and auspiciousness shone forth from the beginning of the morn of his birth, and as musky, world-cheering perfumes reached the olfactory nerves of the wise of heart from his opening years, and world-ruling greatness streamed from the tablet of his brow, and the glory of world-conquest shot from his far-seeing eyes, and the note of enthronement appeared in his mode of sitting, and the writings on the seal of sovereignty were read in the lines of his hand, and as the moment of time arrived which the heavens had been expecting for so many cycles, and as the revolution, which the stars had sought during so many conjunctions, became manifest, the marshallers of the world's progress raised a shout of joy, and the messengers of good tidings to celestials and terrestrials loosed the tongue of ecstasy with the news of peace and safety.

---

[1] *Maqṣūr. Maqṣūd* might seem more appropriate, but all the MSS. have *Maqṣūr*. The word means shortenened or restricted.

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Verse.

Fortune's jewel is on thy signet
Thine is the world's imperial cycle,
Heaven's ear opens to the beat of thy drum,
The throne is thy foot-kissing follower,
Thy sublime crown rests on the head of hearts,
Proclaim [1] thine own khuṭba, for thine is the Caliphate.

The Sultan of the spheres (the sun) had reached the auspicious House of Pisces, and had bent his sublime aspect towards his House of Exaltation, in order that he might make the four-pillared throne of Aries radiant with the auspicious Accession, and might refresh the dust-stained denizens of earth's domain by universal plenty. A canopy of trees threw a shade over the parterre which made the throne-chamber; and King Rose (*Khusrau-i-Gul*) sat on an emerald throne, wearing a diadem composed of the hundred-leaved rose, set with jacinths and rubies; and sweet voiced birds, like the heralds of an imperial accession, with scarves of long feathers (*shahpar*) on their bodies, and ermine robes on their bosoms, raised high the khuṭba of joy from many-pillared arboreal pulpits. The cypress and pine, who stood in respect's antechamber, bowed their heads in reverence, and the box-tree and juniper, who were feeble and needy seniors, put on the dress and the airs of youth. Glorious tulips and aromatic plants donned parti-coloured robes, and the young tulips and dog-roses could not for joy contain themselves in their vestments. The sound of the drums of thunder, set upon the heads of elephant-clouds, made uproar throughout the seven climes, and the pearl-dropping voice of early spring emitted a general invitation to the four quarters [2] of the universe. The winds of enduring bounty began to issue from the blow-holes of benevolence, andt he flower gardens of the Divine Caliphate blossomed anew. Meanwhile

---

[1] Meaning that as the Caliph was the head of the Church as well as of the State, so Akbar as the Caliph of the age might read his own Coronation sermon. He did once try to do this in imitation of Timur and Ulugh Beg. Badaunī, Lowe, 276.

[2] *Cār rukn-i-'aalam Cār rukn* is stated in the dictionaries to mean the four elements, but this can hardly be the meaning here, and certainly is not the meaning at page 7 of text, line seven from foot.

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the moon was bending the brow of supplication in adoration and thanksgiving, and was gathering light by the hand[1] of Cassiopeia, and the Polestar was anointing the two eyes of the Calves[2] with white antimony from a pencil of golden rays. Astronomical observers, and heaven-conjoined interpreters of the Almagest, who watched the influential constellations with the astrolabe of science, cast the horoscope of world-sway from the pages of celestial tables. Assuredly there was help of glorious grace, and union of the hosts of fortune and dominion.

Hemistich.

In an hour adored by the heavens.
In the Īdgāh of heart-expanding Kalānūr.

Hemistich.

May it ever be the goal of Fortune.

A great feast and great assemblage, such as might move the envy of celestial writers, were organised.

Maṡnavī.

A heart-delighting feast was prepared
'Twas decked both without and within
In front of that verdant kiosk
They spread a carpet wide as a parade-ground,
Screens[3] tipped with ornaments
Were drawn round the banquet hall.
The covering of the ground from end to end
Was silk of Tartary and Chinese brocade.
From the number of gold-threaded awnings
The air was like a screen inlaid with gold.
They inclosed the sky in pure gold
For a blue[4] veil becometh not a feast.

---

[1] *Kaff-al-Khaẓīb.* The painted, *i.e.*, henna-stained hand, and the Arabian name for Cassiopeia.

Farkhadīn. Two stars near the Pole.

[2] Badaunī says, text II. 8, that the Accession was celebrated in the garden of Kalānūr, and that the garden had been tended and kept in order up to the time of his writing.

[3] The poles of the screen (*sarapardah*) were ornamented with brass knobs. Blochmann 46.

[4] The blue sky was excluded, as blue is the colour of mourning.

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The fumes of the banquet's far-reaching scents
Made heaven like a ball of musk.
The palace-grandees rose up.
They dressed a throne in bridal fashion
For now would the virgin of empire
Be wed to the Shah, the Prince Fortunatus;
Two worlds were conjoined
And made fast by an eternal bond,
Time thus sang strain upon strain,
"O Fortune[1] dally with dominion's throne.
A king seats himself thereon
From whom the throne shall gain fixity
He sitteth in the royal seat
With whom Fortune will take shelter.

At that place, in a felicitous hour *(darsā'at faiz ashā'at)*, to wit, near noon of Friday, which was according to visibility[2] the second of Rabī'-aṣ-ṣani 963 of the lunar year (14th February, 1556), but by calculation, the middle of the third (15th February), 10 Isfandarmaz of the Jalālī year 477, 15 Tīr of the Yazdajirdī year 925, 14 Shabāṭ of the Rūmī (Syro-Macedonian), year 1867, that glory of his lofty lineage put on his person a golden robe, and on his head a dark (mashkīn) tiara, and sate with good auspices and prestige on the dais of sovereignty and the throne of the Caliphate. Congratulatory shouts arose from the six sides of the world, and the heaven-resembling pulpit was exalted by the proclamation (*khuṭba*) of fortune, and the stairs[3] of exaltation were made venerable by praises and sublimities.

---

[1] There is a play on the words *bakht* and *takht*. The text put *takht* first but I adopt the I.O. MSS. reading.

[2] *Ruyīt*. I suppose that this refers to the beginning of the month being determined by the seeing of the new moon. But *ruyīt* may also mean opinion or consideration. Mut'amid Khān follows A.F. in the second part of his Iqbālnāma, and makes 3 Rabī'-aṣ-ṣānī the date of the accession, and so does the Ghīāṣu-l-loghāt S.V., faẓl, Newal Kishore ed., p. 324. But Friday appears to have been the second day of the month, and most authorities give the second as the day of accession. The text has an 'iẓāfat after *b'amr*, but I do not understand the expression *b'amr-i-ausaṭ*. I take the words to be "*ba mar*" "by calculation."

[3] The stairs are the pulpit steps. It seems that the preacher descends

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Verse.

God now placed on the head of the world's Khedive
A burden heretofore laid on the top of heaven,
On him whose nature had such might,
The burden of two worlds could be laid.
When the world's burden reaches a world-king
He lays it on his head with thankfulness.

Though to outward sense the preacher was descending step by step, in reality he was ascending by gradations. When his speech became ear-enchaining by the holy titles, and his tongue grew pearl-strewing by the glorious name, gratulatory shouts arose from right and left, and there were cries of unlimited submission and surrender. The dressers belonging to the royal manufactories threw a golden robe over the preacher's shoulders and enveloped him in gold. The treasurers of the Court of the Caliphate scattered gold and jewels right and left.

Verse.

They flung on one side gold, and on the other, jewels,
They scattered jewels in trays, and gold in bucklers.

On the same day the rescript of sovereignty was exalted by the titles of H.M. the Shāhinshāh, and a world-pervading proclamation was adorned by the signet of the Lord of the Earth. All that world-enlightening day, which in truth was New Year's day for the spring-time of realm and religion, the coinage of sovereignty was being impressed by the noble name in fortune's Mint[1] and the various denominations of coins attained perfection by his just assayment.

Quatrain.

When the coin was adorned with the Shāh's name
The moon's worth was lessened in the eyes of the stars

---

from the pulpit before he recites the second part of the Khuṭba, which is that dealing with the titles of the sovereign. There is a note in the Lucknow edition to this effect. See also Hughes' Dict. of Islam, S.V. Khuṭba, Lane's Modern Egyptians, and Lane's dictionary, 763 *a*.

[1] Kalānūr was one of Akbar's mints, but latterly it only coined copper. Blochmann 31 and 32.

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The *dīnār*[1] was lighted up by a rosy face
The *dirham* was adorned by a white one.

From time to time they poured from trays silver and gold into the lap of the world's hope, and cast varied presents into the bosom of the universe. The blare of the trumpets of joy and gladness burst forth, the drums of rejoicing beat high. Sovereignty laid the foundations of her dwelling-place. The Caliphate reached the goal of safety. The quadrangular throne of the assembly received elevation. The tiara was exalted by everlasting ascendancy. The signet-ring received a glorious motto. The o'ershadowing umbrella of dominion was opened out over the horizons. The refulgent standard received a lofty light. The lucky ball[2] of the *Kaukaba* came into the crook of the *Caugān*. The sword reposed in the closet of the sheath. The dagger rested from brandishing. The bow was relieved from the world's tension. The arrow was respited from the transfixing of (*lit.*, the sewing-up) the livers of foes. Loftily seated Reason, which in its ascendancy had o'erpassed the sky, thus spake to the preacher[3] of sovereignty's pulpit.

Verse.

I hold the khuṭba-adorning roll of his praises
I've searched high and low for a reading-desk.
My priceless jewel is fit for a king's treasury
But not a jewel which can be bought for gold.

The world, a deer which had o'erleapt the snares of mighty hunters of the forest (*i.e.*, former kings), became his Fortune's prey and exultingly sang—

Verse.

When my star has tied me to his Fortune's saddle-straps
How can any think me worthless game.

---

[1] Blochmann 35, 37.

[2] See illustration of *Kaukaba* in Blochmann Plate IX. The *Caugān* is the polo stick, but it is also the curved staff or crook from which hangs the ball of the *Kaukaba*.

[3] Perhaps Jupiter is meant for he is called *Khaṭīb-i-falk*. Cf. the verse in Khāfī Khān I. 128. Bib. Ind. ed. The quatrain is not clear, but apparently Reason is represented as saying that, though he held the roll of Akbar's praises, he could not find any pulpit lofty enough for the enunciation of them.

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Fortune, sovereignty's potent generalissimo gratefully recited her honours.

Verse.

Taken up from earth (Khāk) I am grown a great Khāqān,
Drawn above the sky I'm a great ruler (Dārā-i-Akbar)
By his presence I am revered in public and in private.
And am strong inwardly and outwardly by his prestige,
From his bounty is this my rose-garden irrigated,
From his banquet is this my brimming bowl.

Dominion the variegated one of the world's picture-gallery became all of one colour (*i.e.*, harmonious or unanimous) and spake thus:

Verse.

My cheek is freed from the stain of particolour,
I'm a white diamond and a red ruby,
The beauteous garden of the king is my carpet
The ātr of his holy spirit is the smoke in my censer
Whilst my speech's jewel is heaven's earring
I'll laud his throne and invoke his diadem.

The sky girt with a baldric of stars came dancing and cried!

Verse.

I wear the girdle of service and the torque of slavery,
In his presence let me not have other gem or jewel
My troops are victorious o'er hosts of foes
Because I'm of the clan of the slaves of the conquering Lord.

Felicity (*S'aādat*), the wellwisher of sovereignty's mansion described himself thus:

Verse.[1]

Each morn his threshold is my altar
From joy in the glorious sun I face eastwards

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[1] These lines are difficult, but the Lucknow editor has a note which explains matters somewhat. The expression *aftāb-i-sharf* in the second line may mean the glorious sun, as I have rendered it, or it may mean the sun on the brink, *i.e.*, on the point of rising, see Lane 1537 col. 3. *Sharf* has also the technical meaning of culmination, but this can hardly, I think, be the meaning here. The third and fourth lines seem to mean that feli-

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Perchance the key of grace may reach my pocket
With chain on foot I'm as a door on the threshold.

All the Signors and Sirdars *(sirān u sirdārān)*, all the generals and generalissimos *(sipahkashān u sipahsālārān)*, and the other pillars of empire and eyes of sovereignty, gave their allegiance to that lofty-lineaged one from the bottom of their hearts and with a sincere conscience, and ratified the compact and loyalty by an oath to God.

Bairām Khān Khān-khūnan I'tiẓād-i-daulat qāhira (the stay of victorious dominion), became by sublime favour Vakīl-as-sulṭanat. The binding and loosing of the affairs of the Caliphate, the gathering and despatching of the armies of victory, were committed to his plenteous science and the strong hand of his fidelity. The other territory-adorning officers and grandees of Caghatai lineage, whether those who had the bliss of serving in the Presence, or were stationed in the provinces or on the borders to hold territories or to subdue them, received, one and all, special marks of attention in addition to their being distinguished by royal favours, in accordance with their position and merits.

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city stands chained at Akbar's threshold as if he was a door with a chain on it. The chain is represented as fastened to his foot, and he hopes that a key may be applied to the lock.

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CHAPTER II.

6 Scheme of the horoscope of the auspicious accession of H.M. the King of Kings.

It is now proper to construct the figure of the horoscope of the sacred accession with truthful compasses and righteous pen, so that awakened hearts may gain increased light and that the short-sighted may get length of vision; nay, that life may be given to the inanimate, and world-descrying life to the animate.[1]

Verse.

This is the kingly horoscope,
This is the roll of Divine mysteries.
Rays of might, and tablet of success
Sum of wisdom and list of equity
'Tis the star of the star *(kaukaba-i-kaukāb)* of glory and greatness
'Tis tidings of joy to the universe
Open the eye on this eternal tablet
Rejoice for ever over both worlds.

(For Table see next page.)

Description of the Scheme of the Horoscope of the accession of H.M. the King of Kings.

Various delightful points arise from the consideration of this auspicious horoscope. The first is that in the tenth Angle, which is the house of sovereignty, the sun is showing increase of light. Now the main point for consideration with regard to the hour of an Accession is the propitiousness of the tenth house, *viz.*, that there should be a propitiousness befitting the approach of a world-adorner.

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[1] The word ارس aras in the first House is a mistake for راس Rās as the table of Errata shows. It means the Dragon's head or the ascending node.

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FIGURE.

2 Second House Cancer 3 Third House Leo	1 First House 1 Dragon's Head Gemini	12 Twelfth House Taurus 11 Eleventh House Aries Saturn Moon
4 Fourth House Virgo		10 Tenth House Sun, Venus Mars Pisces
5 Fifth House Libra 6 Sixth House Scorpio	7 Seventh House Jupiter Dragon's Tail Sagittarius	9 Ninth House Mercury Aquarius 8 Eighth House Capricorn

Imām-Abū-l-Muhammad of Ghaznī, who was one of the great masters of astronomical prognostication, has laid it down that it is good to have the Ascendant in Scorpio so that the tenth Angle may be Leo, the house of the sun. God be praised! Here we have the sun come of his own accord into the tenth house and diffusing the rays of auspiciousness and fortune!

Verse.

A Shāh who was the fulfiller of hope,
His heart shone with eternal light,
How can his ray not brighten the world
Who has the sun for a guardian?

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The second house which is that of property, is Cancer, and the Moon, which is the Regent of the house, has attained in the eleventh house, which is that of hope, the position of *fauq-al-arẕ* (ascension above the earth). This is a proof that the keys of earth's treasures will without difficulty or effort come into the hands of the treasurers of his fortune.

The third house, which is that of kinsmen and connexions, is Leo, and its dominant, the Sun, is in the tenth angle. All the relatives will be obedient to orders and submissive to the commands of the Shāhinshāh.

The fourth house is Virgo, which is called the terrestrial angle, and is conversant with the final results of actions and with possessions. The dominant (Mercury) is in the ninth house which is that of travel. This is a proof of excellent eventualities and of the stability of conquests.

The fifth house is Libra, which is that of children, and enjoyment and presents. Its Regent is Venus who is in Pisces, which is her house of exaltation. This proves that auspicious children will be near to the king by affection and favour, and will grow up in the shadow of dominion and grace, that the cup of social joy will brim over, and that caravans of gifts from the four quarters of the world will unload at his threshold.

The sixth house is Scorpio, which is that of slaves and servants, and of diseases. Its Regent, Mars, is in the house of sovereignty (the tenth). This indicates equability of temperament, numerous faithful slaves and devoted servants. Though Jupiter is in Sagittarius, yet, by virtue of equal distribution [1] of houses, he is imparting blessings to the sixth house.

The seventh house, Sagittarius, is the western[2] angle, and the Nadir *(Naẓīr)* of the ascendant. It is the house of enemies. As by the equal distribution of houses it is void of an auspicious star, there is strong evidence that the enemies of the State will be overcome.

The eighth house is Capricorn which is conversant with heritages. As its dominant (Saturn) is in the eleventh house, this is a proof that

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[1] See page 73 n. 1 of this translation.

[2] I read غارب *ghārib* instead of the *ghārī* of the text. See D.T.T. II. 1452. This is also known as the seventh angle.

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hereditary blessings will be attached to the perfect condition of his personality.

The ninth house is Aquarius and has to do with knowledge, faith, and travel. Mercury who is the lord of the Ascendant (as Regent of Gemini) is there. He has a kind aspect to the Ascendant, and causes the acquisition of the lights of wisdom. He tells of sincere inquiry into the affairs of realm and religion, soundness of plan in matters of travel, and conduciveness thereof to the confirmation of dominion.

Verse.[1]

A king, whom, for his wisdom, we call *Ẕū fanūn* (Master of sciences)
We call him a guide of the road to God
Though kings be God's shadows
He's God's light, how then call him a shadow ?

The tenth house, Pisces, is called the tenth angle, and is the house of sovereignty and of mothers. The Sun, Venus, and Mars are there. The days of sovereignty will always pass pleasantly, and the owner of the horoscope will have daily increasing sources of splendour and glory. Mothers of high rank will attain their desires through his good fortune.

The eleventh house, Aries, is associated with hopes and with sincere friends. It is the Sun's house of exaltation, and the swiftly-moving Moon is waxing there. Every hope that arises in the holy soul will be fulfilled quickly and thoroughly, and friends will become successful from being associated with his great fortune.

The twelfth house is Taurus, and is the house of enemies. It is void of stars, and Mars is in aspect from the tenth house. The enemies of realm and religion will drink blood from the sharp sword of Mars. The Moon is in Aries, the Sun's house of exaltation. The great men of this science have declared that in accession-horoscopes, the Moon, which is the intermediary for conveying light from the superior heavenly bodies to the inferior, should be in Aries. They have considered this to be a circumstance greatly to be relied upon. The Sun is in conjunction with Jupiter. The regent of the tenth (Jupiter) is in the seventh house. The house of the ascendant is

[1] The quatrain is Faiẓī's. Blochmann 561, and Āīn text. II. 241.

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aerial.[1] These things indicate that the victorious troops will be well-disciplined, and that there will be increase of the royal splendour and glory. The part of Good Fortune is strong, for it is situate in Leo which is the Sun's house, and its regent is in the tenth house. Jupiter, who is a strong evidence of loyalty, is in the seventh in his own house (Sagittarius), and is most auspicious. The regent of the tenth is ascending. The affairs of the State shall daily advance and prosper. And [2] a portion of the house of the ascendant is rising in the mansion of the Moon (?). Mercury has a friendly aspect to the Moon. All these are clear indications that things will turn out for the best, that fortune will increase, and desires be attained. The interpretation of the good points in this horoscope, and the wonders of it, are beyond the power of description. Acute scrutineers of celestial tables and conners of degrees on the surfaces of astrolabes know by the schedule of thought and the calendar of intelligence how few of such great and greatness-conferring hours, in which so many everlasting blessings are infolded, have occurred since the time of the first motions of the heavens and the constellations and since the conduct of the world of mankind, which is the quintessence of creation, has been in the charge of the heavenly bodies.

One of the poets has said with respect to the chronogram of the glorious accession.

Verse.

The pulpit was exalted by the king's *khuṭba*.
And by a just mintage deeds became golden,
By Akbar Shāh's sitting on sovereignty's throne
There came the accession-chronogram *Naṣrat-i-Akbar* (great victory, 963).

And the hemistich "The accession of the world-protecting lord" also points to the year ending in bliss. And the words *Kām-bakhsh* also give the date of this time which is twinned with auspiciousness, and were written by the dedicatory pen of Maulānā Nūru-d-dīn Tarkhān.

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[1] *Hawāīst.* I do not understand the expression. Vullers, p. 1483, col. *a* gives splendour as a meaning of *hawāī* and perhaps this is the meaning here.

[2] An unintelligible sentence. The Lucknow ed. has a *dar* before Khāna. The preposition also occurs in I.O. MS. 235 MSS. and is probably right.

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CHAPTER III.

Account of the Establishment of the New and Divine Era from the Accession of H.M. the Shāhinshāh.

It is not hidden from the minds of the inwardly lucid and right-thinking that the pen of Providence in making entries in the world's records proceeds upon the principle that the successive arrangements of the universe cannot attain coherence without regard being paid to times and to the determination of dates. The fixation of events and elucidation of occurrences receive precision and certitude from the dates of months and years, and so the eternal decree has gone forth that after the elapse of a space of time some great event shall be made the commencement of an era, and that commands and transactions, sacred and secular, shall be based thereupon. As the glorious Accession was of surpassing felicity and augmenting auspiciousness, it was worthy of being made the forehead-star (*gharra*) of unlimited successes and the preamble of endless felicities. By the Divine inspiration which had cast a ray of light on H.M.'s heart, and the consensus of lofty sages who had obtained his glorious assent, this rubric of the roll of months and years was made the foundation of a new era and the diffuser of comfort and repose. As the world-lighting New Year followed close upon the Accession, and as the latter is nourished by the quickening glances of the sun, the (intervening) fraction of time in whose folds thousands of victories were unveiling, was treated as the decorative border to the days of the New Year, and as the preface of glory and conquest; and the beginning of the great Era took effect from the coming New Year. The principle of the calculations rested on true solar months and years, and H.M. the Shāhinshāh, out of his fortune and greatness, and under the influence of a Divine inspiration, designated this grand epoch as the Tārīkh Ilāhī (Divine Era). Secretaries of a happy pen recorded it in rolls and rescripts. The names of the months of the Era were made identical with the famous names of the Persian months, but were adorned in addition by the title Ilāhī (Divine) *e.g.*, Farwardīn, Divine month,

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Ardibihisht, Divine month. The names of the days were the same as those of the current thirty Persian days, *viz.* :—

1. Ormuz[1]
2. Bahman
3. Ardibihisht
4. Shahriyūr
5. Isfandarmaẕ
6. Khurdād
7. Murdād
8. Daibāẕar (Dáí-ba-Āẕar)
9. Āẕar
10. Ābān
11. Rash
12. Māh
13. Tīr
14. Gosh or Gūsh[2]
15. Khūr (Dáí-ba-mihr)
16. Mihrgān (Mihr)
17. Sarosh
18. Rashn
19. Farwardīn
20. Bahram
21. Rām
22. Bād
23. Dai (Dai-bā-dīn)
24. Dīn
25. Ārād
26. Ashtād
27. Āsmān
28. Zamiyād
29. Mārisfand
30. Anīrān[3]

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[1] Hyde points out p. 238, that the first day of the month bears the name of a god, and that after every seven days there comes a name in which Dai occurs, and suggests that this refers to a division of the months resembling that of weeks.

[2] Gosh or Gūsh. The text has Kosh, but this is wrong, Kosh being the name of the fourth day of the month. See Hyde pp. 190 and 260.

[3] The account given by Mut'amid Khān in his Iqbālnāma shows that the 31st day was called Rūz and the 32nd Shab. The passage quoted in Cunningham's Book of Indian Eras, p. 83, as coming from Abul Faẕl, is taken from Gladwin, and has several interpolations by the latter. His version of the last sentence in the Āīn is "the two last are named Rozo Shub (day and night); and in order to distinguish one from the other, are called first and second." The correct translation of A.F.'s words will be found in Jarrett II. 30. A.F.'s accounts of the Divine Era, both here and in the Āīn, are wanting in precision. He tells us that Akbar did away with intercalations, *i.e.*, the five added days, Hyde 266, called here ayyām-i-mustariqat, *i.e.*, stolen or secret days, (the Arabic word mustariqut being a translation of the Persian duzdīda, while in the Āīn they are called *Kabīsa*); but he does not tell us how many months had 29, how many 30 or 31, and how many 32 days. The Ghiyāṣu-l-loghat has an interesting article on eras s.v. Faṣlī and quotes a distich which gives by *abjad* the number of months which were long and short. The words seem to be lā (31), u lā (31), lab

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As in some months there were two days over thirty, they were called respectively Rūz and Shub (Day and Night). By the blessing of H.M.'s attention the intercalary days were abolished, and the months, like the years, became solar. The enlightened mind of H.M. the Shāhinshāh also directed that there should be a duodenary cycle of the years of this Era, each year being named after a month, *e.g.*, the first year was the year Farwardīn Ilāhī, the second, the year Ardibihisht Ilāhī.

The pillar of the founders of this sacred era was the Learned of the Age, the Plato of cycles,[1] Amir Fatḥ Ullah Shīrāzī whose title was Āẓad-ul-daula.

He it was who in a happy hour laid the foundation of this heavenward-soaring edifice. Although the foundation took place in 992 (1584), yet, as the position of events from the beginning of the sacred accession will be based upon the Divine Era, it appeared proper to enter the Era among the events of the year of the Accession. There is hope that, as the dominion and fortune of this line conjoined with eternity spring from a divine radiancy, the glory of the noble family will be for thousands of thousand years world-lighting and world-gripping, and that the number of years and months will continually surpass the dates and reckonings of calculators of celestial

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(32), lā (31), u lālā (62), shash māh ast, lal (60), kaṭ (29), u kaṭ (29), lab (60), kotah ast.

The first line gives 187 and the second 178, or 365 altogether, and if my interpretation is correct only one month had 32 days. A.F. says nothing about the Faṣlī year, and I do not know the source of the statement in Wilson's Glossary about Akbar's orders regarding it. According to the Ghiyāsu-l-loghat, p. 321, of Newal Kishore's edition, the Faṣli year was introduced, or, rather perhaps, altered in 971 A.H., in which year the beginning of the Muhammadan year (1 Muḥarram 971 being=21 August 1563) nearly coincided with the autumnal equinox, and the beginning of the autumn harvest. Apparently the Faṣli year was the Samvat year, with the difference that it began in autumn. Akbar's Divine Era was applied to it, and also to the Bengal year, but the months in which they began, *viz.*, September and April, were not interfered with.

[1] Alawānī in text, but I adopt the variant al-daurānī, as that is given in the Iqbālnāma. For an account of Fatḥ Ullah, who sometimes has the title of Shāh, see Blochmann 33, n. 1 Badāunī, Lowe, 326, and the Darbār Akbari of Shamsa-al-Ulema M. Ḥusain Āẓād, 673.

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cycles. The copy of the world-obeyed Firmān, which was composed by Abūl Faẓl the writer of this auspicious preamble, and which was issued to the dominions after the establishment of this auspicious era, is as follows.

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CHAPTER IV.

FIRMĀN OF JALĀLU-D-DIN MUHAMMAD AKBAR PĀDSHĀH GHAZĪ.

In this dominion-adorning time and auspicious epoch, when a cycle[1] (*qarn*) of the victorious session on the throne of sovereignty has elapsed, and the garden of fortune has begun[2] to smile, a world-obeyed *firmān* was issued (received a ray of exaltation) to the effect that the governors of the imperial dominions, and the other officers of state and of finance who, in accordance with their degrees and positions, are recipients of the royal favours, should know as follows:—

"Whereas the totality of H.M.'s lofty intellect is engaged in contriving that all sorts and conditions of men—who are fearfully and wonderfully made—may pass their precious days—which cannot be exchanged or replaced,—in cheerfulness and content, and in the shadow of happiness and hope, and in ways well-pleasing to God, and that they may withdraw the neck of submission from the collar of formalism (*taqlīd*) which all the teachers of religion and leaders of faith have struck at with the hand of denunciation, but which in all religions displays with effrontery its baseness and deformity; and that they may exercise themselves in gathering the materials of inquiry and not stay their foot in the paths of propositions (*masālīk-i-matālib*), without the guidance of proof, nor, while in the streets of 11
their sentiments (mashāri'-i-maqāṣid), enter upon minute subtleties without the light of reason. Our mark-hitting mind (*ẕamīr-i-sābat paẕīr*) is ever paying full regard to the truths of science, and the minutiæ of wisdom, and through the Divine favour and guidance has from its lofty beginning been enriched and replenished by inspirations and visitations, and owing to beauteous mysteries and purity of intention has been endowed and blessed with the insignia of the past

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[1] A cycle of solar years had not elapsed. In 992, the day of the sun's entering Aries, *viz.*, the day of the Persian New Year closely approximated to the date of Humāyūn's death, for it was 8 Rabī'-al-awwal. See Badāūnī II. 348, Lowe.

[2] Cf. supra p. 31 n. 3.

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and of the future. In the course of such researches our eye fell upon the almanacs in common use among the people of India,[1] and which in their language are called *patra*.

We found in these almanacs (*aurāq-i-kulpatra*) [2] that they have calculated the beginning of the lunar month from the opposition (of sun and moon) that is, from the season of advancing darkness! In the Hindi language this is called *Kishnpacc*.[3] So those darkened ones, out of pure formalism, ignorance, and excessive eccentricity and error, have based their month upon darkness! In addition to the fact that the folly of this empty and baseless arrangement is too clear for argument, it has been reported to us by orthodox religious teachers of this people, and has been shown by them from their old authoritative books, that in the time of the ancients the lunar month began with the lighting up of the side of the moon which is towards us, and which is called in their tongue Shuklpacc; and that this rational practice ceased from the time of Bikramājīt, on account of the prevalence of the heterodox and of the disorder and confusion which then existed. The propriety of making the first of the month coincide with the beginning of the emergence of light is one of the clearest first principles. Accordingly, an order has been promulgated that astrologers, almanac-makers, and casters of horoscopes, throughout our territories, shall base their calendars on the

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[1] The Sanskrit pattra. The common word for an almanac at the present day is panjika.

[2] In the text *kul* and *patra* are written separately, but in the Lucknow ed. and in several MSS. they are united, *Kulpatra*, and a note by the Lucknow editor suggests that the meaning is "empty words." Such is the meaning given in the dictionaries, and it is possible that a play upon the words is intended. But I rather incline to think that Kul must be for Kāl, time, and that Kalpatra means an almanac. Or, if a pun be intended, this is only a subordinate intention. See Jarrett II. 18 for account of the division of the year into three parts called *Kāl*. See also id. 12 for another mention of the word patra.

[3] Krishnapaksha, or dark half of the moon. A. F. gives a somewhat different account in the Āīn, stating there, Jarrett II. 17, that the Hindus count from the new moon, though he adds that a number of them (*jama*), which perhaps means a crowd, or the majority, begin the month from Krishnapacc. The beginning from full moon was perhaps the more rational plan of the two, for the starting point was more visible. I wonder what Akbar thought of the Arabic and Muḥammadan plan of beginning the day from the evening.

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pure method of the Shuklpacc. As a precautionary measure, and in order to make things simple and easy, a calendar was prepared and sealed with the sacred seal, and was sent by us so that they might take it as a model.

Meanwhile the great officers of the Court have represented to us as follows: 'It is not hidden from the inspired mind, that the object of establishing an era is that the seasons of affairs and events may be known with ease, and no one have any occasion for alteration. Suppose, for example, some one makes a contract, or takes a farm or a loan, and the period of execution be 4 years, 4 months; unless the exact date of the beginning be known, it will be difficult, or rather, impossible to determine the date of completion. It is evident, too, that whenever an era has prevailed for a long time, the establishment of a new one opens the gates of ease and prosperity for all mankind. And it is known to students of history that, from the beginning up to the present day, it has been the glory of great princes and of pillars of wisdom to renew, by means of their own exertions, the foundation which has been handed down to them, and so to liberate business-men from the perplexity of difficulties. At present the Hijra [1] Era, which 12
begins with a day of joy to foes, and of grief to friends, has nearly reached one thousand years, and the Indian Era (Tārīkh-i-Hind) has exceeded 1500 years. Similarly, the Eras of Iskandar and Yazdijird [2] have exceeded thousands and hundreds of years. All this is set down in almanacs. The writing and speaking of such eras in conversation and in business is very difficult for men of the world, and especially so for the commonalty who are the centre of business. It is also apparent that, within the imperial dominions, divers eras are followed by the people of India. For example, in Bengal the era

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1 According to D'Herbelot, the Muḥammadans chose the Hijra for their era in imitation of the Christian era of the Martyrs. That began with the commencement of Diocletian's reign.

2 The statement is not correct, unless by the Yazdajird Era is meant that of Jamshīd which is said to have been begun 800 B.C., Jarrett II. 28, and by the Iskandari era the era of the Hebrews and Syrians. A.F. states in the Āīn that the Iskandarī era was derived from them. Perhaps A. F. has used the plural alūf because he is writing of two eras and does not mean that each era is thousands of years old. Instead of the مآت of the text B.M.M.S. Add. 27, 247 has مايت.

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dates from the beginning of the rule of Lachman Sen,[1] from which date till now 465 years have elapsed. In Gujarat and the Deccan the Sālbāhan era prevails, of which this is the 1506th year. In Mālwa and Delhi, etc., the era of Bikramājīt is current, of which there have now been 1641 years. In Nagarkot the era is counted from the beginning of the rule of whoever may hold the Fort.

The nature and dignity of each era are known to those conversant with history, and it is notorious that the beginning of no one of the Indian eras springs from the foundation of a great event. If out of general benevolence and comprehensive kindness a new era be established, such as will be at once convenient for the people, and subversive of the discrepant Indian eras, assuredly the benefits and beauties thereof will redound to your Majesty's present and future glory. In the authoritative books of the current tables, such as the Zīc Ilkhānī, and the new Gurgānī tables, it appears that eras were framed upon some great event such as the appearance of an established religion, or the acquisition of a great kingdom. God be praised! During this mighty sovereignty there have been in the visible world so many great events and shining actions, such as the subjugation of great cities, and the complete capture of impregnable forts and other victories, and Divine aids, any one of which was fit to be made the foundation of an era. But if your Majesty directs that the new era commence from the day of your seating yourself on the throne of sovereignty, which was one of God's great gifts and never-ending boons, and from which auspicious day this is the twenty-ninth solar, and the thirtieth lunar year, assuredly such a good deed will be at once a mark of thanksgiving and a fulfilment of the wishes of mankind. Moreover, there is not involved in this good deed any breach of the respect due to the glory of the Hijra era—which comes from the day when His Majesty, the best of men, migrated from Mecca to Medina on account of the predominance of foes. This is the supposition of worthless persons infirm of nature, and of mean understanding. Accordingly, in the time of Malik Shāh, though at that time the the Hijra era was not so old as it is now, nor were matters so complicated as at present, the Jalālī era was introduced for the sake of

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[1] See article on the Lakshmana Sena era by Professor Kielhorn Indian Antiquary for January 1890.

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convenience, so that a multitude who were in practical matters[1] brought into difficulty, might by this means escape from their distress. It appears everywhere in the almanacs of the lands of Islām, such as 13
Arabia, Turkey, Transoxania, Khurāsān, Īrāq, &c., and is used in the bonds of legal experts and by borrowers of every age."

The repeated representations of this body of men, and a regard for their petitions, prevailed and were accepted, and an order was issued that the New Year, which followed close on the year of the accession, should be made the foundation of the Divine Era, and that the gates of joy and comfort should be opened. From the mine of wisdom there issued an order worthy to be obeyed, that compilers should in the almanacs current in Islāmic countries, and in which they enter the Arabic, Rūmī, Persian and Jalāli eras, enter this new era as a supplement to them, and so open the gates of prosperity. Also that in the almanacs of India they (almanac writers) should enter this new era instead of their discordant eras, especially of the Bikramājīt era which was founded upon deception[2] (*talbīs*), and that they do away with their various eras. And whereas in the almanacs current in India the years were solar, and the months lunar, we ordered that the months of the new era should be solar.

And whereas the sages of religions and sects have set apart certain days of the months and years, for the purposes of thanksgiving, in accordance with celestial phenomena and spiritual stations, and for the enjoyment of all mankind—which is the motive for so many charities and good works—and have given them the name of Festivals (I'yād). And have in those days of joy established thanksgiving, and have made good ordinances for the payment of the rites of submission and humility to God Almighty—which is the highest kind of devotion and obedience,—and whereas the rich and poor, the

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1 A. F. explains, Jarrett II. 29, that the use of the Hijra era was unfair to the peasantry, because 31 lunar years were equal to 30 solar years, and the revenue was taken on the lunar years, whereas the harvest depended on the solar.

2 The allusion seems to be to the tradition that Bikramājīt was a magician. A. F. says in the Āīn, text II. 470, and Jarrett II. 215, that the Hindus to this day regard his accession as the beginning of an era, and tell wonderful stories about him. "The truth appears to be that he was acquainted with charms and sorcery, and so had brought the simple into his net."

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great and small, have to the extent of their ability spread the tables of abundance and opened the gates of joy and success for the afflicted and distressed among their contempories (the brethren of the age and the children of the time), and have shown them various kindnesses, (it is ordered) for these reasons that certain great festivals, a list of which is appended to this proclamation, and which have been current in countries for several thousand years, and especially have been for the last thousand years observed by just princes and righteous philosophers, and which have in this country for some causes fallen from their splendour, be made current for the sake of soliciting the Divine favour and of following in the footsteps of the ancients of those happy times. It is proper that in all our dominions they be fully observed in cities, towns and villages. Strict attention must be paid to this, and not the slightest neglect take place. The list[1] of the festivals is as follows :—

1. The days of the New Year.
2. 19th Farwardīn Divine month.
3. 3rd Ardibihisht Divine month.
4. 6th Khurdād Divine month.
5. 13th Tīr Divine month.
6. 7th Murdād Divine month.
7. 4th Shahriyūr Divine month.
8. 16th Mihr Divine month.
9. 10th Ābān Divine month.
10. 9th Āzār Divine month.
11. 8th, 15th and 23rd Dai Divine month.
12. 2nd Bahman Divine month.
13. 5th Isfandarmaz Divine month.

Written in accordance with an order which must be obeyed.

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[1] See Badaūnī's remarks, Blochmann 195. He says 14 festivals were introduced. A. F.'s list makes 13, or 15 if we count separately the three festivals of the month of Dai. Perhaps Badāūnī made 14 out of the 15 by counting the 19th Farwardin as part of the New Year festival. See Lowe 319, last para, where the 19th is called the last day of the New Year feast. In the directions to the Kotwāls, Jarret II 43, we find injunctions about observing the Ilāhī festivals, and about making the Hindu almanacs begin with the *Shuklpacc.*

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CHAPTER V.

Account of the great Administrators of the Imperial Territories at the time of H.M. the Shāhinshāh's Accession.

At this auspicious epoch, which was the birthday of felicity and dominion, and the testing-time of loyalty and devotion's coinage, S.M. Sulaimān, son of Khān Mīrzā the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the son of Sulṭan Abū S'aīd was peaceably in charge of [1] the territory of Badakhshān, while the country (*wilāyat*) of Kabul, Ghaznīn and the other districts from the Hindu Koh to the river Indus, commonly known as the Nīlāb, were administered by the wisdom and skill of Mun'im Khān who was distinguished among the servants of the everlasting dominion for equity and justice. Through his excellent service, Muḥammad Ḥakīm and the chaste ladies lived in that country in the enjoyment of repose. Qandahār and its appurtenances, which were the jāgīr of Bairām Khān were in charge of Shāh Muḥammad of Qilāt, who upreared the banner of courage and daring and made those lands a station of peace, and kept them aloof from strife and misfortune. The administrators of Delhi, the capital of the country, have already been mentioned. Agra, the capital of the Caliphate, and the adjoining districts, flourished under Iskandar Khān Uzbeg; Sambal was in charge of 'Alī Qulī Shaibānī; Sarkār Kālpī was under 'Abdullah Khān Uzbeg; while the servants of Tardī Beg Khān gave security to Mewāt; [2] Qīya Khān was in Kol Jalālī (Aligarh), and Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān in Bīāna. Fresh rescripts of favour were issued to all the servants of the lofty Court, stating that "we have left all in possession of their estates as heretofore, so that the sincerity and good service of every one may be brought to light;

[1] The words are *maqarrarbūd*, but I do not suppose A.F. means that any fresh appointment was made. M. Sulaimān regarded himself as an independent prince, and was so in fact, but A.F. treats him as one of Akbar's subjects and includes him and his son among the grandees of the empire. Blochmann, 311.

[2] Blochmann 343.

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hereafter they shall be advanced to high degrees and positions in accordance with the lofty intelligence of the Shāhinshāh." For the present time the world-adorning judgment of H.M. the Shāhinshāh was insisting upon his remaining for some days under the veil of concealment, so that his world-illuminating beauty might be seen by no one but himself. Either the cause of this far-seeing and right-choosing design was that, by being in the guise of indifference to the world, he might make trial of men and fix in the antechamber of his holy mind the most accurate estimation of each individual; or it was the narrow capacity of those men, and their not possessing the power to appreciate his perfections, which compelled him for the sake of coming humanity to adopt this line of conduct; or it was that black-hearted and crafty foes might engage in their evil acts, free from any apprehensions of the eminence of the holy elements; or it was because the far-seeing glance of this bezel of the signet-ring of the Caliphate had fallen upon the unending world of reality, and so did not regard this dustbin (*khāqdān*) of an earth; or it was for some other design which the acute and discerning may one[1] day discover. (Be that as it may). This exoteric and esoteric king made[2] over all affairs of state and finance to Bairām Khān, and busied himself in things which acted as complete veils of his majesty, and were impenetrable by the superficial of this age.

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[1] *Basir-i-waqt.* The variant Basir-i-diqqat-i-ān "to the subtle point thereof," seems preferable.

[2] After A.F. had in the first volume, text 365, line nine proved to his own satisfaction that the death of Humāyun was a blessing in disguise, because it gave scope for Akbar's development, it is rather absurd to find him here admitting that Akbar did nothing for some time and left everything to Bairāmkhān. Of course, a boy in his fourteenth year could not do otherwise, and moreover Akbar would seem to have been a backward child. He did not learn to read and write, and his son tells us, in Price's Memoirs of Jāhangīr, 48, that in his youth Akbar devoted himself chiefly to the pleasures of the table. Khāfi Khān has some interesting remarks, I. p. 131, &c., (Bib. Ind. Ed.) about Akbar's devotion to pleasure in his boyhood and his submissiveness to Bairām.

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CHAPER VI.

THE SEIZURE OF SHĀH ABŪ-L-M'AĀLĪ AND HIS BEING PUT INTO CONFINEMENT.

When the world-adorning purposes of God, which arrange the succession of events, visible and invisible, will that the robe of sovereignty be bound with the skirt of perpetuity, and be embroidered with the hem of permanence, He strips makebates and strifemongers of their leaves and branches, and overthrows them, root and stem. Moreover, those evildoers and mischief-makers do of themselves certain things which prove the cause of their ruin and destruction. An instance of this occurred in the beginning of dominion's morning, and of the glory of the Caliphate, when fortune's diadem was exalted by the grandeur of H.M. the Shāhinshāh and the throne of sovereignty irradiated by his light (*far*). At this time the stupefying wine of thoughts and caprices overpowered Shāh Abū-l-M'aālī, whose brain had been ruined by the worship of his own beauty and the intoxication produced by the world, and whose foot of moderation had departed from the path of firmness, as has been here and there shown by accounts of his proceedings from the beginning of his service of H.M. Jahānbānī till the death of that lord[1] of the age. Now that the ruler of the age (Humāyūn) had hastened along the highway to the world of permanence, and the Cycle-lord of the Earth (Akbar) had by means of sundry veils of seclusion rescued himself from the contentions and the disturbed hearts both of ascetics and of worldlings, the blood of this crapulous debauchee and conner[2] of obsolete almanacs was made worse than ever by evil thoughts.

Black bile and melancholia augmented the brain-trouble and

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1 *Badrūzgār*, evil one of the age. But A.F. has not yet described Abū-l-M'aālī's latter career, so I am inclined to read with one MS. būdrūzgār, and to take the word as referring to Humāyūn.

2 The meaning of this curious phrase seems to be that instead of being up to date he thought only of the state of things under Humāyūn.

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swelled the materials of phrensy. He was drunk, and a mad dog bit him; mad, and a scorpion stung him! Moreover, some old servants of the world, who from an evil nature looked to nothing but their own interest, nay, rather who thought of nothing but their own spite, and did not in their folly and blindness distinguish right from wrong, were the means of adding to his delusions, and were ever pouring the drug of inconsideration into the wine of his arrogance.

At this juncture, Bairām Khān Khān-khānān, who had taken into his skilful hands the bridle of the administration of the empire, and was putting order into distracted affairs, performed, as his first service after H.M. the Shāhinshāh's accession, the work of chaining up this drunken madman. The account of this is as follows: As
16 the fumes of madness were circulating in the head of that firebrand, and the cap-peak of his understanding had been set awry by the wind of arrogance, the notes of seditious thoughts became visible, and disaffected imaginings came forth from behind their veil. On the third day after the accession a great assembly was organised in the same delightful spot. H.M. the Shāhinshāh sate on the throne of sovereignty, and the leaders and commanders respectfully stood around. Before this meeting had taken place, a message had been sent to that recalcitrant, announcing that a great festival had been agreed upon, and that affairs of state and finance would be brought forward, and that his presence was necessary. That self-conceited fool made excuses, which were worse than his offence, and among them were that he had not yet left off mourning (for Humāyūn), and that, supposing that he came, how would H.M. the Shāhinshāh behave to him, and where would he sit in the assembly, and how would the officers come forward to receive him? As they were urgent in sending for him, he threw off the veil and recounted the nearness of his relationship to H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī and the great consideration which the latter had for him. After making his attendance conditional on certain things which were of no value, he attended, for his megrim had not come to a head. He sate down on H.M. the Shāhinshāh's right hand. It was the time when the festive board was about to be spread, and when he put out his hands to wash[1] them, Tolaq Khān[2]

[1] The custom was, and is, to wash the hands before eating as well as afterwards. See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, p. 166, quotation from Mrs. Meer 'Alī.

[2] Blochmann 444. The story of

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Qūcīn, who was strong and nimble, behaved dexterously, and coming from behind seized both of Shāh Abū-l-M'aālī's arms, and made him a prisoner. Others who stood at the foot of the throne came forward to assist. Shāh Abū-l-M'aālī became helpless from astonishment, and surrendered. The men who were with him, being, many of them, old well-wishers of the dynasty, had intentionally assembled before him and on the same day became anew immediate servants (of Akbar), and received royal favours. This was the first head of game that fell into fortune's net.

In the institutes of sovereignty, and canons of justice, binding and imprisoning are commended for this reason that a trial should be made of ill-fated and contentious people. For man is a strange talisman, and a riddle hard of interpretation. It is not right to send him to the abode of non-existence for one displeasing act which he may exhibit, for this lofty foundation cannot be rebuilt except by the hand of God's power. Therefore, wise administrators have not approved of haste in demolishing and annihilating this high palace.

Verse.

For the head of the slain cannot be joined on again.

Neither is it the part of enlightened persons to stain a prison 17
with the existence of a man whose evil nature, sedition and strife-mongering, have been several times tested. But as the world-adorning God has made H.M. the Shāhinshāh a perfect revelation of his own ample compassion, he snapped the thread of counsel in the hands of

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Abū-l-M'aālī's capture is told at greater length in the Darbār Akbarī, 744, where a reference is made to the account given by M'utamad Khān in the second volume of the Iqbālnāma. M'utamad Khān tells that he heard from A'zīz Koka, that Bairām Khān only got Abu-l-M'aālī to attend by pretending that Akbar was prepared to return a favourite servant to him. Shāh Abū-l-M'aālī's name does not occur in the list in the Aīn, because he ended by being a rebel, see Blochmann 366 n. Consequently, Blochmann does not give any special biography of him. There is a good deal about him in Badāūnī. In an album in the Bodleian library, Ouseley Add. 172, p. 1091, of Sachau and Ethé's catalogue, there is a very curious picture by Akbar's artist 'Adu-ṣ-Ṣamad, representing the seizure of Abū-l-M'aālī. Tolaq is represented as a tremendous giant, and Abu-l-M'aālī as a simpering youth.

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well-wishers, and, granting life to this inexperienced young man, sent him to prison, so that in the beginning of the universe-adorning sovereignty there might be nothing which had the appearance of tyranny. Though to endeavour to annihilate the wicked is benevolence to all mankind, yet, as it is a benevolence which in semblance is tyranny, it should not appear at such a new-year-season of fortune. They put this mad sedition-monger in chains and sent him to Lahore, where those charged with the business put him in charge of Pahlwān Gulgaz [1] (the rose eyed?) the Chief-Constable, (*'asas*) of Lahore. That foolish man, either from carelessness or from an evil design, did not exercise proper caution in guarding that wicked intriguer, and so the latter escaped from jail. M. Shāh [2] and the other officers in Lahore imprisoned Pahlwān Gulgaz, and he from fear of disgrace took poison, and so freed himself from the prison of his body. Mun'im Khān, to whom Kābulistān was entrusted, was pleased on hearing the news (of Abu-l-M'aālī's imprisonment), and by stratagem sent for Mīr Hāshim,[3] Abū-l-M'aālī's brother, who held in *jāgīr* Kahmard, Ghorband, Ẓuḥḥāq, etc., and imprisoned him. This too was a good proceeding.

One of the joyful events of this period was the sending a rescript of fortune to Kābul the abode of peace. When the imperial mind obtained respite from the necessary affairs of this region, it fixed itself upon the extirpation of Iskandar. He was passing his time in the Sivālik hills, and the expedition from Delhi had in truth been directed against him. But H.M. remembered their highnesses the Begums, and also he had promised, for the quieting of the devoted heroes who had recently come to India, that he would send all the old and trusty officers to Kābul [4] to bring quickly, in the first place,

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[1] Kalkaz in text. *'Asas* may be regarded as synonymous with *Kotwāl*.

[2] This M. Shāh is the Shāh Mīrzā mentioned in Blochmann 461 as a grandson of Muḥammad Sulṭān. It was his uncle, who was also called Shāh Mīrzā, who was killed in Afghanistan by Shāh Muḥammad. A.N. I. 285. Sidī 'Alī, p. 58, speaks of him as the governor of Lahore.

[3] Mīr Hāshim is the person mentioned by Sidī 'Alī under the name of Kahmard Beg, p. 62. Either by his mistake or that of his translator the name of his *jāgīr* is put for his proper name.

[4] Apparently Sidī 'Alī travelled with this party to Kabul, see pp. 59 and 62. He received a lakh from Akbar for his travelling expenses, in payment of a chronogram, but apparently it was not in cash, but an assignment on districts he was to pass through. p. 62.

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their highnesses the Begums, and, secondly, the families of the servants of the household into the delightsome and extensive lands of India, so that men might become settled and be restrained in some measure from departing to a country to which they were accustomed. Accordingly, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Shamsu-d-din Muḥammad Khān Atka, M. Ḥasan Khān, M. Khiẓr Khān Hazāra, Bābūs, Khwāja Jalāluddīn Maḥmūd Bakhshī, and a number of others were sent with materials and with valuable presents for the purpose of performing this honourable function. On the fifth day after the accession the troops were gathered under the shadow of the victorious standards, and proceeded towards the hill country of the Sivāliks which is also called Himācal.[1] 18

[1] This does not seem to be known nowadays as a name of the Sivālik mountains. A.F. uses the word Himācal in the Āīn, Jarrett III. 30 and 31. The mountains now known as the Sivāliks are not snow-mountains, but it appears from A.F. and also from Bābar's Memoirs, 323, that the name used to be applied to the great northern range. See Erskine's note.

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CHAPTER VII.

Beginning of the first Divine year after the holy accession of H.M. the Shāhinshāh, *viz.*, the year Farwardīn of the first cycle.

As the world assumed splendour from the justice-illuminating sovereignty of this nursling of divine light, and the terrrene and terrestrials uttered rejoicings with the tongue of speech and of ecstacy, and gratefully expressed a vernal joy, and the outward and inward world received a new glory and lustre, the spring-time of soul and body burst forth into invocations of blessings. Twenty-five days after the auspicious time of the accession, *viz.*, on [1] Wednesday 28 Rabī'-aṣ-ṣānī 963, there was the world-illuminating New Year, and the Sultan of the East confronted Aries with his world-adorning banners.

Verse.

The world was freshened by the spring-breeze
The rain increased the glory of the earth
The sun joyful of soul, and a lover of joy
Tore in his delight the sheaths (*lit.*, skin) of the flowers.
The rose (*gul*) brought out of the clay (*gil*) Kāūs's throne
The violet put on peacock (*Ṭāūs*) plumes
A young spring burgeoned on every bough
And his scattering hand held every flower.

As the great luminary gave new spirit to the age's sorrowful

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[1] It has been already stated, text p. 3, that the accession took place on Friday which was properly the 3rd Rabi'-aṣ-ṣānī, and now we have this supported by the statement that the New Year or 28 Rabī'-aṣ-ṣānī was twenty-five days after the accession. But if the 3rd was a Friday then the 28th must have been a Tuesday, and not a Wednesday as here stated. In the Ṭabuqāt Akbarī, Elliot V, 247, the date of the beginning of the Divine Era and of the New Year is given as Monday 27 Rabi'-al-ākhir, 10 March, 1556. But at p. 241 the date of the accession is given as 2 Rabi'-aṣ-ṣānī, and if this was a Friday, the 27th would be a Tuesday.

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ones, so did the joyful news of the Shāhinshāh's sacred accession give thousands of life-conferring messages to the discerning and to the expectants cognisant of mysteries. The outer world received happiness, and the inner world glory. The visible and invisible kingdoms harmonised and heaped radiance upon radiance.

Whoever[1] has received felicitations from those who have been nurtured in this light-increasing gathering of the spiritual and the temporal, well know what good wishes for long life, inward and outward prosperity, and spiritual and temporal balance are conveyed by them, and there are descriptions of them in ancient chronicles.[2] But who can tell the inner and outer bliss of a nursling of light whose felicitations are conveyed by Light in person, without man's intervention and by the effectual voices[3] of action, to wit that of world-adorning spring?

Inasmuch as the wise of the past and the present are agreed that whenever some glorious event is made the foundation of an era, the latter should begin from the proximate New Year,[4] without regard to a discrepancy either in previousness or in lateness; the sundry days before the New Year were reckoned as included in the New Year, and the latter was made the beginning of the Divine Era. Accordingly this has been recorded in the proclamation which has been set forth above. Whenever the Divine Era be referred to, it shall be understood as commencing from the heart-expanding Spring.

Among the great boons conferred by H.M. the Shāhinshāh in the 19
beginning of this year was the remission of taxes[5] (*bāj u tamghā*).

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[1] The New Year's Festival. Apparently the meaning is that whoever has received the blessings of persons accustomed to such festivals, *i.e.*, persons brought up in Persia, knows how eloquent they are.

[2] *Bastān nāmahā.* This is said to be the title of some old book on Persian history used by Firdusī, but perhaps A.F. is not referring to any particular work, but merely to the New Year rejoicings which were customary in Persia from the days of Jamshīd.

[3] *Zabān-i-f'ūlī.* I believe that this expression is used with reference to the utterances of a seer whose predictions or imprecations are bound to come into effect.

[4] So the Vikramāditya year begins from the vernal eqninox, and the Hijra from 1 Moḥarram.

[5] A.F. does not distinctly say what these were, but his language implies that they were inland customs, and taxes on professions and trades. The jizya, or tax upon infidels, was not abolished till the 9th year of the

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How can the amount of these be estimated? Undoubtedly it was more than a clime's revenue. The Lord of the Earth prescribed those great blessings as a thank-offering for Divine favours, and thereby made glad the caravans of merchants' hearts, who bring abundance to the world of interdependence, and the minds of the crowds of men who are exponents of divinely fashioned arts. This excellent regulation drew after it bāj u tamghā blessings. Although the circumstance of the ruler of the age's being under a veil, and the cupidity of officials weakened for a while this excellent foundation, yet as the Shāhinshāh was determined on perpetuating the boon, though for some time it was not carried into effect, the blessings, that is, the good results thereof, were in a manner made manifest by the superintendents of fate. God be praised! At the present day, when the world-adorner of the Caliphate personally conducts everything, whether in whole or in detail, and when men are tested, and everyone attains success proportionate to his aptitude, this best of gifts has obtained currency throughout the dominions, and although eloquent servants have in seducing language represented to H.M. the advantages and profits of the tax, yet as the right-choosing mind of H.M. the Shāhinshāh is strongly attached to the acquiring of the Divine favour, and had therefore issued the order for the great boon, they have not been listened to, and have not withdrawn the classes of mankind from the obligation of returning thanks for this one out of thousands of benefits. May Almighty God grant to H.M. the Shāhinshāh increase of years, and of gradations of dominion and joy, in proportion to the fruitful blessings of this gift and to the gladdening of so many souls and hearts which have attained rest owing to this favour!

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reign, text II. 203, if indeed the abolition was really carried into effect so early, for Badāūnī, II. 276, speaks of the *tamghā* and *izya* as being abolished in 987, *i.e.*, the 24th. year. There is a definition of the tamghā in the Āīn, Jarrett II. 57, where it is said that whatever is collected from men besides the local revenue is called tamgha. "In every kingdom besides the landtax, Government exacts something from every individual, which extraordinary levy is called tamghā" (Gladwin's translation). Akbar did not abolish all miscellaneous taxes. He had one on marriages, Blochmann 278, and another on horses, id. 215. A list of taxes abolished is given in Jarrett II. 66. See also p. 47.

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One of the occurrences of those fortunate days was that Mīr 'Abdu-l-laṭīf, the cream of the great men of Persia, and a mine of laudable dispositions came from Qazwīn and was introduced at Court, and became the recipient of various favours. His excellent son, Mīr Ghīāṣu-d-dīn A'lī, who received royal favours, and was exalted by the title of Naqīb Khan, accompanied him. Mīr 'Abdu-l-laṭīf was distinguished for science, eloquence, trustworthiness and other noble qualities. From his lack of bigotry and his broadmindedness he was called in India a Shīa and in Persia a Sunnī. In fact he was journeying on towards the serene city of universal tolerance, and so the zealots of each sect used to censure him.

When the world-adorning standard spread the shade of victory over the environs of the town of Dahmīri [1] the victorious heroes and rank-breaking ghāzis, who had gone as an advance-guard under Pīr Muḥammad Khān, reached the foe in the Sivālik hills. They went firmly forward and with proper precautions, but as they were relying on the Divine fortune, whereas Sikandar was only supported by rashness, he broke off without actual fighting and threw himself into the defiles. The victorious soldiers returned to the Court and were recipients of favours. The army in order to strengthen the foundations of caution spent about three months there in hunting. Many landholders came and did homage, and thereby acquired glory for themselves. Among them was Dharm [2] Cand, the Rajah of Nagarkot, who, on account of the high estimation in which he was held, and of the number of his followers, cocked the cap of superiority over his contemporaries. He by the destiny of eternal auspiciousness experienced the blessing of kissing the lofty threshold. By his alacrity in this service he made himself foremost in the hippodrome of obedience, and was exalted by attentions from H.M. the Shāhinshāh.

One of the victorious things that happened at this time was Ḥājī

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[1] دهرمي Dhamrī in text, but the place appears to be the Dahmīrī of the Āīn, text I. 543, and Jarrett II. 318. It is in Kāngra, and is now known as Nūrpūr, a fact which is mentioned in the Khalāṣat-at-tawārīkh. See also Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p. 143. The name of Nūrpūr is derived from Nūr Jahān the wife of Jahāngīr. The local pronunciation is Dahmerī. It is also called Pathaniya and Pathānkot.

[2] The Rām Cand of the Ṭabaqāt, Elliott V. 248.

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Khān's siege of Nārnaul. The story of this is that, when the unavoidable event of H.M. Jahānbānī's death became known, Ḥajī Khān, a distinguished slave of Sher Khān, besieged Nārnaul with a large force. Rajah Bihārī Mal[1] Kacwāha, who by the favourable grace of the Shāhinshāh, became one of the officers of the Sultanate, and rose to a rank superior to that of all the Rajahs and Raises in India, and whose sons and grandsons and whole clan rose to high rank and great office, as will be stated in their proper places, was then with Ḥājī Khān. Majnūn[2] Khān Qāqshāl, the jāgīrdar, was shut up in Nārnaul, and the garrison had become straitened. The Rajah on account of his goodness and foresight interposed, and having got peaceable possession of the fort, he sent Majnūn Khān to Court. When H.M. the Shāhinshāh ascended the throne and Delhi was being governed by Tardī Beg Khān, the latter proceeded against Ḥājī Khān, and after delivering Nārnaul followed him into Mewāt. There he chastised many of the wicked and obstinate, and then returned to Delhi where he managed affairs with the courage of prudence. At the same time Shaikh Gadāī[3] Kambū, of Delhi, came from Gujrāt and entered into service. As during the time of the sojourn in Gujrāt he had behaved well to Bairām Khān and shown him kindness, he was recompensed, now that Baīram Khān had the reins of power in his
21 hand, by being promoted to honour, and by being made Ṣadr, and spent his days with respect among his contemporaries.

As the rainy season was near at hand, H.M., with a view to the repose and comfort of his people, ordered a return, and made the town of Jālandhar his camping ground. The rose-garden of the world was refreshed by justice, and for nearly five months the sublime army lived in enjoyment in that pleasant spot. The ambassadors of 'Abdu-r-rashīd Khān the ruler of Kāshghar came and did homage. They presented valuable gifts and received favours from the shadow of God.

The brief account of this is as follows :—

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[1] Blochmann 328.

[2] Blochmann 369.

[3] Darbārī Akbarī, p. 777, and M'asu-al-umrā III. 232. Gadāī died in 977 (1569), and the words, *murda-i-kok-kabīr*, "great pig's carcase," give the date, Badaūnī II. 119. His father was a poet, and also author of a well-known book on the biographies of saints. See also Badāunī, Lowe 22, for a satirical account of S. Gadāī. He had a brother called A'bdu-l-Ḥai, Badaūnī, Ranking 526.

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'Abdu-r-rashīd Khān always kept up the ties of relationship, and sought a protection for himself by laying the foundation of accord with the noble family. H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī also always treated him with kindness and urbanity. One instance of this was that at the time the expedition to India was in his lofty contemplation he had sent Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Bārī, who was of the noble line of Naqshbandī Khwājahs, to Kāshghar. He now returned, and was honoured by saluting the threshold of fortune. The ruler of Kāshghar sent M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain along with him, both to offer condolences (for Humāyūn's death) and to express felicitations. Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Barī is son of Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Khāfī, son of K. 'Abdu-l-Hādī, son of Khwājagān Khwāja, own son of K. Aḥrār,[1]—may his grave be holy! M. Sharafu-d-dīn was son of K. Mu'in, son of K. Khāwand Maḥmūd, younger brother of K. 'Abdu-l-Hādī, son of Khwājagān Khwāja. M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain came on account of these connections along with K. 'Abdu-l-Bārī and entered H.M.'s service. The Mīrzā was also of high family on the mother's side, for his mother was Kīcak Begum, daughter of Mir 'Alā-al-Mulk of Tarmiz, and of Fakhr Jahān Begum daughter of H.M. Khāqān Saīd Sulṭān Alī S'aīd M. He[2] soon attained high rank, and became an Amīr-al-Umrā, for he added good service to his high rank, and, by passing off his outward show as a representation of his inner nature, made pretensions to the exalted dignity of sincerity.

This is a Court where people turn a grain of sincerity into a world. Let no wrong thought prove a stumblingblock to you (O reader), and do not say that to show this man (Sharafu-d-dīn) favour above his rank was to transgress the laws of justice. The place of justice is one thing, and the station of benevolence is another, though 22
in matters of this kind an increase of trust on the part of this spiritual and temporal Lord (Akbar) is a means of applying a test, and of ascertaining character, by administration of the world's wine which o'erthrows the unmanly and sets up the virile. Extraneous[3] nobility

[1] Bewāsta. Perhaps the meaning here is that he was the eldest son. See Blochmann 322.

[2] See text pp. 127-128. Sharafu-d-dīn was married to Akbar's sister Bakhshī Banū in 968. He afterwards rebelled and eventually was poisoned by another rebel.

[3] The Lucknow ed. and the I.O. MSS. have the conjunction u after *dānistan* and before *aṣālat*.

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is liable to hundreds of molestations, and granting that these molestations (*i.e.*, temptations) be avoided, outward associations and superficial relationships do not result in the attainment of the desired object. Inward links and intrinsic purity of soul are required in order that a true test may be applied by the touchstone of sincerity. How many members of the world's noble families come to the sublime court and make pretensions to loyalty and sincerity! But as the dust of the dominion-guarding threshold is a touchstone for human gems, their merits and demerits are soon revealed, and meet with their fitting recompense. Those who were pure within, and were endowed with real nobility, rose in rank day by day, and those who made an embroidered robe of outward purity the veil of inward nastiness, and sold barley while passing it off as wheat, were in the end involved in loss and ignominy and became disgraced for ever and ever. Accordingly, the case of M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain, and of hundreds like him, has been a warning to the wise and the reflecting. The relation of a small portion of the history of each in its proper place will open the path of auspiciousness to the generality of mankind.

During the time that the camp was at Jālandhar [1] Kamāl Khān Gakhar, son of Sulṭān Sārang, younger brother of Sulṭān Adam, warmly followed up the old loyalty, and attained the blessing of kissing the threshold. He became the recipient of princely favours, and was included in the list of officers. He did good service in the war with Hēmū and at Mānkot, etc., and became the object of special attentions from H.M. the Shāhinshāh.

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[1] Blochmann 455.

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CHAPTER VIII.

ACCOUNT[1] OF THE DISLOYALTY OF M. SULAIMĀN, HIS SIEGE OF THE FORT OF KABUL, HIS PEACEABLE RETIREMENT, AND VICTORY OF THE IMPERIAL SERVANTS.

During the auspicious time which the sublime army was spending in Jālandhar, news came of the rebellion of M. Sulaimān. Arrangements were made for sending succour. The particulars of this affair are as follows: When the terrible news of the death of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī reached Kabul and Badakhshān, M. Sulaimān and his son M. Ibrāhīm, whether because there is little truth or sincerity in that country, or whether because of their inexperience and ignorance, which degraded them from the rank of self-interest and made them seek their own harm, or because they out of an evil disposition sought their own advantage in the injury of others, or at the instigation of wicked, short-sighted persons who looked to nothing but their own interest, and the prompting of Ḥaram[2] Begum the Mīrzā's wife, without whose concurrence he could not conduct any 23
of his state-business, and whom he, out of weakness (*kūcakdilī*) had made ruler over himself, from exceeding shortness of thought, and heedless of the fact that the throne of the Caliphate had received

[1] The account of the siege of Kabul seems to be taken chiefly from Bāyāzīd cf. 81 *et seq.* He was in Kabul at that time and took an active part in defending the fort, and was wounded by an arrow. See J.A.S.B. for 1898, Part I, p. 296. Bāyāzīd describes the arrangements made for mentioning Sulaimān's name in the Friday prayers. He says 85*b*. that the arrangement was that Sulaimān's Imām should offer up the prayers in the Madrissa of Mulla 'Abdu-l-Khāliq. He then describes how the prayers were offered up with the usual names for Akbar, the gate being kept shut, and Sulaimān's Imām not being admitted until they were over, p. 86*b*.

[2] Blochmann 312 calls her Khurram Begum. In. A.N. III. 149 her father is called Sulṭān Wais, of Kūlāb. There is a good deal about her in the third volume. See also Bāyāzīd and Gulbadan. Bāyāz-īd describes how she came to Kabul after quarrelling with her husband, and intended to go to India, and how Mun'im induced her to return.

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celestial elevation by the sacred accession, departed from their hereditary obedience and dutifulness to H.M. the Shāhinshāh, whose service is productive of greatness, and raised the head of rebellion. M. Sulaimān looked to the confusion of the time and to the apparent immaturity of the Khedive of the world, which was but a veil of world-adorning beauty, and laid claim to sovereignty. At a time which was the season for showing gratitude and for requiting favours, *viz.*, the education and regard which had been bestowed on him by H.M. Getī Sitānī Firdūs Makānī and H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī, by performing good service and thereby winning the praise of mortals, and by proffering with a good intention and a firm resolve, the jewel of his fidelity to be tested by acute assayers, attaining to success, spiritual and temporal, he, from an evil nature and want of decency, passed beyond the omissions of ingrates, and washed the glorious rolls in the waters of sin and then flung them on the earth of rebellion.[1] He changed duties (*ḥaqūq*) into disobediences (*'aqūq*) and took the path of shamelessness. He gathered together his dispersed troops from the hill-country of Badakhshān and held out to his ungrateful heart the prospect of an attack upon Kābul.

Ḥaram Begum was the daughter of Mīr Wais Beg, and mother of M. Ibrāhīm, and was known by the name of Walī N'iamat (lady of beneficence). In early days, when H.M. Jahānbāni was meditating an expedition to India, she had come on a visit of condolence for the death of M. Hindāl in order that she might sympathise with the chaste ladies Gulcahra Begum and Gulbadan Begum who were the sisters of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī. This was the Begum's ostensible design, but in reality her motive was a quarrel with her husband and son which had led her to leave them and to determine on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The cause of the disagreement was that as the Begum by her ability and planning managed the political and financial affairs of Badakhshān, and exercised full powers in favouring one part and depressing another, envious and narrow-minded people wickedly said improper things about her to M. Ibrāhīm and so made him displeased with her. So far did this go that that simpleton of a Turk lost his self-control and got hold by a stratagem of Ḥaidar Beg, the Begum's younger brother, and about whom men had their

[1] See supra p. 270.

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suspicions[1]; and put him to death. The Begum was displeased at this and came to Kabul. For some time she was in attendance on the chaste ladies. After that, the Mīrzās (father and son) repented of what they had done, and sent men and induced the Begum to return. She in her little sense, and evil soul, had seen the outward state of Kabul, and resolved to get possession of it. She represented this to M. Sulaimān as an easy undertaking, but the prestige of H.M. Jahānbānī made success impossible to those short-sighted wicked 24
people.

When the unavoidable event (Humāyūn's death) occurred this Wali N'iamat Kāfir-N'iamat (this so-called benefactress, but really forgetter of benefits) became in a roadless country the guide in paths of destruction. When Mun'im Khān learned the state of the case, he wisely did not engage in battle, but set himself to putting the fort in order, rebuilt what was broken, and repaired the bastions and bulwarks. He reported the matter to the world-protecting Court before the seditious Mīrzā could stir up the dust of strife in Kabul. The Mīrzā, looking with his shallow vision to his own numbers and the paucity of the imperial servants, went on, march by march, and arrived at Kabul in the beginning of the first Divine Year, that is, in the middle of spring, and besieged it. In the first encounter he showed his impetuousity and contentiousness and was prominent in fighting. There was a hot fight between the loyal Kabulis and the bold Badakhshīs. The fire of attack and defence burst forth. Each day the braves on the side of M. Sulaimān advanced to the foot of the fort and gave proof of courage, and made attacks on the gates. The loyal men of Kabul made every exertion to defend the fort, and disposed of those unmeasured assailants by firing on them with cannon and muskets from the walls. Gallant and active men also came out of the fort and fought courageously. As these experienced warriors were upheld by the eternal fortune of H.M. the Shāhinshāh, they were victorious in spite of superior numbers, and were never under any apprehensions.

When the state of the case became known from Mun'im Khān's representations, attention was given to sending an army. Many

[1] Perhaps the meaning is that they suspected his being really the brother of Ḥaram, for it appears from A.N. III. 149-150 that they induced Ibrāhīm to believe that there was a criminal intimacy between the two.

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represented that the force which had left to bring away the chaste ladies was sufficient for the purpose, and before H.M., on account of sundry necessary matters in India, had arranged about sending help, Kabul and the Kabulis were by God's help delivered from the Mīrzā's troubling. Though the troops who had gone to bring away the chaste ladies did not take part in the affair, yet when they arrived at the Indus, and it became known in Kabul that troops were coming from India the courage of the besieged was heightened, and the opponents were disconcerted. The Mīrzā had recourse to wiles and stratagems, and sent as his ambassador Qāẓī Khān[1] Badakhshī, who was one of his special intimates, and was distinguished by his knowledge and wisdom, and who by his good fortune and innate auspici-
25 ousness spent the last part of his life in the service of H.M. the Shāhinshāh and became one of the constant attendants on the threshold of fortune. A short account of this will be given in its proper place. He used his talents on this occasion, but was not successful. Mun'im Khān knowing that the proper course was to keep him under surveillance did not give him leave to depart. He showed him great kindness and managed that he should get the impression that there was abundance of food and plenty of heartiness in the garrison. So well did he contrive that in spite of total want of stores this clear-sighted ambassador became convinced, contrary to the fact, that there was complete arrangement and plenty of provisions. By this far-seeing plan he carried out an excellent work. After some time Mun'im Khān dismissed the envoy and sent this message: "God be praised that I am upheld by such a Lord of the Age, and that there are so many brave and loyal men within the fort that I could sally out and give battle. But I am not going to let caution slip. Hundreds of thanks for this that there are provisions and stores for the garrison which will last for years, and that besides this the army of India, which is more numerous than ants or locusts, will soon arrive with a complete equipment. Give up this malign design, and do not make yourself one to be pointed at by high and low as an ingrate, nor put the stain of an evil name on the cheek of good fortune. You could not seduce mere men of courage by promises, how then could you succeed with this noble band who by help of good fortune have left

[1] Blochmann 440. Bāyāzīd calls him Qāẓi Nizām.

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behind this lowest of stages, and attained to the heaven of sincerity? How can you move from their place by deception and deceit this hallowed body of men?"

The Mīrzā who had vain desires in his head from the hope of the inhabitants becoming unfaithful, and of the garrison's want of supplies, at once fell into despair and sent the Qāẓī Khān back to the fort. As the latter had ascertained the distress of the populace from the long siege he knocked at the door of peace with onerous conditions. Mun'im Khān, whose heart had been set on being killed, took pity on himself and on the straits of the besieged and agreed to a peace. As the envoy was a capable man he made it the first condition of peace that the *Khuṭba* should be recited in the name of that disgrace to his name, that feeble of understanding, that disrespectful and incapable one! Here Mun'im Khān left the path of truth according to the plotting of sincerity-professing hypocrites and agreed to such an indignity. The next condition was that the other side of the Bārān should belong to Badakhshān, and be the property of the Mīrza. Mun'im Khān agreed to this outwardly, not inwardly, and gave permission to have the *Khuṭba* recited in the manner that had been agreed upon, in one of the mosques, and in the presence of a few persons. The Mīrzā left Muqdim Beg at the river Barān to protect the territory in question and returned to Badakhshān. The **26** return of the Mīrzā and the ousting of Muqdim Beg, were one and the same thing. Owing to the loyalty of right-thinking servants Kabul was freed from the claws of so many ungrateful men, and received order again from the justice of Mun'im Khān. The ungrateful Mīrza went off to Badakhshān after having prepared the leaven of his own destruction.

Good God! the victorious imperial servants who had the charge of the Shāhinshāh's affairs, whether on account of the attractions of India, or from other worthless motives, did not chastise M. Sulaimān. But the eternal good fortune which waited on the stirrup of H.M. the Shāhinshāh took measures for giving him the recompense of his disrespect. Accordingly, defeats[1] and disasters befell the Mīrzā, stage by stage, and God the Avenger brought the overthrown Mīrzā,

1 M. Sulaimān lost his son in an expedition against Balkh, and eventually had to fly from Badakhshān and take refuge with Akbar. See infra, text III. 148 *et seq.*

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who had withdrawn his head from obedience to his liege lord, to kiss the threshold of the mankind-protecting Court. Though the ostensible managers of imperial affairs did not take steps to punish the Mīrzā, the real Stewards were at work and put his punishment into his bosom. This will be recounted in its proper place.

At length, when the Kabulīs, by being under the Divine protection, were released from the calamities caused by wicked men, it was decided that the litters of the chaste ladies, H.H. Miriam Makānī, Gulbadan Begum and others should, in accordance with the sacred directions, proceed to India. They all happily and auspiciously joined H.M. the Shāhinshāh and prostrated themselves in thanks to God for temporal and spiritual favours. A brief account of their journey and adventures will be given hereafter. (See infra, p. 54, of text).

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CHAPTER IX.

THE ARRIVAL OF NEWS OF THE SEDITION-MONGERING OF HEMŪ, AND THE MARCH OF THE ARMY OF FORTUNE TO QUELL THE STRIFE OF THAT EVILLY-ENDING MISCREANT.

As yet the arranging mind was not at rest about the doings of Iskandar, and it was watching the commotion at Kabul, when news came to Jālandhar on 31 Mihr, divine month—8 Zi-Ḥajja (13th October, 1556), of the arrival of Hemū, in whose brain the ambition of sovereignty was stirring, and of whom some account has been already given; of his engaging in battle with the great officers, of their want of steadiness, and of his having taken possession of Delhi. The short account of these events is as follows: Battles took place between Hemū and Ibrāhīm, who was a claimant for the Sultanate, and the former was always victorious. Sulṭān Muḥammad, who had 27
assumed the kingly title in Bengal, was also defeated, and was made to tread the land of annihilation. Hemū also engaged in conflicts with Tāj Kararānī and Rukn Khān Nūḥānī and defeated them. He fought two and twenty battles with the opponents of Mubāriz Khān, and was victorious in all of them. His victories impressed him with evil ideas, and he did not perceive that the victory of a futile person over one more futile than himself is no reason for being bold enough to tilt against a mountain of iron. At the time when H.M. Jahānbānī, with the assistance of the armies of God, conquered India, Hemū was otherwise engaged, and his vain imaginings did not show themselves. Now that the *masnad* of the Caliphate was resplendent from the personality of H.M. the Shāhinshāh, he turned his attention from his rivals and, with a large force of men and war-elephants from the eastern districts, marched towards Delhi, leaving Mubāriz Khān, of whom some account has been already given, in Cunār. The officers who had been deputed to those provinces assembled at Delhi. Tardī Beg Khān became the arranger of the different bodies, and made preparations for giving battle. He heartened every man by language which might give comfort to the disconcerted. Many brave and

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zealous men came in from the districts, but 'Ali Qulī Shaibānī, who was engaged in Sambal in putting down some despicable Afghans, could not join the imperial servants.

The short account of this is that Shādī Khān, one of the chief officers of Mubāriz Khān, had many *parganas* of Sarkār Sambal in his possession. 'Alī Qulī Khan proceeded this year, which was the beginning of the Divine Era—may it for ever be conjoined with auspiciousness!—to put him down. He sent before himself several of his own officers such as Muḥabbat Khān, Laṭīf Khān, and Ghīāṣu-d-dīn, in order that they should cross the Ruhab[1] and wait for his arrival. The wine of courage withheld this force from plan and precaution, which are the first stage of prudence. Shādī Khān suddenly fell upon them and routed them. These incapable ones fought without method and let slip the reins of steadiness. Laṭīf Khān and a number of others were drowned. 'Alī Qulī Khān on hearing of this misfortune proceeded with a body of his troops, with whom were Mahdī Qāsim Khān, Bābā S'aīd Qibcāq, and Muḥammad
28 Amīn Dīwāna, to attack Shādī Khān. On the morning of the day that he had determined on crossing the river, a letter arrived from Tardī Beg Khān stating that Hemū was coming with large preparation, that the crushing of that wretch was the most important matter, and that he should come immediately. 'Alī Qulī Khān withdrew his hand from his enterprise and marched towards Delhi, but before he arrived, the officers had fought and lost a great battle, and Delhi, the capital of India, had fallen into Hemū's hands, thus furnishing materials for his intoxication, and for the increase of his arrogance. This happened by fate for purposes known to God alone, or it was brought about by evil designs on the part of Maulānā Pīr Muḥd. Shirwānī. Away! Away! the cause rather was that the vaunting, self-praising officers might not lay the Lord of the earth under any obligation; or rather it was to show the supreme power of this Lord of the throne of fortune, and that the new conquest of India might be due to the arm of him who was helped by heaven.

The brief account of this instructive disaster is as follows: The

[1] Perhaps the Rahap of Bābar's Memoirs, Erskine 313. It is spelt Rahap in the Turkī, and also in the Bombay edition of the Persian. It is also spelt Rahat. It cannot be the Rāptī, as Erskine supposes, and is apparently the Rām Ganga, Elliott I. 49.

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victories of this wretch (Hemū) over the opponents of Mubāriz Khān —those giddy ones of the baiting place of destruction—had led him into evil imaginings, and when the news of the unavoidable event of H.M. Jahanbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī's death reached the provinces, he, out of short-sightedness, took into consideration the confusion of the time and had the audacity to determine that he would give battle to the sublime army of H.M. the Shāhinshāh, for whom the Divine aid is security. That shallow superficialist made the youthful years of the great one, over whose might a luminous veil had been cast, a cause of increasing his courage. The abundant wealth, and the numbers of soldiers and munitions of war, which had been left by so many rulers of India, added to his boldness and daring, as also did the evacuation by victorious officers of the cities and towns of the dominions. At length he set off on his evil enterprise with 50,000 cavalry, 1,000 elephants, 51 cannon, and 500 falconets.

Tardī Beg Khān prepared the materials of resistance in Delhi, and having called together the officers who had come in from their posts, made arrangements for battle. He both made his own heart strong in courage, and heartened those who were deficient. At length on 24 Mihr, Divine month, of the first year, corresponding to Tuesday 1 Ẕīḥajja 963, (6th October, 1556), Hemū the wretch arrived near Delhi with all his equipments and encamped in Taghlaqābād; the officers assembled and deliberated. Many of the brave men from 29
motives of prudence, and some out of cowardice, were not willing to fight. They said that until the Shāhinshāh's army arrived they should by every possible means strengthen the fort and should seek an opportunity of making a night attack. Some recommended waiting till the arrival of 'Alī Qulī Khān and the officers of that country (Sambal). Some heroes who would give their lives for fame, and to whose loyal minds the battlefield was more attractive than the banquet-hall, were saying, "Let us regard the opportunity as a boon and engage."

Verse.

Fortune cries "quits" to him
Who does to-day's work to-morrow.

At length they all decided upon giving battle, and all girded up the loins of courage. On the day of Ārād 25 Mihr, Divine month, corresponding to 2 Ẕīḥajja, (7th October, 1556), both armies drew up.

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The centre was commanded by Tardī Beg Khān, Afẓal Khān, Ashraf Khān, and Maulānā Pīr Muḥd. Shirwānī, who had come there as Bairām Khān's agent to look after the affairs of the imperial servants, or with malicious intent and in order to confound Tardī Beg Khān's prosperity, were also in the centre. Ḥaidar Muḥd. Khān, Qāsim Makhliṣ, Ḥaidar Bakhshī, 'Alī Dost Khān Bārbegī, and a number of others were on the right wing, and Iskandar Khān and another body were on the left wing. 'Abdullah Uzbeg, Qīyā Khān, L'al Khān and a number of others formed the vanguard. On the side of the enemy also the troops were drawn up in martial style, and they came forward and made manful endeavours. The heroes on both sides cast the thought of life from their hearts, and did great deeds. The intrepid spirits of the vanguard and left wing of the army of fortune displayed valour, and drove off before them the vanguard and right wing of the enemy, and followed in pursuit of them. Their deeds and valour were such that the souls of Rustam and Isfandīyār sang their praises, and that the voice of the Age and of mankind extolled them a thousand times. Four hundred noted elephants were among the spoil, and Rai Ḥusain Jalwānī,[1] a leading man among the enemy, was overwhelmed in the ocean of annihilation. More than three thousand of the ill-fated foe descended in the fight to the dust of non-existence.

The proud Hemū, who joined extreme daring to craft was ever following feline stratagems. He collected 300 chosen elephants and a body of life-sacrificing men, and separated them from the rest of
30 his army and awaited the moment for flight or for fight. At the time when the victorious army had gained such an advantage and were pursuing the fugitives, and while a body of them was busied in plundering and in carrying off the spoil, Tardī Beg Khān, who held the post[2] of honour on this field of bravery, was standing with a small force contemplating the scene. The cunning Hemū saw his opportunity and attacked them. The comrades of Khwājah[3] Sulṭān 'Ali, who had the title of Afzal Khān, and of Mīr Munshī, who was called Ashraf[4] Khān, and a number of others—altogether they[5] were but

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[1] Of Jalaun, a district in the Jhānsī division.

[2] *Basāṭārāī.* Apparently this only means that he was the general in command.

[3] Blochmann 376.

[4] Apparently he only got this title afterwards.

[5] The MSS. are not uniform here. Among other differences, instead of

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few—did not behave with courage; and Maulānā Pīr Muḥammad Shirwānī [1] also chose flight in order to ruin the Commander-in-chief-ship of Tardī Beg Khān. Tardī Beg Khān, the time of whose retribution for past disloyalty was near at hand, reckoned his life as dear, and chose the ignominy of flight. Thus when things were so far advanced, and such a victory had displayed her countenance, there came a catastrophe.

Whoever shall, out of a disordered intellect, enter upon such a no-thoroughfare (*berāh*), abandons his [2] own interest—let alone sincerity and loyalty—and shows a disregard for his own reputation, which substantially consists in guarding his master's sovereignty. Assuredly, there is no need for me to say that in this crisis his blood was spilt and that his honour was spilt. The fate of this lover of his life became a warning to the wise. I need not mention magnanimity in connection with this matter. Why should I search for that rare and priceless jewel in dust-bins? I'm not so inexperienced! But this I can say; it has been proved by a succession of utterances by sages, and is abundantly clear, that a runaway receives more wounds than the brave man who endures the stress of battle, and that lovers of their lives and fliers from death are trampled upon by the forces of destruction sooner than those who covet death and are intrepid in fight. If a man will exercise a little moderation, and not show depression in time of adversity, or intoxication in time of prosperity, he will never see an evil day. A number of the reckoners up of registers of deeds think that Tardī Beg Khān's coming to such disgrace is a kind of expiation for the disloyalty which he showed towards H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī in the beginning of the journey to Persia. Go to, could this be an expiation for disloyalty? And can a disgrace such as this be placed in the balance of justice as a counterpoise to the shameful act? Because he saw the Lord of the Age, who had been brought for the perfecting of the visible and invisible, in the disguise of boyhood, and did not pay regard to him,

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the *hama kas* of the text we have *ham kas*. Probably the correct reading is that of the I.O. MSS. which have *ham* twice over, the meaning being that the comrades were neither numerous nor courageous.

[1] M'utamid Khān says that he has heard from trustworthy people that Pīr Muḥammad was largely responsible for Tardī Beg's defeat.

[2] *M'uāmla-i-swadāgarāna az das dihad.* Gives up his trade

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and wanted to show off his own greatness, the world-adorning God inflicted such punishment on this self-approver. Alas! Alas! What
31 short-sightedness this was! Or rather the stewards of fate increased the arrogance and intoxication of Hemū in order to show the majesty of the Shāhinshāh, so that that self-conceited self-worshipper appeared great in the eyes of the short-sighted, of whom the world is full. Afterwards he was seized and cast down to the ground of overthrowal so that his disgrace might become collyrium to the eyes of the short-sighted, and that by drawing somewhat nigh to the glory of the Lord of the Age, they might be more careful to obey his commands, which compose the arrangements of the visible and invisible.

In fine, Hemū, who was seeing his own large army thrown into confusion and scattered, regarded this strange event (Tardī Beg's flight) as a trick of his enemy, and did not pursue Tardī Beg Khān, but proudly drew up his forces on the very field of battle. The rank-breaking heroes who had followed the fugitives were amazed when they returned, and hastened off in the same direction as Tardī Beg Khān. After this Hemū entered Delhi and increased his arrogance, so that his intoxication became madness.

When this unnatural occurrence was made known to the sublime Court, H.M. the Shāhinshāh in the strength of his far-seeing wisdom was not affected by it, and issued orders to the embroiderers of honour's carpet and the battle-field-adorners, that they should set forth in a propitious hour and chastise that arrogant blockhead. He lighted up the face of royal majesty with the colouring of submission and surrender to the Divine will, and cast the shadow of favour on the management of the affairs of world-government. As his mind was not satisfied about the matter of Sikandar, he left a force under the charge of Khīzr Khwāja Khān, who belonged to the race of the rulers of Moghulistān, and who having been exalted by an alliance,[1] with the sublime family, was highly honoured among the Amīrs, to put order into the distracted affairs of the Punjab and to quell the disturbances caused by Sikandar. He then addressed himself to the overthrowal of Hemū.

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[1] He had married Gulbadan Begum, half-sister of Humāyūn. He is, I think, the Khizr K. Sulṭān, son of Aiman K. of T. Rashīdī, Elias and Ross 401. The T. Akbarī and Khāfī Khān describe him as belonging to the Kāshghar family.

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As the festival of the 'Īd Qūrbān was near at hand, the preparations for holding it were made, and in an auspicious hour on the day of Bahman 2 Ābān, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday 10, Ẕī-l-ḥajja, which was the 'Īd Qūrbān, there was an assemblage in the 'Īdgāh, and after the rites of the feast had been performed, H.M. took up his quarters there. An order (*firmān*) was addressed to Tardī Beg Khān, and the other officers, directing them to keep up their hearts and to stand firm. The gist of it was that they should not despair on account of an occurrence which, in accordance with the Divine decree, had emerged into light from the chamber of secrecy; that the Divine Artificer of wonders uses a variety of colours; and that they should, as a matter of extreme caution, assemble at the town of Thānesar and there await the arrival of the imperial army. Next day he moved from there under the guidance of Divine wisdom and on Ābān the 10th of Ābān, the Divine month, corresponding to Friday the 18th Ẕīḥajja encamped at Sahrind. The defeated officers and 32
'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī had come to the neighbourhood of Sihrind before the receipt of the imperial orders, and after paying their homage were favourably dealt with.

One of the occurrences of this time was Bairām Khān's putting Tardī Beg Khān to death. The account of this affair is as follows: Bairām Khān recognised Tardī Beg Khān as his rival and was always apprehensive of him. Tardī Beg too regarded himself as leader of the army and was lying in wait for an opportunity to overthrow Bairām Khān. Each, too regarded points of bigotry as of the essence of religion, and made them additional reasons for watching for opportunities to ruin one another. In spite of such mutual antagonism, the origin of which was want of understanding and envy, they from motives of feigning and deception stood in the relation of *tūqān* [1] to one another, and *tūqān* means in Turkī brother (*hamzād*). Bairām Khān thought that this occasion, when Tardī Beg Khān was defeated and ashamed, was opportune, and so renewed his friendship and affection and brought him to his house through the exertions of Maulānā Pīr

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1 توغقان and توقان pronounced *tiq-qan* is given in Shaw's Turkī Dict. as meaning brothers and sisters. According to Mūt'amid Khān Bairām and Tardī Beg called one another *tūqān*, *i.e.*, brother. Badaunī says that Bairām called Tardī Beg *tūqān*, meaning elder brother.

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Muḥammad Khān. Alleging a purpose of[1] purification (*ṭahārat*), he left him in his pavilion and went out, and his myrmidons entered and put Tardī Beg to death.[2] Khwāja Sulṭān Ālī[3] and the Mīr Munshī,[4] who were suspected of treachery and privity, were imprisoned along with Khanjar Beg[5] who was nearly related to Tardī Beg. H.M. the Shāhinshāh from policy and wisdom had ostensibly withdrawn himself from the management of affairs and was engaged in hunting. Or his motive was to screen himself for a time from the evil thoughts of the short-sighted, and to observe the degrees of good service, and the stages of fidelity in men, and to fix them in his acute mind, and that the stratagems of the evil-minded might become clear to his heart without the intervention of others. On the very day that this thing occurred he, according to his usual custom, was enjoying the pastime of hawking in the pleasant plains of Sihrind.

When he heard the facts he, out of his plenitude of wisdom, expressed no astonishment. He left the retribution to God, and uncomplainingly contemplated the decrees of Providence. When he returned in the evening from the hunting-ground, the Khān-Khānān sent Maulānā Pīr Muḥammad Shirwānī to him and represented that "the cause of his presumption was solely his devotion to the throne. Tardī Beg Khān had knowingly and treacherously elected in this battle the ignominy of flight. His insincerity and hypocrisy were
33 known to all, for from first to last he had behaved badly. If such offences were passed over, the enterprises which H.M. had in view would not be accomplished. He was much ashamed of his presumption in not taking permission. The cause of this daring was that H.M. was a mine of kindness, and a fountain of benevolence. Certainly he would not have agreed to his (Tardī Beg) being killed. Under these circumstances if an order forbidding the deed had come from H.M., it would have been presumptuous beyond all bounds to

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[1] Badaunī says Bairām went out at time of evening prayers on the pretence of *ṭahārat* (ablution? *Wazū* (?) before prayers?)

[2] Ferishta says that he has heard from good authority that the execution of Tardī Beg was necessary, as otherwise the catastrophe of Humāyūn's overthrow by Sher Khān would have happened over again.

[3] Blochmann 376.

[4] Blochmann 389.

[5] Blochmann 533, and T. Akbari, Lucknow ed., 387. He was famed for his knowledge of music.

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act in opposition to it, while to obey the order, would have caused disorder in the country, and sedition in the army. He hoped that he would approve of him with the glance of pardon so that other evil-doers might take warning." The lord of the world, visible and invisible, graciously received Bairām Khān's messenger and accepted the excuses of the Khān-Khanān. He soothed him by marks of favour and confidence, and addressed himself to the extirpation of contention.

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CHAPTER X.

DETACHMENT OF VICTORIOUS TROOPS FROM THE ARMY OF H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH BY WAY OF AN ADVANCED FORCE.

When the world-adorning standards cast the rays of victory on the plain of Sarai Karūnda (?),[1] an order was issued that a distinguished force composed of devoted heroes should be sent in advance of the main army. Accordingly Iskandar Khān Uzbeg, 'Abdullah Khān Uzbeg, 'Alī Qulī Khān Andarābī Ḥaidar Muḥammad Ākhta begī, Muḥammad Khān Jalāīr, M. Qulī Cūlī, L'al Khān Badakhshī, Majnūn Khān Qāqshal, and many brave men marched under the leadership of Āli Qulī Khān Shaibānī. Bairām Khān sent with them his own followers, Ḥusain Qulī Beg, son of Walī Beg, Shāh Qulī Maḥram, Mīr Muḥammad Qāsim of Nīshāpūr, Saiyid Maḥmūd Bārhā, and Auzān Bahādur, together with other zealous and experienced soldiers, that they might be the foremost of the advanced guard (*harāwal-i-manqulā*), might put warmth into the crisis of courage and self-sacrifice, and might test each other's skill and valour. Those lucky ones took charge of the marshalling of the troops, and distributed them, in accord with the rules of victory and the code of strategy, into right[2] and left wing, centre and vanguard, rear-guard, reserve,[2] flank, archers (*ūqcī*), and altamsh,[2] and made each part illustrious by the splendour of devoted ability and sincerity,

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[1] There are various readings, one being Kaharūnda, but I cannot identify them. Ferishta calls the place Naushahra which is probably the Nawashahr of the I.G. X. 254. Apparently the place is identical with the Kaharmanda of Badāunī II. 15, which he says is now a famous Serai, and possibly the place meant by both passages is the Kharkhūda of the Āīn, Jarrett II. 104 and 287, see text I., pp. 368 and 520, and the I.G. VIII. 168. It belonged to the Sarkār of Delhi and is now in the Rohtak district. Only as Akbar marched to Pānīpat from Jālandhar by way of Karnāl, any place in Rohtak seems too far south. The place is called Serai Kharūnda in the Khūlāṣat-Tawārīkh.

[2] These military terms are Turkish, and are not all given in our dictionaries. See Bābar's Memoirs, 227 and 306. *Ṭarḥ* however is Arabic, and

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and strengthened the victorious troops by the gleaming swords of veteran lovers of battle.

Inasmuch as Trust in God (*lit.* in the foundation of fortune) is a profound mental habit, and is for supreme lords the best vanguard [1] of victory, the Earth's Khedive, after making the subsidiary arrangements, applied his mind to supplicating God, the Giver of life, the accomplisher of desires, the executor of causes; and with a tranquil 34
mind, an open brow, a prayerful heart, a just intent, a right principle, a wide capacity, a strong hand, a firm foot, a high spirit, a lofty soul, a right plan, a shining countenance, and a smiling lip placed the foot of dominion in the stirrup of fortune and marched forward. At this season of youth and of natural impetuosity, this great Prince ever acted with far-sightedness and with submission to Reason the adorner of power, and by restraining himself within the veil of indifference, and under the screen of tender age, guarded the world-adorning beauty of his sovereignty. Without using the instrumentality of messages and messengers, and the elaborated speeches of interested meddlers, he continued to occupy himself in testing the loyal and true, and while making over the conduct of affairs to the lovers [2] thereof, was instant in supplication at the threshold of the Giver of life, and Creator of wisdom, knowing that the issue of events, spiritual or temporal, was with the incomparable Deity. The conventionally wise, and those who worshipped secondary causes, but ignored the First Cause, could not apprehend the exceeding greatness of wisdom of this sitter on the throne of the Caliphate, nor the sublime eminence of this Elect of two worlds, but thought themselves to be among the efficient causes—What shall I say ?—to be the real masters in sovereignty's workshop! But the achievements of this unique one of the True God became revealed day by day, and the nature of those imbecile truth-missers underwent the test for gilded copper, and departed into the ravine of darkness, as will become

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means reserve. Erskine spells it tarakh. Altamsh means sixty and is applied to a force placed between the vanguard and the main body. See Badāūnī, Lowe 197 note.

[1] *Ṭal'aāt.* There is an allusion here to the advanced guard described at the beginning of the chapter. That was a good guard, but trust in God is a better. The passage is tortuous and I am not sure if I have translated it correctly.

[2] *'Āshiqān.* One MS. reads *Mut'allaqān*, dependants.

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apparent to the acute and the reflective from this truthful narrative.

The sum[1] of the matter is: the[2] Light-Increaser of Creation's workshop commits to the keeping of His own sublime Grace, the charge of the affairs, whether in mass or in detail, of a nursling of light who shall have obtained deliverance from the darkness of creature-worship and have made his heart radiant by the splendour of the worship of God. He (that is to say, the Deity) does not distress him by narrowing his soul within external affairs, and He incorporates his aspirations with others which have not passed into the scope of his spiritual mind, and which cannot be comprehended by the world-spirit, and places them in the bosom of his Fortune. And having enthroned him in the kingdoms of the visible and invisible He makes him leader of armies temporal and spiritual. Every base and perverse one, whose fortune's flame has been extinguished by the winds of adversity, has an intellectual veil let down in front of his eyes of vision, and comes out into the darkness of denial, and the obscurity of opposition, and sinks into the slough of ruin by his own act. Accordingly the glorious status of H.M. the Shāhinshāh has become impressed in thousands and thousands of instances on the minds of the recalcitrants of the desert of wandering, who once had connexion with the dominion which is conjoined with eternity. These will be referred to in their proper place.

And let a little of the loss that befell M. Sulaimān who came with 10,000 men to conquer Kabul, and which was guarded, through
35 the assistance of H.M. the Shāhinshāh's good genius, by Mun'im Khān, the Khān-Khānān with a small force, be known to the prudent, so that (it may be seen that) just as the blessings of the spiritual and temporal lord extend far, so it may be conjectured what will be the final condition of those nearly[2] placed miserable ones who out of an evil fate strive with the spirit of his Majesty and make war upon him. The fate of Hemū which occurred in the beginning of the career (of Akbar) is a whip of warning to the arrogant and self-willed.

At this time there was great scarcity in the cities and villages

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[1] This, too, is an obscure passage.

[2] Meaning that as the remote Mun'im was helped so was the nearly related Sulaimān punished.

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of India, and there was a terrible famine[1] in many parts, and especially in the province of Delhi. Though they were finding signs of gold, they could see no trace of corn. Men took to eating one another; some would join together and carry off a solitary man, and make him their food. Though this recompense of men's acts lasted for two years, the intense distress was for one year. Apparently it was the pain of the past coming out in evidence so that by the blessings of the holy accession to the throne of the Caliphate, the inequalities of the time, and the crookedness of the world might all at once be removed.

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[1] A.F. was an eye-witness of this famine, for he was then in his fifth year and living at Agra. See Āīn, text II. 424 and Jarrett III. 425, where he gives several details. The famine is also described by Badāūnī who says that he saw with his own eyes men eating one another. He gives the chronogram Khashm Yazd, God's Wrath. This yields 962, and as A.F. says that the famine lasted two years, it apparently prevailed during 962 and 963. See *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January 1901, pp. 29, 30, and *id.* for July 1901, p. 193.

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CHAPTER XI.

VICTORY OF H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S ARMY IN THE BATTLE WITH HEMŪ, HIS CAPTURE, AND HIS UNDERGOING CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

Great God! How varied are the decrees of fate, and how multiplex the marks of destiny! A blade of grass cannot spring from the ground without some designs being involved in it, nor a leaf stir on a tree without sundry purposes being infolded therein! How then can one estimate the mysteries and consequences which lie hid under events which are responsible for a movement of a universe? Among such was this battle-garbed banquet[1] (*bazm-i-razmnamā*) which was among the great causes of external order, and also the best means of guidance for those who had lost their way in the wilderness of error and destruction. The account of this great boon is as follows: The ill-fated Hemū was continually giving way to pride and arrogance, owing to his accumulation of incitements to infatuation, such as have already been briefly described. Especially was the Indian army encouraged by the catastrophe of Tardī Khān, and it was emboldened to contend with the hosts of Fortune. High and low were filled with pride and indulged in seditious imaginings.

When the news of the march of the standards of Fortune were spread throughout the hostile army, Hemū sent his park of artillery, great both in quality and in quantity, in advance of himself, and under the charge of Mubārak Khān and Bahādur Khān, who were chief officers of his, to Panipat, which is nearly thirty[2] kos from Delhi,
36 and set about preparing for battle. It had not occurred to him that the victory-begotten troops would move with celerity. When the lion-hearted men of the advanced guard heard of the arrival of the artillery at that town, they equipped a force composed of active and battle-loving soldiers, such as L'al Khān Badakhshī, M. Qulī Uzbeg, and Samānjī[3] Khān and sent them forward to make an attack. When

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[1] A.F. means that the battle with Hemū was really a festival, on account of its success.

[2] It is 53 m. N. Delhi, and now a railway station.

[3] Blochmann, 416. Apparently he

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this force wrote reporting the strength of the enemy, 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī joined the division, and the masterful ghāzīs, who were backed by the Shāhinshāh's Fortune, added feline skill to the deeds of tigers. It may be conjectured what deeds were done by tigers when thus supported! In fine, the artillery was captured, and the advanced guard of the enemy fled without fighting. When the moribund Hemū heard of this, he arrayed his army in three divisions. The right wing was commanded by Shādī Khān Kākar,[1] the left wing by Hemu's sister's son Ramya, who was distinguished for bravery, and he himself marched forward with consummate pride and great celerity. He took with him the mountain-like and dragon-mouthed elephants, which had been collected by so many Indian rulers, and which by Heaven's decree and for a warning to the superficial and the short-sighted had been brought together for this alien in form and substance. Among them were 500 palmary (*sira*) elephants, each of them a paragon for[2] swiftness and dexterity. In might and courage they were exemplars, and the running of those active athletes could not be called running, for though the race-horses of 'Irāq (Arabia) be swift, they could not outstrip those elephants. In truth each one of those famous elephants was capable of disordering a large force. They were especially calculated to confuse the onset of cavalry, as the horses had never seen such terrific forms. How can the attributes of those rushing mountains be strung on the slender thread of words. They ruined lofty buildings by shaking them, and sportively uprooted strong trees. In the hour of battle and contest they lifted up man and horse and flung them into the air.

Verse.

They advance at a gentle pace, but when they encounter,
The strong are as powdered antimony under their feet.

How shall the multitude[3] of his army be described?
The brief account is that he marched in excellent order with

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is the Samānjī Khān who was son of Calmak Beg.

[1] An Afghan tribe; see Bellew, the races of Afghanistan 91.

[2] I think the *iẓāfat* after kārnāma is wrong. One MS. has a conjunction after this word.

[3] The text wrongly has *sipāhī* for *sīāhi*.

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30,000 practised horsemen composed of Rajputs and Afghans who, on many occasions, had by their exploits increased his pride and arrogance. Musketeers and cross-bowmen were placed on the mountain-backs of those enormous elephants, which were furnished with suits of mail (*kajīm*)[1] and defensive armour, and made ready for war. All the elephants had these war-panoplies, and had their trunks armed with spears and knives, and were intrusted to men of war and to courageous drivers. Every one had his place assigned to him.
37 The elephant Ghālib Jang, which was one of the first-rate elephants, was assigned to Ḥasan Khān Faujdār; the elephant Gaj Bhanwar (?),[2] which was one in a thousand, was assigned to Maikal Khān; the elephant Jor Banyān, which was a powerful one, was given to Ikhtiyār Khān; the elephant Fauj Madār was assigned to Sangrām Khān; and elephant Kalī Beg, which had in many battles been ridden by Hemū himself, was on that day entrusted to a driver of the name of Cāpan. He conciliated these leaders, who were lions of the jungle of war, and were the confidants of Sher Khān and Selīm Khān, and other haughty ones, and made them zealous for battle. But warlike preparations are of use against the superficial, and those who are influenced by material causes. Of what avail are they against a worshipper of God, and an annihilator of ordinary causes, who has been brought for the arrangement and completion of the spiritual and temporal world? All these materials and apparatus became additions to the household of that beautifier of the world of sovereignty. The strange event that immediately followed was a proof of this.

The account of this wonderful fortune is as follows:—

On Dībādīn, the 23rd Ābān, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday, 2 Muḥarram 964 (5 November, 1556), when the advanced guard of the victorious army was encamped on the borders of Pānīpat, scouts came and brought the information that the enemy had arrived, and reported his strength and equipment; and it was made certain that the ill-fated scoundrel was boldly approaching. And before the above-mentioned town was reached, it was currently rumoured that Hemū had sent a large force in advance under the command of

[1] Blochmann, Plate XIV.

[2] Bhūnwar in text. Probably from the Sanscrit Bhanwar, a whirlpool.

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Shādī Khān Kākar. The imperial officers did not make much account of this, and having bound their hearts to the daily increasing fortune, proceeded to face him. When it grew certain that Hemū was coming with all that preparation, inasmuch as they had not looked to their real support (*i.e.*, Akbar), perturbation found its way into the hearts of imperial servants, through the instrumentality of empty-headed babblers, from whom no army is ever free, or rather there are armies of such. The brave men of the army of fortune reported the facts to the victory-protecting court, and made themselves ready for sacrificing their lives. There were 10,000 soldiers in this force, but perhaps only 5,000 were men of battle. When the conquering heroes, and the loyal brave knew that the enemy was at hand they, out of wisdom and a large capacity, which on such occasions are greater incitements to victory than thousands of experienced 38
soldiers, did not regard the apparent numerical superiority of the enemy, and their abundant equipment, for it is the way of the happy-fortuned and auspicious not to put off till the morrow the work of the day. Without a semblance of hesitation or delay they drew up their forces and sought for an opportunity to engage. Sikandar Khān and a number of veterans were on the right. 'Abdullah Khān and another body of devoted men were on the left. The centre received support from the valour of 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī, Ḥusain Qulī Khān, Shāh Qulī Maḥram, and a number of efficient young men formed the vanguard.

Now that the narrative has come so far it is proper to pause and to expatiate somewhat, so that there may be amenity of discourse. O thou who seekest for admonitory words and who watchest the thread of exposition give ear for a time to me!

From the time when H.M. the Shāhinshāh by dint of his world-conquering mind had sent on noted officers in advance, he did not for an instant disregard the arrangement of the main army, and marched forward, stage by stage, to victory. On this most excellent of days, which was the new year's day of victory and rejoicing, he marched from Karnāl, which is ten kos from Pānīpat; and halted at the distance of five kos from the latter town. There was no intelligence in the camp that the enemy had approached the vanguard, and the soldiers had not yet rubbed off the dust of the march or taken breath, when news of the enemy's having reached the van-

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guard, together with other disquieting information was received. It appeared that many had given way, but that fighting was still going on briskly. The order for battle was immediately given to the army, and preparations were made for the march. Commands were issued that the heroes should put their armour on their breasts, and trust in God in their hearts, and follow the victorious stirrup. In a short time they were equipped in a manner worthy of praise from masters of fortune, and began searching for a fight. H.M. with a kingly and tranquil countenance placed the helmet of Divine fortune on his head, and the cuirass of God's protection on his breast, and the foot of dominion in the stirrup of intent. Bairām Khān Khān-Khānān moved in front of the ranks, and round the divisions, and took measures for preserving the rules of war, and the protection of points. On behalf of H.M. the Shāhinshāh he distributed promises of favour and anger, and set in order the banquet of battle. After the troops had been marshalled, and their hearts encouraged, the giver of commands to the world incited them to rapidity and ordered a march. When the moon of the world-conquering
39 banner cast the light of its approach on Pānīpat, the vanguard of victory appeared in front, and heroic men came and communicated the glad tidings of victory, and Shāh Qulī Maḥram brought Hemū a prisoner to his Majesty, and was the recipient of royal favours.

The brief account of this great victory, and grand boon, which was a masterpiece of good fortune, is as follows:—

When Hemū became aware that the standards of glory were far off, and that some of the officers had come in advance, he rapidly marched against them, thinking that if he dispersed these men, who were the choice troops, the rest of his task would be easy. He relied upon the numbers of his experienced troops, and on his many strong elephants, and advanced with immeasurable pride. In the drunkenness of infatuation, he could not understand that he who is supported by the driver of the elephant will assuredly prevail over him whose trust is in the elephant. How then can the superiority of him be denied who is in the confidence of the Creator of the elephant?; and what effect against him can be procured by calling upon elephants for help? However that moribund, ill-fated one carried on hot war, and the brave men on each side made noble endeavours and like

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Ra'd in Naisān,[1] and tigers in a reed-bed (*nayistān*) rushed upon one another with shouts. They served well with courage and devotion, and gathered glory.

Verse.

Two armies so collided
That they struck fire out of water;
You'd say the air was all crimsoned daggers,
Their steel had all become solid rubies.[2]

Though the heroes of the victorious army did not fail in steadiness and devotion, yet the onset of the elephants shook the right and left divisions. Several tigers of battle's jungle, *viz.*, tiger-hunting soldiers, who regarded the dust of the battle-field as the cosmetic of victory's bride, and as the rouge of fortune's cheek, and who sought for the water of life at the spring of the blood-drinking sword, quaffed their fill of desires. Such were Muḥd. Qāsim[3] Khān of Nīshāpūr, Ḥusain Qulī Khān, Shāh Qulī Maḥram, and L'al Khān Badakhshī. When they perceived that the horses would not face the elephants they fetched a circuit[4] and like famished tigers, sought their prey with blood-dripping swords and closed with the foe and overcame

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1 The angel who drives the clouds, and who is also called Bādrān, Hyde De religione Persarum, 179. Naisān corresponded to April and is the period of the spring-rains. Ra'd also means thunder.

2 *Bījāda*, a stone resembling the ruby and having the attracting property of amber.

3 Blochmann, 353 and 603 n.

4 *Kandalān shuda.* A note to the text says the word Kandalān does not occur in the dictionaries, but that it probably means "on foot" and that the author of the Siwānah Akbarī has so rendered it. The word in Turkī signifies a tent. A marginal note to my MS. copy of the Iqbāl-nāma says that the word means to dismount from horseback and to stand firm. Possibly the word is the Turkī كوندلان Kundilān used in Bābar I. 131 and explained in P. de Courteille's dictionary to mean *de travers, égaré.* The expression receives elucidation from Bayāzīd, p. 135*b*. There in describing a fight with the Afghans in Bihar he says that Talabī was retreating before Yūsuf M. Sulṭān and that Jān Muḥammad Bahsūdī and others formed in ambush in the jungle. Talabī attempted to face the Afghans, but was driven back by superior numbers. Then Jān Muḥammad and the others *az kundilān larāmida*, which I imagine means that they fetched a circuit and took the Afghans in flank. The word occurs at A. N. III. 260, top line and is there applied to a flank (?) attack by boats.

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him. They hurled firmly-seated riders from their saddles and then
40 despatched them by the dagger-hoofs of swift, fiery horses. Bands of
devoted archers came forward on all sides and did yeomanly service.
'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī whose command made the centre illustrious,
had come to a spot which had a great ravine in front of it, such that
even elephants could not cross. The brave seekers of battle and the
lion-like men of the centre were compressed into a small space and
stood firm, looking for an opportunity to attack. They showed such
endurance that the elephants retreated from the sides of the centre.
Thereupon the latter came out in the rear of the enemy and dis-
charged their arrows and wielded their swords. Hemū the ill-fated
rode proudly on an elephant named Hawāī (the rocket ?), which was
one of his best, and glanced from side to side at the brave swords-
men, and at the onset of the rank-breaking *ghāzīs*. He beheld with
apprehension the combats of the warriors of fortune's army, and
gathering together a band of fierce elephants he showed every stra-
tagem which his powerful capacity could conceive, and every daring
deed which lurked in his seditious soul. He made powerful onsets
and performed many valorous acts, and dislodged many strenuous
soldiers of the sublime army. Bhagwān Dās, one of his leading men,
and who was distinguished for his bravery in the field of battle, was
cut to pieces in front of him, and Shādī Khān was trampled under
the feet of the swift horses of fortune's army. Suddenly, in the
midst of the contest, an arrow from the bended bow of Divine wrath
reached Hemū's eye, and piercing the socket, came out at the back
of his head. Seemingly, the wind of the pride, and the arrogance
of that black-fated, inwardly darkened one passed out by that win-
dow. When those who were fighting around him saw that fortune's
arrow had hit the target, the arm of their courage grew slack, and
they lost heart. They became handless and footless, and no more
girded up the loins of courage. His army was defeated and every
man strewed the dust of defeat on his head, and scattered the glory
of courage on the ground, and turned to flee. Just then Shāh Qulī
Khān and some brave men came up to the elephant on which Hemū
was riding. He did not know that Hemū was on the elephant, and
sought to kill the driver in order that he might make the elephant
his spoil. The helpless driver, who had neither the helmet of
loyalty nor the cuirass of courage, from fear of his life, pointed out

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his master. When Shāh Qulī Khān heard of his great fortune, he blessed his stars and tossed the cap of joy to the skies. He gave quarter to the driver and made him hopeful of a royal reward. He then separated that and some other elephants and left the battle-field.

When the breeze of victory was wafted to the victory-marked standards of H.M. the Shāhinshāh from the vent of Divine favour, the black-fated foe at once turned their backs and sought safety in flight. The tigers of the jungle of courage cast the elephant-drivers headlong from the summits of their mountains by arrows[1] and blows of battle-axes and made the hill-resembling elephants go like a strong gale. When daily-increasing majesty is in battle-array, lion-hearted, rank-breaking men have no resource but in flight; how then could 41
unreasoning brutes withstand the glory of genius? The victorious officers after such a victory, which till the extinction of the world will be the inscription on the victory-proclamation of great princes, and the resplendent preamble of mighty world-rulers, engaged in returning thanks to Providence. The rest of the victorious troops occupied themselves in slaying the fugitives and in collecting the spoil, and made mounds[2] of the slain, and treasuries of the spoil. The number of those fallen on the field was calculated at 5,000. Who could count the numbers of those who were trampled down on the roads during their flight? 1,500 noted elephants fell into the hands of the imperial servants. A force of victorious heroes pursued the fugitives, and after putting many to the sword returned successful to the foot of the throne. The ruler of the age returned thanks for the great boon and distinguished the combatants by endless favours. Whilst every one of the heroes was being brought into the presence and was receiving rewards temporal and spiritual, Shāh Qulī Khān brought in Hemū bound. Though they questioned him, he out of uncouthness (*jahālat*) made no reply. Perhaps he was unable to speak, or he was overwhelmed by shame and indisposed to say anything. Bairām Khān Khān-Khānān begged H.M. the Shāhinshāh to slay with this own sacred hand this stock of sedition, and to acquire merit by a holy combat. That lord of wisdom and master of sages,

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1 Muta'mid Khān says the archers made the legs of the elephants like a wasp's nest.

2 *Az kashtahā pushtahā.* This agrees with Badaunī, Lowe, 10, who says that a minaret was made of the heads of the slain.

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who regarded his youth as the veil of his divinely-bestowed wisdom, and abode under the screen of incognito and so obtained a respite from the vexatious disbelief of infidels, and the faith of the sincere, replied in words that were the interpretation of truth and were for the instruction of the wise, that his lofty spirit did not permit him to slay a captive and that it seemed to him that in the justice-hall of the Only One there was nothing meritorious in such an act. Though simple loyalists importuned and pressed him, the Shāhinshāh showed himself more and more averse to the proceeding. I extol the lofty intelligence of which no trace is to be found in the contents of books or in the minds of supreme sages; but the wise of the great court well know that this is not to be met with save in the lucid home of the holy heart of a pure spirit who shall have received the light of true knowledge from the Creator without the intervention of human means or earthly aids. This is manifest in the brows of the sitter on the temporal and spiritual throne. It is plain also to the practical man and the exoteric that under all circumstances a lofty and God-fearing mind has arrived at the stage of being beloved by God. Such an one (the practical man) knows that to act contrary to His pleasure is to strike oneself with a sword, for without human effort the power of the
42 Creator casts him on the ground of contempt and the abyss of destruction. Accordingly this is apparent at the present day to those who read the daily chronicle of this king who is based upon auspiciousness. Where has he leisure that, while attending to the inner realities, he should give heed to the meanness and nothingness of opponents? Granting that he has leisure and permission from his intellect, how shall his lofty spirit decide to stain the holy skirt of his mind with such dust, and if such an event occur, how shall he stain his sword with the blood of such a moribund, impure wretch? What comparison is there between that holy personality and the petitions of men of the world? At last Bairām Khān Khān-Khānān when he perceived that H.M. was not inclined to take his view, withdrew from the attempt, and under the influence of hereditary beliefs which take their place in men from imitation of fathers and teachers, himself became engaged in the acquisition of this fancied merit, and with his sword cleansed the world from the contamination of his existence. Would that H.M. had come out of his veil and given attention to the matter! or that there had been some far-sighted master of wisdom in

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that court, so that they might have kept Hemū in prison and made him desirous of serving the threshold of fortune. Certainly he was a most excellent servant, and he had a lofty spirit. If he had been instructed by such a great one (as the far-seeing sage, or perhaps Akbar) what works might he not have performed? In order to display the Majesty of the Shāhīnshāh, and to give a lesson to the superficial they sent his head to Kabul,[1] while his trunk was conveyed to Delhi and placed on the gibbet of warning. The world had rest from strife and tumult, and mortals obtained happiness and tranquillity.

Among[2] the wonderful events and unusual traits of H.M. Shāhinshāh which came forth from the ambush of secrecy and displayed their splendours in the theatre of manifestation, there was this that when H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshīyānī had come to Delhi after the victory over Sikandar, he (Akbar) there practised drawing in accordance with a sublime suggestion (of Humāyūn?). The skilful artists such as Mīr Saiyid 'Alī[3] and Khwāja 'Abdul-Ṣamad Shīrīnqalm, who were among the matchless ones of this art, were in his service and were instructing him. One day this cyclopædia of Divine things was in the library of H.M. Jahanbānī and in order to sharpen his mind was employing himself in drawing. He drew with inspired pencil the figure of a man with all his limbs separated. One of the courtiers saw that strange picture and asked the meaning of it. H.M. with mystery-explaining tongue said that it represented Hemū. At that time the name and note of Hemū were unknown, and so the listeners did not comprehend the matter and refrained from further enquiry. On the day when Bairām Khān made his request and tried to induce H.M. to slay Hemū with his own holy hand, H.M. replied that he had dispatched that haughty one on a former day and had 43
dismembered him, and then he referred to the incident of the picture. Good God! How and when in that year had the news of this dominion-augmenting occurrence been conveyed by the tongue of act and the lip of speech? Certainly, to-day, to-morrow, yesterday, the present and the absent may be revealed to ordinary compounds[4]

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[1] There is an account of the arrival of the head at Kabul in Bayāzīd Biyāt's Memoirs.

[2] In the Lucknow ed. and in several MSS. this begins a new chapter.

[3] Blochmann, 107 and 590.

[4] *Ākhshijān.* Possessed by the four opposites, *i.e.*, the four elements, and used here for ordinary mortals in whom the constituents are not

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of human nature. But with nurslings of Divine light, disciples of the Truth and teachers of Reason, whose pure essences are manifestations of the Divine radiance, and are the rising of Reality's sun, the future and the past attend upon the present and the absent is like the present fully visible. What matters absence to him who knows the presence of God ? Away, away ! there can be nothing invisible there !

This traveller on devotion's highway, Abūl Faẓl to wit, the writer of this preamble of excellencies, one day asked H.M. the circumstances of this miracle. He enunciated in reply : " An invisible Inspirer had placed an intimation of it on our tongue ; he best knows the secret thereof." The effulgence of Truth's luminary, and its retirement behind a veil are similarly conditioned phenomena. Mighty is the capacity of a sublime nature which when placed amidst so many cellars full of varied senses-robbing wines, a mere sip of which will intoxicate heroes of the Path, *viz.*, 1st. The wine of early youth. 2nd. The wine of temporal dominion. 3rd. The wine of spiritual supremacy. 4th. The wine of outward beauty. 5th. The wine of hidden favour; can retain its high sense and look not to itself, but to God ! The wishes of such a soul are made its lovers, and Fortune is constituted the attendant on the threshold of its hopes. I, who am, night and day, a devotee of this gate of Fortune, do not call to remembrance that either when he has cast a gleam of favour upon anyone, or in familiar conversation, he has ever uttered a syllable which savoured [1] of arrogance, or that in his down-sitting or uprising, in his speech or in his audition in the company of his grandees,[2] he has exhibited any change of demeanour. Far-seeing sages well know how impossible it is to gauge the capacity of one who uses so many man-o'erthrowing wines, and yet daily increases in wisdom. But he who is linked to fortune and is wakeful-hearted, knows this much that the Divine Providence must be the Watchman over him, and that such great victories (over passions) come easily to him, and that such great gifts and noble deeds and wondrous works rarely appear in this world. (*rūzgārān*).

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fused together and unified, but war with one another. This passage may help to explain the *tan-i-w-āḥid* at p. 11 of the text.

[1] *Ka badmast nasẖavad*, a double negative, but perhaps the true reading is *nasẖūr*, "diffusing."

[2] *Barkasẖīdahā-i-ao*. cf. text, p. 70, line 16.

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One great marvel was that at the time when the expedition started from Jālandhar for the conquest of India, and the extirpation of Hemū, an order was given one day to the master of the ordnance to prepare fireworks as a treat to the soldiers, and that among other things they should make an image of Hemū, fill it with gunpowder, and set it on fire. The workmen quickly prepared a pyrotechnic display (*gulzār-ī-ātish*, lit., a rosegarden of fire), and they brought the image of Hemū there and set it on fire. In appearance it was simply keen amusement, in reality it was extinguishing a malevolent life. Certes, it is fitting that one who does such great deeds under 44
the guise of sport and fun should, men being what they are, retire behind a veil and not show his spiritual beauty and that in his work he should appear as if unconcerned.

Assuredly and incontestably there was no such masterpiece on the occasions when former great-hearted, nobly-born ones formed the design of conquering India and did great deeds. This will be evident on a little consideration to those who know ancient history. For on none of those former occasions was there a ruler of India, possessed of such courage, enterprize, and plan (as Hemū). On the contrary they were backward in the management of their own dominions. It was otherwise with this virile spirit, he was ever meditating the conquest of distant climes and kept hidden in his heart the designs of great expeditions. And in truth fortune had favoured Hemū in a way which the rulers of India had not attained to in those former days, *viz.*, in the multitude of tried soldiers ; the number of able officers, the plenitude of artillery, which had nothing like it except in Turkey, and the number of powerful elephants, any one of which was enough to throw an army into confusion. Maulānā Sharafu-d-dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, in his account in the Ẓafarnāma of the fights of H.M. Ṣaḥib Qirānī (Timur) which took place in India, speaks of the warriors of India and of the greatness of its rulers, and boasts [1] that 120 war-elephants came into the possession of the imperial servants in that great war. To those that know history and are of sound brain, the condition of the ruler of that time as compared with Hemū is clear. On that latter instructive occasion, of which a small account has been given, 1,500 elephants were captured. The rest of the equipments may be

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[1] Ẓafarnāma, Bib. Ind. ed. II. 118.

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conjectured from this. But how shall the amount of the ruler's [1] own treasures, etc., be counted? The plain of victory was the same fortunate spot as that where H.M. Getī Sītānī Firdūs Makānī contended with Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and raised the victorious standards, as has already been briefly related in its proper place.

On the same exultant day which showed by God's help so great a victory, Sikandar Khān Uzbeg was sent with a body of troops to pursue the fugitives and to protect the city of Delhi from the rabble. He acted with rapidity and delivered some of the malignant and useless from the prison of existence, and put the distracted inhabitants of the country in order. Much plunder fell into his hands. Next day the army of fortune marched out at an hour, which the astrologers had chosen, and cast the light of their arrival on the holy territory of Delhi. The noble, the distinguished in every science, and the skilful in every craft, came out in crowds to welcome the army
45 and uttered shouts of blessing. Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl represented to H.M. the excellent loyalty of Rajah Bihārī Mal which he had shown at the siege (of Narnaul). A gracious order was issued for his attendance and the Rajah obeyed the command and was rewarded, by kissing the ground of obedience. On one day when robes of honour had been presented to the Rajah and to his sons and other relatives, and they had been brought to the Court to receive their dismissal, H.M. was mounted on a *mast* elephant which in its intoxication was rushing in every direction. People were all going to one side. Once it ran towards the Rajputs, but as they held fast to their loyalty they remained standing. This steadiness pleased the lofty glance of H.M. the Shāhinshāh, and he made inquiries about the Rajah and said with his mystery-interpreting tongue, "We'll rear you." [2] This came to pass as will be described hereafter.

Thanks be to God that the Hindustanis, or rather all mankind obtained a head. Volumes are not sufficient to contain his greatness. By the grace of his justice the ever-vernal garden of India received special verdure and the truth-worshipping servants of God received a powerful support. In thanksgiving for this great boon, grand feasts

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[1] This is a sophism. Hemū was absolute and had control of all the elephants, etc., of 'Ādalī.

[2] *Nihāl khwāhīm kard.* "We shall plant you." Perhaps an allusion to the intermarriages which afterwards occurred.

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were organised, and treasures of gifts were poured into the lap of the world. The Shāhinshāh's favour exalted by a variety of kindnesses a number of men who had trod valiantly the forecourt of devotion. High and low, small and great, were made fortunate by large rewards. Among them, 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī was exalted by the title of Khān Zamān, and the Sarkār of Sambhal and other parganās of the Dūāb were assigned to him as jāgīr, and he obtained leave in order that he might go and manage those territories.

'Abdullah [1] Khān Uzbeg received the title of Shujā-'at-Khān and was appointed to the Sarkār of Kālpī.[2] Iskandar Khān received the title of Khān 'Aālam, and Maulānā Pīr Mūḥammad Shīrwānī was styled Nāṣir-al-mulk, and attached to the royal person. Qīyā [3] Khān was nominated to the charge of the Agra territories. The dominion-adorning mind of the Shāhinshāh sent the officers of the court of the Sultanate to every quarter, and so gave order and tranquillity to the pleasant lands of India.

At this time it came to H.M.'s ears that Ḥāji Khān, a slave of Sher Khān Afghan, who was distinguished for courage, prudence, and skill in collecting troops, was acting independently in Alwar, and also that the father and the wife of the ill-fated Hemū, and his goods and chattels were in that Sarkār. Nāṣir-al-mulk was appointed to that service along with a number of trusty and devoted followers. Ḥājī Khān was frightened by the strength of the victorious army and fled 46
before its arrival, and Alwar and the whole of Sarkār Mewat came into the possession of the imperial servants. From there they proceeded to Deoti [4] Macārī, where was the residence and family [5] of Hemū. The place was strong and there was much fighting, and the father of Hemū was captured and brought alive before the Nāṣir-al-mulk. The latter called upon him to change his religion. The old man answered, "for eighty years I've worshipped my God, according to this reli-

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[1] Blochmann, 320.

[2] Blochmann, 365.

[3] Blochmann, 343.

[4] In the south of Alwar. Macārī is described in the I.G. It appears from the Rajputana Gazetteer that the two places are distinct. It says III., p. 286, "Macerī and Deoti, where the lake is, seem to have been the chief towns of the district in Akbar's time." In the Ayīn, these two names are given as Deotī Sājarī P. text I. 451. Jarrett II. 191.

[5] Badaūnī gives some further details of this expedition, and says that Hemū's wife escaped to Bajwāra.

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gion. Why should I change it at this time, and why should I, merely from fear of my life, and without understanding it come into your way of worship."

Pir Muḥammad treated his words as if he heard them not, and answered him with the tongue of the sword. After being victorious there, he came away with much plunder and fifty elephants and did homage at the Court, and was the recipient of royal favours. Ḥājī Khān left the town of Alwar and went off towards Ajmīr in order that he might find an asylum for his family and leave soldiers there and make preparations for renewing the war. The Rānā[1] who was a great Zamindar and was son of the Rānā who had contended with H.M. Getī Sītānī Firdūs Makānī, as has been described, and had been defeated by him, demanded things from him and put him to intolerable troubles. Of necessity a great battle took place between him and the Rānā near Ajmīr. Ḥājī Khān and Muẓaffar Khān Shīrwānī who was his Vakīl, did great actions in this engagement, and at last the Rānā was defeated because he was uplifted by the number of his troops. Ḥājī Khān took possession of Ajmīr, Nāgor, and the surrounding country.

When the success of Ḥājī Khān came to the royal hearing, Muḥammad Qāsim Khān of Nīshāpur, Saiyid Maḥmād Bārhā, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Ṭāhir, Khān Kharram Sulṭān and a number of others were appointed to put him down. When the territory of Delhi and the Dūāb had been swept clear of the enemy, H.M. designed to cast the

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1 Udai Singh posthumous son of Rānā Sangā, Jarrett II. 269, and Tod's Rajasthan. We learn from the Mirāt Sikandarī, Bombay lithograph, p. 337, that Ḥājī Khān was travelling, with 5,000 horse and 150 elephants, towards Gujrāt when the Rajah of Citūr came with 40,000 horse and blocked his passage. He demanded from Ḥājī Khān 40 *mans* of gold, and the elephant Hatch which was his best animal and also a dancing girl (*pātrā*) named Rang Raī who was the most beautiful of his women. As Ḥājī Khān was travelling with his family, etc., he was willing to give the gold and the elephant, but when the name of an inmate of his harem was mentioned, he got indignant and resolved to die rather than yield. So he fought and was victorious and went on to Pattan. He was there when Bairām Khān was assassinated.

The fullest account of Ḥājī Khān's encounter with the Rajah is given in Dorn's History of the Afghans, Annotations in Part I, p. 108, *et seq.* There the lady is called Rai Kaa patar (dancing girl).

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light of his presence on the eastern districts of India in order that he might cleanse that extensive country which is a pasturage of dominion and fortune, from the dust of sedition-mongers. Just then news was brought that Khiẓr Khwāja Khān had fought with Sikandar Sūr near Lahore, and that he had not stood his ground but had retreated to Lahore. The brief account of this is as follows :—

It has already been stated that when the army marched from Jālandhar towards Delhi to extirpate Hemū, Khiẓr Khwāja Khān had been appointed to repress Iskandar. Isma'īl Beg Dūldai, 'Alī Qulī Khān Mīr Laṭīf, Shāh Qulī Naranjī, Khāliq Bardī Beg and a large force 47
were sent with him. The great officers went and took up their quarters in Lahore. At the time when the turmoil of Hemū was troubling the world, and such a defeat had befallen the officers in the neighbourhood of Delhi, Mullā 'Abdullah Sulṭānpūrī who by feline tricks and fox-like proceedings had received from the Afghans the title of Shaikh-al-islām, and from H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyāni the title of Makhdūm-al-mulk, and who from the sedition-mongering which was in his brain, and from the bi-coloured water in his constitution gave himself out as one of the servants of the eternal dominion, but who at heart was in league with the Afghans, wrote invitations to Sikandar and urged him to come out of the hills. Sikandar gathered to himself a number of vagabond Afghans and some land-holders of the hill-country of the Punjab, and came out of the mountains and proceeded to collect revenue in the Punjab. Khiẓr[1] Khwāja Khān left the city of Lahore to the charge of Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī and set out to oppose Sikandar. When Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī became certain of the improper behaviour of Mullā 'Abdullah[2] he punished him by imprisonment and torture. He put him in earth up to his middle, and brought out from the ground some of the gold pieces which his avaricious hand had[3] buried. When

[1] Blochmann, 374.

[2] Refers apparently to a story that Makhdūm-al-mulk buried treasures under pretence that they were dead bodies. M'utamad Khān tells us in the Iqbālnāma, near the end of his account of the second year, that Bairām Khān sent Ḥājī Muḥammad afterwards to apologize to Makhdūm-al-mulk, and that he presented him with a *jagir* worth a lakh of rupees. See full biography of Makhdūm-al-mulk in the Darbārī Akbarī, p. 311.

[3] Probably the Jamārī or Camārī pargana mentioned in Jarrett II

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Khiẓr Khwāja arrived near the town of Camyārī and was about ten *Kos* separated from the enemy, he detached 2,000 picked men and sent them on in advance. Sikandar did not lose the opportunity and met them with a large force. A great battle took place, and the 2,000 were defeated. Khiẓr Khwāja Khān did not think it was time to stand firm and set off towards Lahore. Sikandar pursued him for a little way, and then regarded the collection of the revenues of the country as a free gift from time. When the news of this reached the royal ears, Sikandar Khān who had received the title of Khān 'Aālam was hastily given Siālkot as a jagir, and sent off with all speed to assist Khiẓr Khwāja Khān.

318, and also in Badaūnī Lowe 10. T.A., p. 393, speaks of Camīārī as being the fief of the Khwāja 'Abdul Shahīd, grandson of Khwāja Aḥrār. See also Blochmann, 539.

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CHAPTER XII.

MARCH OF H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S ARMY FROM DELHI TOWARDS THE PUNJAB TO PUT DOWN THE SEDITION OF SIKANDAR, THE PURSUIT OF HIM, AND THE SIEGE OF THE FORT OF MĀNKOT.

When it became known that Sikandar had assembled an army, and that the knot of this affair would not be unloosed until the fortune of the Shāhinshāh turned her reins in that direction, the expedition to the eastern provinces was postponed, and a march to the Panjab was determined on. One of the wonderful omens was that a number of the courtiers took an augury from the *diwān* of the tongue of mystery (Ḥāfiẓ) and by chance this verse came up.

[1] *Verse.*

No water was vouchsafed to Sikandar,
It does not come by might and money.

The hearts of the far-seeing loyalists received fresh support, and 48
the minds of the superficial acquired stability. When the world-adorning God is the fortune-increaser of this eternal dominion, the far-seeing ones of the company of reality look to the beauty and glory of the Chosen One of God, and are not concerned about the ordinary course of the world. Those who have not the blessing of lofty views are, at such times of anxiety, comforted in their hearts by enquiries of this kind. A world-obeyed order was issued that the great officers and leaders should make preparations for the expedition and attend on the sublime stirrup.

When all the preparations had been completed, the discriminating mind (of Akbar) rested from all the cares of state, and though the army of cold was in full force, the march to the Panjab was commenced on 23 Āzar, Divine month, corresponding to Monday 4 Ṣafar, 7 December 1556, Mahdī Qāsim Khān being left in charge of Delhi. The march was made leisurely stage by stage, and there was hunting by the way. There was both munificence and pleasure. Turks and

[1] Ḥāfiẓ ed. Brockhaus, p. 205, ode 282 verse 7.

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Tājiks came in crowds, attracted by the fame of benevolence and the lights of justice; especially there was not a day when large numbers did not come from Kabul, Badakhshān, and Qandahār, and do homage. On the way the news was brought from Lahore that in the house of Bairām Khān Khān-Khānān, his wife, who was of the family of the Khāns of Mewat, had borne on 6 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday 14 Ṣafar (17 December 1556), a son to whom they had given the name of 'Abdu-r-raḥīm.

The brief account of this circumstance is that when H.M. Jahānbānī was at Delhi, he, in order to soothe the minds of the Zamindars, entered into matrimonial relations with them. Among these, Jamāl Khān, the cousin of Ḥasan Khān of Mewat, who was one of the great zamindars of India, came and did homage. He had two beautiful daughters. H.M. himself married the elder sister, and gave the younger in marriage to Bairām Khān Khān-Khānān. At the time that the standards of the Shāhinshāh were directed towards the sup-
49 pression of Hemū, the Khān-Khānān had sent his household to Lahore. The news came when the lofty genius was proceeding towards countless victories, and it was taken as a good omen. Bairām Khān prepared a grand feast. Astronomers read his greatness and excellence in his horoscope and declared that he would be exalted by the tuition of the Shāhinshāh and perform noble services by virtue of his loyalty, and would arrive at high dignities. The readers of the page of the forehead read the lines of devotion on his temples and rejoiced loyal hearts thereby. And in truth so it happened, in consequence of the attention of H.M. the Shāhinshāh who is the elixir of skill, and the alchemist of the jewel of auspiciousness. Accordingly, day by day were the lights of rectitude and the notes of loyalty read in his forehead. A brief account thereof will be given in each place as the occasion arises.

When Jālandhar became the station of the sublime camp, Iskandar, who upreared in that province the standards of strife and sedition, withdrew to the hill-country of the Siwāliks, which was his appointed asylum and permanent residence, in order that he might

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[1] The Maaṣir Raḥīmī A.S.B., MS., p. 304 b., gives the chronogram composed by Maulānā Farīdu-d-dīn of Delhi. *Dar-i-darīyāī Sāādat* (pearl of the auspicious ocean) 964.

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stay there for a while and wait upon events. The victorious army, in the hope of a final good, and of extirpating once for all his sedition, applied itself to putting him down. Without regard to the difficulties of the march and the intricacies of the country, it followed Sikandar into the hill-country of the Siwāliks, which is a world apart, and the refuge of the disaffected and headstrong spirits of India, and encamped at the town of Dēsūhah[1]. From there the army proceeded to the pleasant town of Dahmirī and made it a rose-garden of dominion and a springtide of fortune.

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[1] In Sarkār Bet Jālandhar Dūāb. "Has a brick-fort." J. II. 316.

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CHAPTER XIII.

BEGINNING OF THE SECOND YEAR ILĀHĪ FROM THE DATE OF THE ACCESSION, *viz.*, THE YEAR ARDIBIHISHT OF THE FIRST CYCLE.

In that station of abundance (*Dahmirī*), the reservoir of brilliancy for the terrene and terrestrials, and the adornment of time and time's offspring, to wit, the sun, the benefactor of the universe, arrived at his house of exaltation, and gladdened and refreshed the earth with the breath of spring. It would seem that Aries is called the house of exaltation because at that time the beings of earth are
50 given exaltation and fresh life. Otherwise the dignity of that bestower of exaltation on heavenly and terrestrial bodies is too high for any place to receive the title of the house of exaltation of that giver of light to all existence. In fine, this world-adorning light came from the fountain of Pisces to the abode of joy,[1] in the night known as Thursday, after ten hours, and forty minutes of the astronomical night of Wednesday the 27th Rabī-aṣ-ṣānī of the lunar year 964, and the world-illuminating new year's day came to pass, and the second year of the Divine Era began.

Verse.

The nightingale, like a reasoning man
Gave merited thanks with the tongue of spring,
The breeze of morning distilled ambergris,
The earth-pores made the air redolent,
The fields were full of sheets without pillows

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1 There is evidently a mistake here, either of Abūl Faẓl or his copyists. The Ilāhī year being solar, must have been longer than the lunar year, and the 1st and 2nd years of the Era cannot have begun on the same day of the same month of the Muḥammadan year. The Ṭabaqāt Akbari, Elliot V. 254 gives 9 Jamāda-al-awwal for the beginning of the 2nd year—and Mut'amid Khān in the Iqbālnāma, who generally copies Abūl Faẓl, also puts the beginning of the year in Jamāda-al-awwal.

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The gardens full of brides without dowers
The villas full of scarlet-draped platforms
The gardens full of variegated carpets
The birds warbled o'er flowers and rose bushes,
Drunk without musicians, or cups, or wine.

Evidently the occurrence of such joy previous to the lofty enterprise was a proof that the enterprise would be successful, and a clear indication that the work taken in hand would have a prosperous issue. Accordingly it communicated to the clear-sighted the retreat of Sikandar who speedily fled and came to the fort of Mānkot[1] and the siege and capture of the fort by H.M. the Shāhinshāh. The brief details of this are as follows:—

When Sikandar, in terror of the victorious army, fled to the hill-country of the Siwāliks, and Dahmīrī became the imperial camping-ground, news was continually being brought that the intention of that ill-conditioned runagate was to draw the army of fortune into the defiles and then give battle (*lit.*, in these central ravines strenuously bind the waist of effort). H.M. the Shāhinshāh did not give ear to these words and advanced according to proper rules. Nāṣir-al-Mulk and a large body of brave and experienced men were sent to harry and ravage the zamindars of the hills. These heroes soon, with God's help, chastised many of the Rajahs of the hills and got much booty. The evil-constituted hillmen, who with evil thoughts had joined with Sikandar, separated from him, and a stone of dissension fell among that ill-conditioned assemblage, and they fled without fighting. An order was given for pursuing them and for, by vigorous action, getting possession of the leader of the fugitives. A number of brave men made a rapid march and reached a portion of his camp. Iskandar, when he heard of this pursuit, fell into confu- 51
sion and distress, and threw himself into the fort of Mānkot which he had formerly prepared in case an evil day should come upon him. The alert and victorious soldiers plundered his camp, and reported to the Court about his having retired to his fortress.[2]

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[1] This is the Māngaṛh mentioned in Badaūnī, Ranking, p. 527 and described there as being 5 or 6 kos from Bin (Ban). Mānkot is entered in the Āīn, Jarrett II. 321 as in the Rechnau Dūāb.

[2] Five according to the T.-i-Daudī, Elliot IV. 494. Each had a separate

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The fortress of Mānkot is composed of four strong forts which Selīm Khān had constructed on adjoining hills at the time when he had marched out to extirpate the Gakkar tribe, and had returned frustrated. On each hill he built a fort composed of stone and mortar, and to the eye of a spectator the whole fortification looked like one fort. The site was very strong, and difficult of access by troops, and if access were attained it was very difficult to lay hands on the garrison. It had an abundant supply of good water, and as much provisions[1] as were wanted. To sum up, in a place which might be described as a fortress of the Creator, impregnable forts had been founded. Selīm Khān's real object in building these great forts was that when the standards of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī should be directed towards India, there might be a place of refuge for the army of the Panjab. It passed into his evil mind that he would lay waste Lahore, and develop this place, and that he would collect a large army there so that he might with security defend this part of the country. The reason for laying waste Lahore was that as this is a very large city, and the residence of various traders and craftsmen who could easily supply a large army, and furnish them with arms, perhaps the victorious army of the family conjoined with eternity might come there and gather abundant reinforcements, and thus things might become irremediable. Before he could carry out these plans, he passed forth from the defiles of existence.

In fine, when the news came of Sikandar's flight and of his having taken refuge in the fortress, inasmuch as the imperial intentions followed[2] the orders of God, H.M. the Shāhinshāh did not, in his right-thinking mind regard his own discomfort, but looked upon the ease of all mankind as the motive for exertion, and proceeded to besiege the fort, in order that he might remove the mischief-making of that sedition-monger from the heads of all, and that dominion might be established. An order was issued that the Bakhshīs of the army should distribute the redoubts, and the army drew lines of circumvallation round the fort. Everything was managed according to the

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name. See also Badaūnī, Ranking, 498, last line. But in Āīn II. 321, A.F. speaks of four forts, as here.

[1] The Iqbālnāma makes this remark more intelligible by saying that whatever provisions were wanted could speedily be collected.

[2] *Tilw-i-aḥkām, tilw-* is a term applied to a young camel or other animal following its dam.

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rules of sieges, and with courage and self-devotion. Adham Khān, whose star of lofty fortune placed him near the Shāhinshāh, proceed- 52
ed on the first day to the foot of the fort and displayed great valour. The brief account of this is that when the victorious forces arrived at the foot of the fortress, a large number of distinguished and courageous Afghans, who used to unfurl the flags of valour on the battlement of Mars, placed the arch[1] of assertion on the portico of pride and came out of the fort. They held up their blood-dropping scimitars as standards in the place by the gate and moved about with arrogant steps. Adham Khān[2] showed singular intrepidity and with lion-hearted courage entered alone among that band. By strength of arm he cast down several men of war and rolled them in dust and blood. Thereupon he returned with rapidity, and was exalted by shouts of Bravo. By this means the war-loving powerful men came out every day from their entrenchment and displayed their superiority. The adversary guarded the fort, and with their guns and muskets allowed no one to come close to the fort. This evil handful did all that was possible, but what avails striving against the masters of fortune?, or malignity against those possessed of a glorious horoscope?

Verse.

We come as naked swords wielded by Fate,
Who checks at us to death is dight.

Among the occurrences which occurred in the beginning of the siege was that Bahādur Khān, brother of Khān Zamān, who had stirred up sedition and strife in Zamīndāwar and had heaped the dust of confusion and tumult on his own head, came from Zamīndāwar ashamed and downcast and was exhalted by doing homage. By the influence of Bairām Khān Khān-Khānān he did not receive the punishment of his evil deeds. Though the Khān-Khānān intended to do him a kindness, yet in reality he arranged for him the materials of haughtiness and wickedness. Real kindness consists in

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1 *Kamān-i bar peshtāq-i-istikbār nihāda.* An idiomatic phrase for which see the Bahār-i-'ajam and which Vullers s.v. Kamān renders omnibus viribus contendere. Kamān also means a bow, but here it seems to mean an arch, the meaning being to put arch upon arch.

2 See biography in M'aasir-al-umrā II. 542. He is perhaps the

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punishing the evildoer, and so giving him a lesson that he may not again tread the border-land of wickedness.

The brief account of this matter is that, when the conquering standards of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī marched against India, Qandahār, which was Bairām Khān's *jāgīr*, was adorned by the management of Shāh[1] Muḥammad Qandahārī, who was a seat of confidence for his prudence and loyalty. Zamīndāwar was under the administration (*dīwānī*) of Bahādur Khān. When India became an abode of peace and tranquillity, and the throne of the Caliphate was established, Bahādur Khān's evil nature boiled over, and the thought of seizing Qandahār occurred to him. He at first wished to practise ingratitude by trick and stratagem, and so get possession of Qandahār. But as disloyalty brings with it spiritual and temporal damage, his evil ideas were not successful. This history of this event is that Bahādur Khān communicated his secret to Farrukh[2] Ḥusain, son of Khwāja Qāsim Hazāra, who was a companion of his. By degrees he hid some mad, empty-brained ones in his house, and arranged that on the appointed day those men should come out and overcome the keepers of the gate; and that Bahādur Khān in person should come in by the Māshūr gate, and by making a joint attack should get hold of Shāh Muḥammad, and take possession of Qandahār. On the appointed day when the men in ambush were putting on their armour, some spies came to know of this mutiny, and informed the custodian of the fort. Immediately men were appointed to seize them. Before they could meet them, the party of evil-disposed persons heard of their coming and hastened in confusion to the Mashūr gate. The gate was locked, and as their hearts had given way they could not break the bolt.[3] They made the struggles of slaughtered animals and

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Shāh Sālū or Shāpūr mentioned in Badaūnī, Ranking, 619, and if so his daughter was in Humāyūn's harem.

[1] I regard this as evidence that Adham Khān was several years older than Akbar. He could hardly have knocked over warriors unless he was at least 18 years of age.

[2] Blochmann, Nos. 127 and 316? Apparently not the Farrukh Ḥusain named at II. 266 of text. A variant has Faraḥ Ḥusain and it is so written in the Iqbālnāma of Muta'mid Khān.

[3] *Dilhā-bāī.* I do not know these words and perhaps the passage is corrupt, but the Lucknow editor explains that they mean posts or logs which are put between the leaves of gates instead of chains. The B.M. MS. Add. 26, 203, has *dilhā pai dāda būdand*, their hearts had given way, being a phrase for becoming dis-

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descended into the ditch of annihilation. A few flung themselves off the gate and brought themselves to an end by their own feet. A large number remained and hid themselves in houses in the city, where they took protection from evil-disposed, double-faced ones. In a short time Shāh Muḥammad pursued them and punished them all capitally. Bahādur Khān, when his stratagem did not succeed, came to Zamīndāwar and prepared an army. Vagabonds and villains collected around him, and he a second time made preparations for seizing Qandahār.

As Shāh Muḥammad considered that help from India was a remote contingency, he strengthened the fort and addressed himself to the ruler of Persia. He wrote to him that H.M. Jahānbāni had given an agreement that after the conquest of India, Qandahār should belong to the king of Persia's servants. It was now proper that he should send a large force in order that the rebellion of this ingrate might be put down and also that Qandahār might be made over to him. The ruler of Persia sent 3,000 Turkomans from the jāgirdars of Sīstān, Farah and the *garmsīr* under the command of 'Alī Yār Beg Afshār. Bahādur Khān knew nothing of this force which suddenly fell upon him. A hot engagement took place. Twice his horse fell under him, and at length he failed and had to fly. Nor could he maintain himself in Zamīndāwar. Shāh Muḥammad treated his auxiliaries with all deference, but made excuses for not surrendering Qandahār, and sent them back empty-handed.[1] Bahādur Khān, having suffered loss, was obliged to come with an ashamed face to the world-protecting Court, and as this is the shadow of the great threshold, and is little-receiving, much-giving, and as in it there is a brisk daily mart of pardon, his so great crimes were forgiven him and Multan given to him as jagir. The former jāgīrdar of Multan,

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heartened, and I think this is almost certainly the true reading. However, the phrase *dar bāī dāda* occurs in the Āīn text II. 153 and Jarrett III. 271, n. 4. The passage there is corrupt and the meaning is not clear. I suspect that the passage refers to the fair winner and not to the user of cogged dice. The winner, whoever he be, pays 10 per cent. to the king, and the loser 5 per cent; *dar bāī dād* then probably means one who has lost. بای appears to be Hindustani and to come from the Sanskrit bāhya or vahya, to be expelled. It is *bāī* in I.O. MSS. 235,236.

[1] For the conclusion of this episode see text infra, pp. 78, 79.

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Muḥammad Qulī Khān Birlās received Nāgor and its territory. With royal kindness Bahādur Khān was given the command of one of the batteries. He did great deeds when supported by the sublime family. In short, though the garrison did all they could to guard the fort, the victorious heroes pressed them more and more, and showed great management in making redoubts and covered ways. At this time news came of the blessed advent of the chaste ladies from the delightful city of Kabul, and of their having reached Lahore, and of their waiting there for instructions.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Arrival of H.M. Miriam-Makānī and the other chaste ladies, and H.M. the Shāhinshāh's march to meet them.

Before the arrival of the news of the disaffection of M. Sulaimān and of his designs upon Kabul, H.M. the Shāhinshāh had directed that the veil of chastity Miriam-Makānī, and the other secluded ladies of the holy Harem should come to India, and a reference to this order has already been made. But on account of the Mīrzā's disturbance the coming of the ladies was suspended. A cautious order was sent to Munʿim K., that when M. Sulaimān's sedition had been suppressed, the ladies should set out for the capital. After the disturbance caused by the Mīrzā had, by God's help, been put down, and the minds of the imperial servants were at ease on that score, as has already been narrated, the chaste ladies proceeded to arrange for moving to India, partly to fulfil their vows,[1] and partly to carry out the directions of H.M. the Shāhinshāh. The families of many of the soldiers who were serving in the army also joined the cortège. But as the disturbance of Hemū was known to the evil-disposed in those regions, the sacred journey did not come into effect. But when the news of victory placed a stain on the darkened brows of the disaffected, and the head of Hemū was brought and hung up on the iron gate of Kabul, the drums of joy beat high, and after thanksgiving and rejoicing, the expedition set out in a propitious hour. Munʿim Khān, who was in charge of Kabul, also accompanied the ladies in order that he might be their guide, and also might do good work in India, and thereby make himself illustrious. Kabul was made over to Muḥammad Qulī Khān Birlās, who had come from the Court as an auxiliary, and in accordance with the instructions of H.M. the Shāhinshāh, Muḥammad Ḥakīm and his mother and sisters remained in Kabul. Ghaznīn was made over to Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd Bujūq (cut-nose). 55

[1] *Naẓr* means both vows and presents, and perhaps there is an allusion to Miriam-Makānī's wish to present his sisters to Akbar.

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When the caravan reached Jalālābād it stopped there for some days on account of supplies, etc. While there, the news of the supremacy of Bairām Khān, and of the putting to death of Tardī Beg Khān arrived from the Court-reporters, and on this account Mun'im Khān saw it proper to give up his intention of proceeding to India. He conducted the ladies as far as Kotal Sitāra and there took leave and came back to Kabul. Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka and his brethren, Khwāja 'Ambar Nāẓir and Mullā Maqṣūd Bangālī, and a number of other servants were in charge of the ladies. When Mun'im Khān came to Kabul, he gave Muḥammad Qulī Khān leave to go to India, and after that, the officers and the rest of the devoted servants of the Court proceeded with the cortége of H.M. Miriam-Makānī and others to the capital. Among the occurrences that happened on this journey were the deaths of two full sisters of H.M. the Shāhinshāh. One died in Jalālābād, and the other at Kotal Sitāra near the Indus. H.M. Miriam Makānī and the other ladies spent some days in grief for the departure of these heart-delights, and then resigned themselves to the Divine will. The joy of seeing the Shāhinshāh overcame all sorrow, and after the last rites had been paid, the expedition proceeded on. When the news of the chaste ladies reached the royal ears, H.M. the Shāhinshāh was delighted and sent that cupola of chastity, Māham Anaga, the mother of Adham Khān, who, on account of her abundant sense and loyalty, held a high place in the esteem of the Shāhinshāh, and who had been in his service from the time of the cradle till his adornment of the throne, and who trod the path of good service with the acme of affection, to welcome the cortége of H.M. Miriam-Makānī and the other chaste ladies. That cupola of chastity entered on the auspicious service of the ladies in Lahore, and after informing them of H.M. the Shāhinshāh's eagerness to see them, proceeded with them towards the camp of fortune. H.M. the Shāhinshāh made over the charge of the siege to the Khān-Khānān and went forward to meet them. The auspicious conjunction took place at one stage from the Fort (Mānkot), and H.M. Miriam-Makānī's wishful eyes were gratified by the
56 world-adorning beauty of H.M. the Shāhinshāh. There were mutual rejoicings, and next morning H.H. M. Makānī, Ḥājī Begum, Gulbadan Begum, Gulcahra Begum, Salīma Sulṭān Begum and a number more of the relations and connections of the noble family, and of the soldiery, arrived at the camp. The army which had become straitened

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by the long siege were greatly rejoiced at the arrival of their highnesses, and of many loyal soldiers, and recognising their arrival as a means of victory they increased their efforts.

One of the occurrences that happened during the siege owing to the abundance of good fortune was that Khān Zamān, who had gone to Sambhal, obtained great victories although he did not possess real truthfulness and loyalty. Alas! Alas! loyalty was a thousand leagues away from him. He did not know the meaning of service and mastership. Nay, he had not even come to know the ways of worldly tradesmen which every ignorant one requires to be acquainted with. Accordingly a brief account of his disastrous end will be given in its proper place in this noble volume. One of the good services which were performed by him at this time owing to his outward connection with bliss was the battle with Rukn Khān, Lohānī[1] who was a great officer of Mubāriz Khān. Khān Zamān defeated him and subdued many rebels of Sambhal, etc., as[2] far as Lucknow. Another of his famous deeds of this time was the defeating Ḥasan Khān Backotī.

The brief account of this wonderful occurrence is that the said Ḥasan Khān was one of the famous landholders of India, and distinguished for the number of his brethren and other relations and of his servants. When the Shāhinshāh's army was engaged in besieging Mānkot, this short-sighted, arrogant one thought he had an opportunity and collected a large army and proceeded to ravage the Sarkār of Sambhal. He took with him Jalāl Khān Sūr, who was one of the great Afghan leaders. When his evil designs became known to the Khān Zamān, he joined with the royal officers who were there and advanced to join battle near Lucknow. The heroes distinguished themselves and gained a victory. The hostile army consisted of more than 20,000 cavalry while the army of fortune was not more than 4,000 strong. By the aid of God-given fortune and in spite of the character of the leader, to which a brief reference has been made, his connection with eternal fortune gave him the victory. An incalcu- 57
lable amount of booty fell into his hands; also many elephants. Of the noted elephants there were two called Sabdilīa, and Dilsankār which were of supreme excellence. They were approved of by the

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[1] The text has Nūḥānī, but I adopt the variant. See Jarrett II. 403.

[2] *Īl gardānīdand.* It is a Turki word meaning obedient.

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fastidious glance (of Akbar), and included among the special elephants of the Shāhinshāh. As the Khān Zamān's career ended in destruction and disgrace, and his essential baseness came out, and he became a ringleader among the disloyal, the loyal heart does not permit of his deeds being detailed at length. It is best to turn the reins of the courser of the pen from this plain.[1]

Among the fortunate occurrences that happened during the siege of Mānkot was the victory of Qīyā Khān. The brief account of this joyful event is this: The fort of Gwālīār which is one of the famous fortresses of India, and has few like it for strength, was in the possession of Mubāriz Khān 'Adalī. It was governed on his behalf by[2] Bhīl Khān who was one of the slaves of Selīm Khān the son of Sher Khān. Rajah Rām Sāh, whose ancestors had been the masters of the fort, besieged it with a host of Rajputs and had brought the garrison into straits. Qīyā Khān marched from Agra to Gwālīār, and Rām Sāh left the fort and came to give him battle. He fought bravely, but Qīyā Khān stood firm, and as he sought victory from the world-conquering genius of the Shāhinshāh, he defeated the enemy and sent many to the world of annihilation. Thereafter he undertook the siege of Gwālīār.[3]

One of the excellent events which occurred during the siege of Mānkot was that the fortunate-starred daughter of M. 'Abdullah Khān Moghul who was distinguished for his lineage, entered into the bond of matrimony with the unique jewel of the Caliphate. Bairām Khān did not approve of this connection, for 'Abdullah Moghul's sister was married to M. Kāmrān, and so he regarded 'Abdullah as a partizan of Kāmrān (*az kāmrānī*). So he opposed the match until Nāṣir-al-Mulk gave him to understand that opposition in such matters was very unacceptable, and by taking charge of the affair brought this happy event by his prudence to a termination. An order was issued to him (Nāṣir-al-Mulk) for arranging an assemblage of pleasure and banquet of joy, and a royal feast was provided. Leaving this matter I return to my narrative and proceed to detail the subsequent adventures of the besieged in Mānkot.

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[1] Badāūnī gives details of the victory. Lowe, 18.

[2] So spelt by Blochmann, 343. The text has Bahabal. Ferishta calls him Suhail. See Elliot V. 167 and note.

[3] It was not taken till 966 A.H. See text, p. 77, and Badāūnī, Lowe, 25.

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CHAPTER XV.

Capture of the fort of Mānkot, and return of the Shāhinshāh's army to Lahore, and other fortunate occurrences.

By the Divine aid and by the auspicious care of the Shāhinshāh, who is the key of all locks, visible and invisible, an opening took place. As the world-adorning Deity watches over the affairs of this spiritual and temporal lord, it is proper to inquire in regard to every matter which has relation to him what are the arrangements of the superintendents of destiny. The conquest of this fort, which equalled the rampart of Alexander [1] is a proof of this remark. The manner in which it was taken did not enter into the minds of the wise. Arrangements for the siege, such as no one could imagine, were excellently carried out, and the entrenchments were pushed forward on all sides. In some places the batteries closely touched the fort, and among them was an entrenchment which was under the care of the Nāṣir-al-Mulk and in advance of all the others. The egress and ingress of the prisoners of the fort were closed. Though Sikandar relied on the strength of the fort, yet he was disheartened by the appearance of affairs. But in spite of this discouragement, as scoundrels were calculating on the sedition of Mubāriz Khān 'Adalī, of whom a short account has already been given (and hoping), that perhaps he would be able to lift up his head from the eastern provinces of India and march against Delhi, and so the siege of the fort (Mānkot) would not be completed, and that so he (Sikandar) would have an opportunity for commotion in the tranquillised districts, he did not give up defending the fort. But as the doings of the opponents of God-given dominion do not succeed, Mubāriz Khān's measure of life became full. The account of this affair is as follows: The son of Muḥammad Khān who was ruler of Bengal and was called Ṣadr [2] Khān, took to himself the title of Jalālu-d-dīn, and made great pretensions. He advanced to

[1] Also called the rampart of Gog and Magog. See D'Herbelot.

[2] Also called Khiẓr Khān, Elliot V. 66. The battle took place near

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give battle to revenge his father whom Mubāriz Khān had slain in battle. A great fight ensued and Mubāriz Khān 'Adilī was killed. He had reigned four years and odd. I admire the wondrous fortune which occurred to the empire from the mutual contentions of its enemies. They made enterprises against one another, and showed themselves as auxiliaries of the eternal dominion.

When this news came to the garrison they at once became disheartened. When Sikandar both witnessed and learnt the uprearing of the standards of daily increasing fortune, and his own defeats upon defeats, despair upon despair fell upon him. Of necessity he entered the lists of suppliants and sent his confidants to implore that H.M. the Shāhinshāh would send to the fort one of his trusty
59 servants to comfort his distracted soul and make him a member of the victorious army. H.M. who was a mine of benevolence, out of compassion sent the Atka Khān, who was distinguished for his wisdom and reliability. Sikandar declared with an ashamed face that he did not possess the wisdom which looks to the end, and that he had adopted short-sighted views. He was not in a condition to do homage and so whiten his face. His case would be properly dealt with if H.M. the Shāhinshāh would be so gracious as to excuse him for a time from service. He now sent his son as a slave and hoped that a place would be assigned to himself where he might stay for a while and prepare himself for the blessing of kissing the threshold. He vowed, by God the Creator of the world, that as long as he lived, he would never remove the neck of submission from the line of obedience, and that he would place the necklace of this favour round the neck of his life and make it the jewel of his good fortune. He won over the heart of the ambassador by deceitful blandishments and submissions, and also sent presents in money and goods to the Nāṣir-al-Mulk who was the Khān-Khānān's vakil, or rather was the vakīl of the Sultanate, and he, as if[1] from fidelity, interested himself in

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Cunār. (Monghyr according to Stewart). Both Ferishta and Niẓāmu-d-dīn call him Khiẓr Khān. Niẓāmu-d-dīn has a separate chapter on 'Adalī which is not translated in Elliot. He says 'Adalī killed Muḥammad Khān Gauri (Khiẓr's father) at Carkatta (Chappirghatta) 15 kos fom Kālpī.

[1] *Az rūi daulatkhwāhī.* I presume that there is something ironical here. However the phrase *Mashār ilaihi*

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Sikandar, and conveyed the purport of his requests to the Shāhinshāh through the instrumentality of the Khān-Khānān.

H.M. who regarded the sweets of forgiveness as greater than those of revenge, accepted the representations of the Khān-Khānān, and assigned to Sikandar Kharīd and Bihār as jagirs. The latter sent his son 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān along with Ghāzī [1] Khān Tannūrī, who was one of his confidential officers to the Court, the protection of princes, in order that their good services might be the cause of greater favour on the part of the Shāhinshāh to himself. The agreement was carried out according to the kingly desires. Valuable presents including some choice elephants, such as might be fit for the Court, were sent, and on 11 Murdād, Divine month, corresponding to Saturday, 27th Ramẓān, 24 May, 1557, the keys of the fort were surrendered to the imperial servants. H.M. the Shāhinshāh drew the writing of forgiveness over the schedule of his offences, and shutting his eyes to the record of his deeds, gave him leave to depart. He came out of the prison of the fort, and, after a thousand apprehensions and fears, reached Kharīd and Bihār. After two years he went to the abode of annihilation.

When the conquest of Mānkot had been thus completed and Sulṭān Sikandar had by becoming a suppliant of the Sultanate conveyed himself into safety, the charge of the fort was made over to Abu-l-Qāsim, the brother of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Maujī. On 16 Murdād, Divine month, corresponding to 2 Shawwāl, 31 July, 1557, the army, after a stay of six months odd, left the slopes of the Siwāliks for Lahore, in order that it might proceed to Agra after having ar- 60
ranged the affairs of the Panjab. On the way Bairām Khān's mind became troubled on account of misunderstanding, and of his not appreciating the favour shown to him. The account of this affair is as follows. During the last days of the siege of Mānkot the Khān-Khānān fell ill. Some boils formed which prevented him from mounting a horse. During that time H.M. the Shāhinshāh turned his attention, as a means of diversion, to elephant-fights. Many times did he apply himself to this sport, which has hundreds of nice points involved in it. One day there was a prolonged contest between two of the royal elephants called Fatūḥā and Lagna. By chance these two

"the above-mentioned" may refer to the Atka Khān and not to the Nāṣir-al-Mulk.

[1] Tanūr in text. Ghāzī Khān afterwards rebelled, Blochmann, 367. Badāūnī, Lowe, 11, calls him Sūr.

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during their fight came near the Khān-Khānān's tent. The crowd of people and the general uproar caused apprehension and annoyance to the Khān-Khānān, and he came to suspect that perhaps the thing had occurred at the sublime suggestion (of Akbar). He was confirmed in this suspicion by some strife-mongers. He sent one of his confidential servants to Māham Anaga with this message. "I am not conscious of having committed any offence in this sphere-circled threshold, and I have not displayed anything except well-wishing respect. Why then have mischief-makers imputed some offence to me, and caused such unkindness as that furious elephants should have been let loose against my tent?" Māham Anaga by soothing expressions quieted his disturbed mind.

At this time a strange thing happened in relation to the Lord of the Earth, who was keeping himself in the disguise of an incognito, and was giving attention to the concealment of his idiosyncrasy—a mystery which has already been conveyed, as far as my capacity would allow, from the heart to paper. The event, of which the following is an account, was the cause of some well-instructed minds coming to a knowledge of truth. One day the world-adorning Shāhinshāh felt constrained by the presence of short-sighted men, and began to chafe. The power of indignation which in a disposition innately equable is an ingredient deposited by the Lord of power broke out into anger. He became averse to the servants of fortune's threshold who always attended on his stirrup and separated from them, and issued an order that no one of his retinue should be in attendance on him. He even sent away his grooms and such like persons that the solitude of his retirement might not be contaminated by the crowd of this class of men and went out unattended and alone from the camp of fortune. In reality he was engaged in prayerful communion with his God, ostensibly he was angered with men. Among his special horses there was a noble 'Irāqī horse called Ḥairān which Khiẓr Khwāja Khān had presented to him. It had not its like for spirit and swiftness, and was also unequalled for viciousness. When he was left loose no one could come near him, and it was with difficulty that he
61 could be re-caught. The divine hero of the world, owing to his strength and courage, rode him constantly. In this period of solitude he mounted upon this auspicious steed, and set off rapidly, leaving society aside and increasing his glory by the presence of God. When

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he had gone some distance he dismounted for some purpose, and, becoming heedless of the nature of his steed, assumed the posture of communing with his God. That swift and fiery horse acted according to its custom and rushed off rapidly so that it disappeared from the far-searching gaze of His Majesty. When his holy heart was again disposed to mount, there was no-one in attendance, and no horse at his service. For a little while he was perplexed what to do, when suddenly he saw that this very horse was coming from a distance and galloping towards him. It ran on till it came back to him and stood quietly waiting for him. His Majesty was astonished and again mounted the noble animal. It must be considered as one of the strange faculties of this throne-adorning dominion that a horse, whose habit was not to allow himself to be readily mounted, and who, when he ran off, could with difficulty be re-caught, and who had gone off and disappeared in such a plain, should, merely on the attention of the Shāhinshāh being directed towards him come back of his own accord and quietly submit to be re-mounted. Bravo! what apprehension can there be from solitude to him whom the incomparable Deity favours, and of whom he takes charge? And what improbability is there in such things happening to him? Although it may seem as if the wisdom-erecting Deity makes the world-adorning beauty of this spiritual and temporal visible to him alone, yet in reality it is the setting forth of sundry lamps in the highway of guidance for the direction of the short-sighted and superficial, in that they who know in him a visible lord and king may, what is more and better, know him as a spiritual ruler, and recognising that the pleasing of him is the pleasing of God may arrive at the rose-rendezvous of eternal happiness.

Hail to the great one who attains to this knowledge, and joy to the fortunate one who receives such instruction! And what a blind atheist is he who in the presence of such lights of intelligence remains under the veil of irrecognition, and descends into the mire of ignorance! And what a futile wretch is he who in spite of having found this glorious station enters on the no-thoroughfare of hypocrisy and opposition and contends with God the Creator of the world! Let us be brief, for to noble discourse of this kind there is no limit! The Khedive of the earth recognised this mysterious intimation (the return of the horse) as a Divine inspiration and, renouncing his intention of solitude, addressed himself again to the cordial greeting of those

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loyal officers who were in the camp, and cast the shadow of kindness over these regions. Mankind rejoiced, and H.M. with his retinue reached Lahore on 25 Murdād, Divine month, corresponding to H. 11 Shawwāl (7 August, 1557), before the camp had arrived there. He
62 immediately occupied himself in hunting. After a few days the whole camp arrived.

The Khān-Khānān under the influence of the Sulṭān of imaginings again returned to the old story and began to suspect Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka. He said to him: "Although the countenance of my loyalty and devotion to the sublime family be free from the stain of deceit or dissimulation (revu in *rīyā*) and know that H.M.'s glance of grace and kindness to myself is without flaw and so I have no fear of any breach in the pillars thereof, yet as H.M. occasionally treats me with disfavour I believe this must come from your contrivances and calumnies (*s'aī s'aāyīt*). What have I done that you should gird up the loins of hostility against me and that in thirsting for my blood you should turn the sacred mind against me? And should even go so far as to attempt my life?" Shāmsū-d-dīn was troubled by this attack, and having collected all his relatives and dependants he went before the Khān-Khānān and made protestations, accompanied with solemn oaths, that he had never opened his mouth to speak ill of him, and that he never would do so. At last the Khān-Khānān came to his senses, and his anxiety abated somewhat.

Among the occurrences of this time was Bahādur Khān's being sent to Multan to put his jāgīr in order. As has already been intimated, this had been recently conferred on him. He was also ordered to give a lesson to the Bilūcīs of that neighbourhood, who had raised the head of refractoriness. Bahādur Khān, after arriving in that pleasant country behaved with bravery. A large number of foot and cavalry came to oppose him, and displayed great obstinacy. The fighting lasted for a month, but as the shadow of the fortunes of the lord of the earth had been cast over him, he became victorious by the Divine aid.

As the world-arranging God was about to reveal the majesty of the Shāhinshāh that it might come forth from the veil of acquiescence and personally regulate the distractions of the world, the screen over Bairām Khān's actions, who was always boasting of his loyalty, began to lift, and he became a traveller on a roadless tract. One of the

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vagaries which most sensible men observed in him was that with and without leave he distributed the royal elephants among his confidential officers (*ūmarā*). He even seized some of the reserved royal elephants, which were a screen for H.M.'s glory, on the pretence that he would make them over to (fitting)[1] men. The Khedive of the earth did not wish to submit to this tyranny but as actions have their final time, and that time had not yet arrived, he winked at the procedure and acquiesced in fate. Good God! What width of capacity! And what gentleness! And that too in early youth which is the time 63
for violence, and is the beginning of the boiling over of the powers of rage. But what is marvellous in a great man whom the Creator takes under his protection?

During the term that Lahore was made illustrious by the advent of H.M. the Shāhinshāh, Sulṭān Adam Gakkar came and did homage and was received with favour. As he had not come forward when the standards of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī, had first come for the conquest of India, he had an apprehension in his heart. But as he had performed an acceptable service, namely, the seizing and making over of M. Kāmrān, who was the source of so much strife and trouble, he was regarded with favour, and his petitions were continually coming to the sublime Court. At this time, when the earth obtained celestial splendour by the light (*far*) of H.M. the Shāhinshāh's throne, and Fortune was performing its vocation, *viz.*, to drag every chief and leader by the hair to do homage to the sublime Court, and to exalt them by eternal auspiciousness, a desire to kiss the threshold seized the collar of this fortunate one. But from his natural savagery he begged that when he should be exalted by service, he should not be taken to India along with the sublime cortège, and that he should not by marks of favour, be made an exile from his own country. He also begged that one of the confidential servants should seize him and carry him off to the sublime Court. The Shāhinshāh's graciousness ordered that his good services should be requited, and granted to the full all his requests. Taimūr[2] Khān Jalāīr was chosen

[1] This sentence is explained in the Iqbālnāma where we are told that Bairām took away the elephants saying that he would put them in charge of men who would train them for Akbar, and keep them under control, and that they would be given up whenever they were wanted for war or for riding.

[2] Perhaps the Taimūr Khān Jalāīr

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for this service and directed to conciliate him and to bring him to do homage. And he received more favours than had entered into the mind of his wishes.

Of the events which happened during the stay in Lahore, for the warning of strife-mongers there was the bringing to capital punishment of Takht Mal the Zamindar of Mau.[1] The brief account of this is as follows. This Zamindar in his evil-fatedness became a companion of Sultan Sikandar and was a cause of his errors. As the general custom of Indian Zamindars is to leave the path of single-mindedness and to have an eye to every side, and to join anyone who is victorious or who is making increasing stir, when there was confusion upon the unavoidable event (the death) of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī becoming known in India, and Sikandar Sūr uplifted the head of strife, that strayed one joined him and backed him up. When the standards of victory besieged Mānkot, and the garrison had got into difficulties he, according to Zamindari tricks, joined the army. When Bairām Khān became apprised of his intrigues he had him executed, and appointed in his room his brother, Bakht Mal, who was prominent for prudence and loyalty. As it is a principle of the Shāhinshāh's lofty
64 spirit that those who come in voluntarily, even if they do so out of necessity, should be protected from vengeance, and his noble nature, which partakes of thousands of kindnesses and generosities does not take into account the wrong-doings of such men, he did not approve of this execution. But as the veil over his world-adorning beauty had not been lifted, he did not give any outward sign (of his displeasure).

When his world-conquering mind was free from the affairs of the Panjab he spent the four months and fourteen days, during which Lahore was an object of envy to heaven from the splendour of the victorious army, in repose and pleasure: outwardly he wore the guise of one who did not attend to affairs, in reality he was deeply interested, and was testing the loyal. When the officers of the Caliphate had settled matters, the government of Lahore was entrusted to Ḥusain

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of subsequent entries. See Blochmann, 476. Badaūnī, Lowe, 13, mentions Makhdūm-al-Mulk as the intermediary. Perhaps A.F. suppressed his name on account of pique.

[1] This is Mau or Pathānkot in Gūrdāspūr, Punjab. See the accounts of Rajah Bāsū in the M. al-Umrā II. 158, and Jarrett II. 319. It is not far from Kāngra. See Beames, J.A.S.B., for 1875. p. 193.

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Khān [1], sister's son of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, and the victorious standards advanced in an auspicious hour, on 25 *Āzar*, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 15 Ṣafar 965, (7 December 1557) towards the capital of Delhi.

Among the events which happened while the army was encamped at Jālandhar was the marriage of the Khān-Khānān Bairām Khān with the cupola of chastity Salīmā Sulṭān Begum. The account of this is as follows. H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī had during the time of his rule betrothed that veil of chastity, who was his sister's son, and daughter of M. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad, to Bairām Khān, the arrangement being that he would make over the unique pearl, who was distinguished for illustrious lineage and noble qualities (*nasab u ḥasab*) among the chaste ladies of the court, to Bairām Khān, after the conquest of India. This promise remained as a pledge till a fitting opportunity. When Jālandhar became a seat of enlightenment owing to the arrival of the sublime camp, the Khān-Khānān applied his mind to the fulfilment of his claim, and begged the grant thereof from H.M. the Shāhinshāh. H.M., as under the guise of indifference he was treading the path of conciliation, signified his assent to the request, and promoted the marriage. All the Court ladies and specially Bīka [2] Maham Anaga showed great alacrity in furthering the marriage, and accordingly the marriage and the bridal procession (*zifāf*) took place within one week. M. Nūru-d-dīn was son of M. 'Alāūddīn Muḥammad, who was son of Khwāja Ḥasan, commonly known as Khwājazāda Caghānīān. This Khwājazāda was grandson of K. Ḥasan 'Aṭṭar, who again was the direct descendant of K. Alāūddīn who was the first Khalīfa of Khwāja Naqshaband.[3] Let it not be concealed that the Khwājazāda Caghānīān was son-in-law of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Sultan Abū Saīd 65
Mīrzā. Pasha the daughter of 'Alī Shukr Beg the third ancestor [4] of Bairām Khān, and who was married to S. Maḥmūd, gave a daughter

[1] This is Ḥusain Khān Tukriyah. Calcutta Review for January, 1894.

[2] As a note to the text states, most MSS. have the word Bīka or Bega before Māham Anaga's name. No doubt it should be inserted.

[3] Shukr. This I think must refer to Pasha and not to 'Alī Shahr, though jadd is properly masculine. She was the mother of Bairām's great-aunt, *i.e.* she was sister of Bairam's great-grandfather Pīr 'Alī.

[4] Bāyazīd 250*b* calls Nuru-d-dīn the grandson of Sulṭān Ḥusain Baiqra.

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whom she had by the Mīrzā to the Khwājazāda. H.M. Getī Sitānī Firdūs Makānī on considering these relationships showed favour to M. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥmud, in whom he saw marks of sincerity and loyalty, and gave in marriage to him his daughter Gulbarg Begum. Salīma, who was distinguished for good qualities, purity and nobility of disposition, was born of that holy one (Gulbarg B.). H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī had thought of this connection (the marriage with Bairām) on account of those relationships. Good God! What an imitative world it is! Because S. Mahmūd made a mistake about Khwājazāda Caghāniān, in that he made an alliance with a strange family, why was it that H.M. Firdūs Makānī followed this up by making an alliance with M. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥd. [1], and for what reason

[1] Khwāja Bahāūddīn.

This is the Pasha Begam of Bābar's Memoirs, Erskine, p. 30. She was the daughter of 'Alī Shukr, Erskine's 'Alī Shīr, of the Black Sheep. She was first married to Muḥammadī Mīrzā, the son of Jahān Shāh, and afterwards to S. Maḥmūd Mīrzā, one of Bābar's paternal uncles. By him she had one son and three daughters. Bābar tells us what became of one daughter, but curiously enough, says nothing about the other two and proceeds immediately to give details about five other daughters of his uncle by another wife (Pāpa Agāca). Is it possible that Bābar married them both, and did not say anything about them, agreeably to his usual reticence about his own wives? He certainly married one of the two, *viz.*, Ṣaliḥa Sulṭān, for the M. Raḥīmī, A.S.B. MS., p. 281b tells us so. She is, I believe, the Dildār B. of Bābar and Gulbadan B.'s Memoirs, for according to the MS. just cited she was the mother of Gulrang. The same MS. tells us that Gulrang married Nūr Muḥd. and was the mother of Bairām K.'s wife Salīma Sulṭān. Other authorities call Salīma the daughter of Gulrukh or Gulbarg. Perhaps, as suggested by Blochmann and Beale, Gulrang, Gulrukh, and Gulbarg are all names for the same lady. But it must be confessed that there is some confusion, inexplicable as yet, about Salīma's parentage and about Gulrang or Gulbarg. Abūl Faẓl tells us in his second volume, p. 65, that Bābar gave his daughter Gulbarg in marriage to Nūruddīn Muḥd., who was a Naqshbandī, and that she was mother of Salīma. Elsewhere, Vol. I., p. 149, he says that Nūruddīn M. was married to Gulrang B. and that he was the father of Salīma. These two statements are not contradictory, for he does not say that Gulrang was the mother of Salīma, and it may be that there were two daughters of Bābar, one Gulbarg or Gulrukh, and the other Gulrang, and that Nūruddīn married them both, one after the other. But against this there is the fact that Gulbadan does not name any daughter of her father's called Gulrukh or

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did this alliance take place now in pursuance of what had gone before?

Gulbarg. There is the further difficulty that Abūl Faẓl tells us that Bābar gave his daughter in marriage to Nūruddīn, whereas Gulbadan tells us that he gave his daughter Gulrang in marriage to Ishān Taimūr. This was very shortly before Bābar's death, and we find Ishān Taimūr living and serving Humāyūn in Scinde. Either then, the marriage with Ishān never was completed, or A.F. is wrong in saying that Nūruddīn was married to Gulbarg in Bābar's lifetime, or Gulrang and Gulbarg are two different persons. If we knew when Salīma was born, matters would be cleared up a little. But Jahāngīr speaks of her as dying in 1021, at the age of 60. If so she can only have been 4 or 5 when Bairām married her, and only 2 or 3 when Humāyūn promised her to him. This is very unlikely, and I suspect, in spite of the MSS. that Jahāngīr, wrote 80 instead of 60. Then, too, is it possible that there were two Nūruddīns, and that the one to whom Bāiram gave his daughter was the Shaikh Nūru-d-dīn mentioned in the Ḥabīb-as-siyār, Bombay lithograph II. 347, who was a brother of Shaikh Zain, and who died in Bābar's service in 928 A.H.?

On the whole I incline to the opinion that Bābar had a daughter named Gulbarg, or Gulrukh, and as well as one named Gulrang, and that Nūruddīn was married by Bābar to Gulbarg, that she was the mother of Salīma, and that, after her death perhaps, he married her half-sister Gulrang. It may be worth noting that though Gulbadan B. does not mention any Gulrukh or Gulbarg among her father's daughters she mentions a Gul'azār who was a daughter of Gulrukh and a full sister of Kāmrān and 'Askarī. She does not tell us what became of Gul'azār, and as the name has the same meaning as Gulrukh it is possible that she is the lady whom Bābar gave in marriage to Nūruddīn. Against this there is the almost certainty that Salīma was descended from Pasha Begam who was also an ancestress of Bairām, for in all probability this common descent was one reason for the marriage. But Salīma could not have been descended from Pasha if Gul'azār was her mother.

Nūruddīn belonged to the Naqshbandī (see Jarrett III. 358) order as has been said. There is a biography of his great-great-grandfather K. Ḥasan Aṭṭār in the Khazīna-al-aṣfīya, I., p. 562. It is stated there that K. Ḥasan died in 826 and that he is buried in Caghānīān (qu. Ḥiṣār Shādmān?). See also Safīna-al-auliya, p. 80, notice of K. Ḥasan Aṭṭār's father Alāūddīn Aṭṭār. K. Ḥasan 'Aṭṭār was son-in-law of Khwāja Buzurg, *i.e.*, apparently K. Bahāūddīn. A.F.'s remarks about the imitativeness of Humāyūn seem misplaced. Humāyūn probably gave Salīma in marriage to Bairām because they were related through 'Alī Shukr, and not because of the marriages made by S. Mahmūd and Bābar. It appears also from the M.

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Raḥīmī that Bairām's mother Nagīna Khānim belonged to the Naqshbandī K. family. See marginal note to p. 176 of A.S.B. MS.

Apparently the Naqshbandī family were always considered as connected with the royal family; for M. Muḥd. Ḥakīm gave his sister, Humāyūn's daughter, Fakhru-nisā, to Khwāja Naqshbandī after the death of her first husband Abū-l-m'aālī, and Akbar married his son Daniel to a daughter of Sulṭān Khwājah.

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CHAPTER XVI.

BEGINNING OF THE THIRD DIVINE YEAR FROM THE DATE OF THE ACCESSION OF H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH TO WIT THE YEAR KHURDĀD OF THE FIRST CYCLE.

God be praised! The talisman of the second year of the Divine Era which was decked with the jewels of joy and pleasantness became a pendant on Time's ear, and an adornment of the necks of years and months, whilst the vernal star of the third Divine year took with greatness the fields of dominion and fortune. After four hours, twenty-eight minutes of Friday, the 20th Jamāda-al-awwal 965 (10 March, 1558), the enthroned one of the fourth heaven (the sun) burnished the gloom of the seven spheres and entered the sign of Aries. He gave fresh vigour to the outer and the inner world. Indescribable cosmos was bestowed on the faded earth and the aged sky. Hearts closed against joy received pleasure upon the apparition of the auspicious lights of this year, and the longers after happiness drew in peace and hope from the New Year gale.

Verse.

By the vernal fragrance, the world's brain
Made [1] the air the aloes of Qimār,
From the musk-scattering of the joyous breeze
The earth's navel grew full of perfume,
Musk was strewn on the earth in tons [2]
The air was like a shell strewn with civet
From faintness the moon did not shed her light,
Blood dripped from the tulip, and tears from the jasmine

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[1] Some MSS. read *sokhta* instead of *sākhta*, and this is probably preferable. The meaning then would be that the air became odoriferous like burning aloes. Qimār is said to be Cape Comorin or at least some place in India which yields aloes. See Vullers s.v.

[2] Kharwār lit. by ass-loads.

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The violet, to baffle the evil eye, swiftly
Marked with blue [1] the ear-lobe of the parterre.

66 After the New Year rejoicings, and the outspreading of victory and conquest, the auspicious fruit-trees of the Divine Gardens, to wit the victory-marked standards of the Shāhinshāh advanced from Jālandhar towards Delhi, hunting and destroying wild beasts on the way.

When the army had crossed the Satlaj, upon the banks of which the town of Lūdhiāna is situated, swift messengers brought the news that Ḥājī Khān, of whom a short account has already been given, was opposing strenuously and on equal terms the force which had been sent to quell him. It was therefore resolved that the army of fortune should proceed to Ḥiṣār and ascertain the condition of the force which had gone forth. If it was necessary to despatch a second body of troops, this army was to proceed to the scene of action and put H.M.'s mind at care about that country. In accordance with this excellent plan the whole of the sublime camp was sent to Ḥiṣār under the charge of Nāṣir-al-mulk rapidly, while H.M. the Shāhinshāh went to Sirhind in order to pay the respects of devotion, and that he might rejoin the army after having visited the shrine of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Ashiyāni. May his proofs be illuminated! For when the officers were defeated, and Hemū was predominant, Khanjar [2] Beg and a number of the servants of the Court had brought that monarch's holy corpse to Sihrind and the coffin was now lying there, shrouded in curtains. In a short space of time he had paid his devotions, and gone on to Ḥiṣār and illuminated the camp there by his presence. Bāirām Khān-Khānān was at his own request, permitted to accompany H.M. in the expedition (to Sihrind). While the standards were in Ḥiṣār a quarrel arose between Nāṣir-al-mulk and Shaikh Gadai. As Bāirām Khan was much inclined to the Shaikh he took his part, and Nāṣir-al-mulk was grieved of heart for some days

[1] That is, it gave a tinge of mourning to avert the evil eye.

[2] He was related to Tardī Beg, and was a poet. He joined the rebellion of 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān, and for this reason perhaps he is not mentioned in the Āīn. Badaūnī gives a long extract from his poems III. 223. He also praises him for his musical talents. See also Blochmann, 533. He is the Khanjarī Turk whom Badaūnī mentions, Lowe 387, as having died of emerods in 999 (1591).

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and did not come to court. In a short time a number of good men interposed and produced a reconciliation.

When the sound of the victorious army reached Ḥājī Khān and his men, they separated without fighting and every one went to his own place. Ḥājī Khān hastened to Gujrāt and M. Qāsim Khān of Nīshāpur, marched to Ajmīr and took charge of that quarter.

Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram and a numbers of others were sent to take Jitāran (a fort in Jodhpur, Jarrett II. 276, and Blochmann, 389 n.) The victorious heroes by the strength of their swords and the might of their courage conducted many of the stiff-necked Rajputs to the abyss of annihilation and took possession of the fort. The surface of that country was cleared from the rubbish of stubborn rebels.

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CHAPTER XVII.

67 March of the world-conquering army of the Shāhinshāh to Delhi and its arrival at that wondrous city.

When the world-subduing mind was at ease with regard to those regions, the sublime army proceeded towards Delhi *via* Samāna. Stage after stage was marked by the distribution of justice and the bestowal of joy, and on 5 Ardībihisht, Divine month, equal to 25 Jamāda-al-akhirī, the world-adorning standards cast light and shade on the plains of the capital. The grandees of the city hastened to go forth to welcome them and made the dust of the world-traversing army the ornament of the forehead of their own good fortune. The lights of equity and justice, and the radiances of the Shāhinshāh's kindness and favour were shed on high and low. By the aid of the Director of Fortune, affairs military and civil were put anew into proper order. At this time the Khān-Khānān and all the officers and pillars of the empire held a great assemblage in the Shāhinshāh's Diwānkhāna twice a week; whatever was fixed upon there with regard to political and financial matters was humbly represented to the Shāhinshāh, and whatever his world-obeyed command directed, received the royal signature.

Among the wonderful things which the juggling heavens brought forth from behind the screen of extraordinary events there was the story[1] of the loves of 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān and a camel-driver's son. In consequence of this his intrinsic baseness was revealed, and he became an object of scorn to mankind. The brief account of this is as follows: In the reign of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshyānī, Shāham Beg, the son of a camel-driver, and who was conspicuous for external beauty was one of the special body-guard. From innate depravity, the Khān Zamān fixed his lustful gaze on this camel-driver's son and spent his days in giving to this outburst of concupiscence, and ebullition of bestial desire the name of Love. After the inevitable event of H.M. Jahānbānī, Shāham Beg and Khūshhāl Beg[2] who also belonged to the

[1] See Badāūni, Lowe 13, for a full account, and for the description of the fate of Shāham.

[2] He is mentioned by Sidi 'Alī, p. 50, and described as a superb youth. He too joined Khān Zamān

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body-guard, were honoured by doing homage to H. M. the Shāhinshāh at Jālandhar and were enrolled in the body-guard. At this time Khān Zamān in his folly and wretchedness sent men to entice him, and he being without intrinsic goodness, and proud of his fleeting, unsubstantial beauty took this opportunity to be the making of his fortune and deserted. For in a Court where real beauty was prized and where this is a place also for outward agreeableness when associated with substantive loveliness, what demand was there for this man of outward comeliness, and how could such an one meet with the Shāhinshā's glance of approbation? In fine, that unfortunate fled in foolishness from fortune's house and presented himself before the Khān Zamān. He made beauty's bazar brisk, and that ingrate (the Khān Zamān) whose evil 68
disposition was supplemented by the intoxication of courage and success, took to disgraceful courses; and as the wicked spirits of Transoxiana in the darkness of their heart have no respect to glory and majesty, and apply a sublime name to impure, tainted wretches, saying, "My Pādshāh, my Pādshāh," so did this depraved one used to address Shāham Beg, and bow down before him and perform the *kornish*.[1] In the superfluity of his naughtiness, of which only a little may be said, he left the way of auspiciousness and trod the path of destruction. A greater evil was the coming to him of flatterers, whose crooked glances regarded nothing but their own interest. For this reason they continually gave a good complexion to his wickednesses, and worked for their own preferment. Whenever a man of evil nature is in high position, and gives way to intoxication, and a crowd of flatterers beset him, the spiritual and temporal condition of such a man deteriorates, and he ends in the ruin of his health and wealth. The evil-ending career of 'Alī Qulī Khān is an illustration of this.

When the irreverence and shamelessness of those ill-fated ones came to the knowledge of H.M., admonitory letters were sent and wise exhortations and commands were issued. The lofty order was: "Our Court is a sea of pardon and beneficence. The man who by submitting himself to desire and the society of wicked flatterers is over-

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and was captured and put to death. Elliot V. 322, and Lowe, 101.

[1] It is stated in the Rauẓātu-t Ṭāhirīn of Ṭāhir Muḥammad that the Khan Zamān put upon Shāhim Beg the robe of honour which Akbar had sent to himself.

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powered by the lord of lust and passion becomes the mark of various disgraces. Let nothing be said now of virility, truth, loyalty, devotion and sincerity, but take hold of the thread of prudence--the safeguard of the generality of mankind--and repent of your deeds and amend your evil-doings by good service; send that camel-driver's son to Court, so that we may regard your deeds as not done, and exalt you by royal favours. If through folly and immodesty you obey not the royal commands, your punishment will be cast into your bosom, that it may be a warning to other short-sighted and intoxicated ones." Meanwhile, as the intoxication and evil nature of 'Alī Qulī Khān became more and more manifest, the world-adorning mind determined that a number of brave men should be settled in his neighbourhood, so that he might be removed from his unique position and absolute power, and yet not have the veil of his honour rent. For this reason the town of Sandīla (in Oudh) was given in fief to Sulṭān Ḥusain Khān Jalāīr. That wicked one (Khān Zamān) had of his own authority given this town to Ism'āīl Khān the son of Ibrāhīm Khan, Uzbeg and a near relation of his own. Whenever the head of a party engages in evil and disloyalty, his followers necessarily become void of auspiciousness. Consequently Ism'aīl Khān did not give up the pargana but proceeded to resist. Sulṭān Ḥusain Khān,
69 being backed by such a lord of fortune took it from him by force, and the latter took refuge with 'Alī Qulī Khān, and came against him with a large army. Sulṭān Ḥusain Khān, marched out with his men to put him down, and as he was one of those associated with eternal fortune he was victorious in spite of the numbers of the enemy. A large number of the worst of the evil-doers who had set their lives on disloyalty were levelled with the dust of annihilation. Shāh Budāgh Bulāqī[1] who was nearly related to 'Alī Qulī Khān, and was one of the distinguished of the age for bravery, hastened to the hell of extinction. 'Alī Qulī Khān on account of his innate wickedness wanted to go and encounter Sulṭān Ḥusain Khān, and to quit once for all the screen of respect, and to blacken his face for ever and ever. A number of wise and far-seeing men withheld him from this improper purpose and engaged him in correcting his evil deeds. He too took the advice and exerted himself to amend. But as he

[1] There is the variant Bidāqī and this is the form given by M'atamid Khān.

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did not possess a happy constitution, he did not separate that camel-driver's son from himself, nor withdraw his hand from other evil deeds. Secretly he plotted wickedness, outwardly he showed improvement. Nāṣir-ul-Mulk continually vituperated his bad behaviour and strove for sending an army against him and for chastising him, while Bairām Khān took the part of 'Alī Qulī Khān and from his magnanimous nature regarded his lawless acts as unacted. His friends at court gave him weighty admonitions, and as that evil-doer could not turn back from his deeds he had recourse to tricks and stratagems. He sent a confidential servant named Burj 'Ali to Court in the hope that he might perhaps put his affairs straight, and find a remedy for the agitations at Court. In those days Nāṣir-ul-mulk was all powerful, and political and financial affairs were committed to his weighty judgment. He followed loyalty from the bottom of his heart and did not regard the partiality of Bairām Khān. One day Burj 'Alī, who belonged to the turbulent set of 'Alī Qulī Khān's society, went to Nāṣīr-ul-mulk, and uttered words which were out of all bounds. Accordingly the truth-recognising soul of Nāṣir-ul-mulk became indignant, and he ordered Burj 'Alī to be stretched out and beaten with rods, and that he should be thrown from the tower of Delhi fort and flung into the moat of annihilation. Then he said, "This fellow is now an illustration[1] of his own name (*Burj*, a tower)." Baīrām Khān was much vexed at this. He cherished revenge for it in his heart, and put off the punishment to another time.

Among the dominion-increasing events which came to pass in Delhi at this time was the bringing to capital punishment of Muṣāḥib Beg the son of Khwāja Kilān Beg. This was effected by the loyal exertions of Nāṣir-ul-mulk, and it relieved mankind from his (Muṣāḥib's) seditiousness. The brief account of this is that his futile soul was ever crammed with hypocrisy and his disposition compact of wickedness. Both in the time of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat 70
Āshiyānī and at the emergence of the world-adorning sun of H.M.

1 There is little point in this cruel jest, and Badāūnī justly characterises it as an instance of Pīr Muḥammad's hardness of heart. Perhaps such point as there was lay in the contrast between the lofty tower, and the little man (*mardak*) lying at the foot and broken into small pieces (the *khūrdgasht* of Badāūnī).

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the Shāhinshah improper actions of his came to light. H.M. Jinnat Ashiyānī used to call him Muṣāhib-i-Munāfiq (the hypocritical companion), as has already been mentioned.

At this time he spent part of his worthless days in the society of Abu-al-M'aālī, and in evil plottings, and another part in the Eastern Districts as one of the evil companious of 'Alī-Qulī Khān. He made his son 'Alī Qulī's *muhrdār* (Sealer), and as the measure of his life was nearly full he came with evil intentions from there to Delhi. Bairām Khan imprisoned him and then sent him off to Mecca in company of trustworthy men. He had come out of his lodging (*qadmgāh*),[1] and was proceeding on his way, when his business was settled and his foot (*qadm*) went down to extinction. Naṣir-ul-Mulk was the cause of this. By skilful management he brought Bairām Khān to have two pieces of paper, on one of which was written "Death" and on the other "Release" These were to be spread[2] out, and whichever of them should come out and fall face upwards should be regarded as the Divine Command, and acted upon accordingly. Fate favoured his design, and immediately persons were sent and he was brought to punishment.

Among the improper things which occured this year was the slaying of Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn[3] Bujūq. The brief account of this is that he was Pādshāh Qulī, *i.e.*, he was the king's slave and did not go out of his way to pay homage to other men. Now the great men of the world look to the establishment of their own position, and like everyone to court and flatter them. Consequently many grandees of the empire did not like him. Moreover he had the fault of levity and

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[1] *Qadmgāh.* I think this merely means his lodging, *lit.*, the place of his feet; but the word also means a privy. It is likewise possible that it means the place in Delhi where there was a footprint of the prophet. Such a Qadm Sharīf is described in Syed Aḥmad's Asār Sanādīd, p. 92, No. 91. It was built in Fīrūz Shāh's time 709 A.H. or 1310 and is, or was, opposite to the Purāna Qil'a. See also Harcourt's Guide to Delhi, p. 140.

[2] The Lucknow editor says they were made into a ball and then opened out. M'utamid Khān says they were put under a *takhyahnamad* and that the one first drawn out was acted upon. (The *takhyanamad* was perhaps a pillow or cushion, but Blochmann, 55, translates it as "wooden coverlet."

[3] See translation, p. 142, para. 2. The name "Pādshāh Qulī" was one assumed by Jalālu-d-dīn to show that he was wholly devoted to Humāyūn.

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of making jokes, which perhaps is the worst of offences in the eyes of the great. He uttered pleasantries about the leaders of the age, and under the guise of witticisms—which the ignorant call agreeable facetiousness—he said things which were far from being proper, so that there was no one who did not carry in his side a wound from the thornbrake of his jesting. At this time when Ghaznīn had been entrusted to him on the recommendation of Muḥammed Qulī Khān Barlās, designing persons got their opportunity and both embittered Mun'im Khān's mind, and revived his old desire of being revenged upon him. In India too they stirred up Bairām Khān to kill him, and so were the cause of still further troubling Bairām's mind. Where is that far-seeing and good man who regards his master's welfare and does not for his private ends make useful servants the target for the arrows of revenge, and who casts out of view his own loss or gain and exerts himself in bringing forward men of ability? When the Khwāja heard that Mun'im Khān had given up his intention of going to India and that he was meditating revenge, he fell into great perplexity. He could not go to India for the Lord of the Age was behind the screen of insouciance, and Bairām Khān was very powerful. Considering that in the time of H. M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Ashiyānī on account of some improper expression which had been conveyed to Bairām Khan the latter had taken the opportunity of finding Jalālu-d-din alone in the 71
bath and had treated him with great ignominy, and in his anger had not had respect to H. M. Jahānbānī; now that his status was so high, and that the Lord of the Age was under the veil of inattention, how could he go before him? And what accusations the evil-hearted and oppressive would produce! Nor could he prevail upon himself to go to Kabul and see Mun'im Khān who affected to be well-disposed towards him. Disloyalty too was in Jelālu-d-din's estimation the worst of faults, and so he could not endure to turn away from the dominion conjoined with eternity to another country. Munīm Khān sent a number of people to give him confidence, and after having induced him to come by promises and agreement he put him in prison. After that they at his instigation lanced his eyes several times, but as his fate had not arrived, the brightness of his honest eyes was not dimmed. After some time when he was let go on the supposition that he was blind, he proceeded to Bangash and under the guidance of a Bangashī was on his way to India, so that he might by whatever

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means were possible, convey himself to the threshold of dominion; and that whatever unavoidable order might issue from his enemies (Bairām and others) he might at least be under the foot of his master. When Mun'im Khan heard of this he sent off some swift inquisitors. They caught him and his younger brother Jalālu-d-dīn Mas'aūd, and Mun'im Khān bound and imprisoned them. He was thinking how to get rid of them. At last he one night sent people to them and spilt the blood of these loyalists for his own shameful private ends! Bairām Khān too had drawn up and sent an order for putting them to death. H.M. the Shāhinshāh who in order to test the powerful, and for other reasons, was under the veil of inattention, was inwardly indignant on hearing of this proceeding, but left the retribution for it, as well as for other matters, to God the Creator and Adorner of the world, and in his wisdom said nothing. May Almighty God long preserve this exhibition of endurance in order that he may govern spiritually and temporally.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S INCLINATION FOR ELEPHANTS, AND THE FIGHTING OF RAGING ELEPHANTS.

The far-seeing, screen-choosing mind of H.M. the Shāhinshāh, which was constantly weaving the disguise of insouciance, and left political and financial matters to the lovers thereof, and daily drew a fresh veil over the face of his dominion conjoined with eternity, and thereby tested the boastful lovers of the world, gave its attention to camel-riding and to camel-fights at the time that he was adorning the veil in Kabul. For in that country there were no animals larger then they. Sometimes he, for the sharpening of his mind practised horse-riding, and the hunting with dogs. When India was made illustrious by his blessed advent he gave special attention to elephants, which are wonderful animals both in form and in ways. If in respect of size I liken them to a mountain in order to describe them to those who have not seen them, I do not **72** succeed in my attempt, for where is account taken of their beauty of form, and where is their swiftness? Or if I liken their speed and fury to the wind, how is their wrath depicted at the time of their o'erthrowing the firm-footed on the field of battle? If I compare them for foresight, intelligence, and sagacity to the horse, the real thing is not said. A separate volume would be required to describe their ferocity, their revenge, and their wondrous deeds. Such a work might be written by a sage without the adornments of fine writing. Eloquence and fluency alone are not sufficient for such a great subject being treated of in its entirety. In addition to true wisdom there must be a long life spent in the company of experienced men who have learnt the ways of this wondrous-looking, mighty-formed, highly intelligent, mountain-demolishing, horseman-throwing, army-confounding (animal), and thereby acquiring knowledge of the marvellous, awe-inspiring, astonishment-producing creature. And

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with all this, there must also be the beholding of his wrath and his gentleness, and of witnessing his wondrous actions. Then perhaps a little out of much can be written about him, so that the brevity of the account may not cause regret in the heart. Why should I, who have not these opportunities, make a long discourse and indulge in word-ornamentation? Why should I turn back from the purpose which I have in this noble volume? Assuredly it is better to be contented with what I have said of those wondrous creatures and that I increase the splendour of my own subject[1]!

When the sacred glance of H.M. the Shāhinshāh fell upon this wondrous animal, he recognised it as worthy of his attention and prepared a fresh screen for himself. In fact the world-adorning Deity decreed the commencement[2] of the beautifying of this unique one of the threshold of greatness (*i.e.* Akbar), and converted the subject-matter of the fear and terror of the superficial creature-worshippers into current coin, so that they might not break the chain binding them to this spiritual and temporal Khedive, and that they might not indulge in vain thoughts and might not proceed beyond their measure. For the adepts in this art and the teachers thereof were unable to tame the ferocity (of the elephant), while this Divine athlete subdued it by his courage. Evidently[3] it was proper to take notice of him! This also was for the wise and the pious the beginning of the perceiving and understanding of the works of this chosen one of God. For deeds which could not come within the mould of speech, and which could not be weighed in the balance of reason were displayed by this enthroned one. Ridings upon *mast*, men-killing, driver-throwing elephants, the sight of whom melted the gall-bladder of the iron-livered ones of this art were exhibited by this holy personality. When a *mast* and vicious elephant had killed its driver, and committed several other murders, so that it was a terror to the city, this assisted of heaven and pro-

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[1] There is a great deal about elephants in the Āīn Blochmann, 117 *et seq.*

[2] A.F. means that God made Akbar's control over elephants a means of showing to the vulgar Akbar's real power, and thus preventing them from presuming too much on his insouciance and breaking their allegiance.

[3] This is sarcasm. The ducks now saw there was something in the ugly duckling.

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tected by God came, as he was walking between the garden and the courtyard, placed his foot on the elephant's tusk and smilingly took his seat and set the elephant to fight with *mast* and quarrelsome elephants. In the very thick of the fighting when he saw that the driver of the other elephant had lost control of the animal, that Lion 73
of God leapt from his own elephant to the other. Then did the pious receive the collyrium of illumination! For it was impossible to approach this animal without God's protection, much less, to ride it, and again to control it with severity, and to engage it in fight with another elephant like itself! On beholding these wonders both the exoteric and the esoteric became submissive (*lit.* came into the condition of having the ring in their ears). It did not occur to anyone that he would saddle the elephant, and that he would arrange other tools and things in order that he might ride. He put a rope round the elephant's neck, as an ornament to him, and sitting near his neck twisted his foot into that rope. What shall I say?—the same thing as I said at first. I can't describe the affair. If the superficial reader thinks that in my description I have turned aside from the long highway of purpose into space, the intelligent and judicious will perceive that I have not deviated one foot from the way, and that I am hastening forward. But of the aggregate of instances of the Divine protection which aroused the spiritual and the worldly from the slumber of negligence and produced wonder in some and regret in others for their want of comprehension in past times, while they increased the understanding of another section and made it praise its own insight, there was this which occurred at Delhi when the holy mind was diverting itself with elephant-riding. One day he mounted the elephant called Lakhna, which was an exhibitor of terrific rage, at a time when it was at the height of its ferocity, evil nature and man-killing, and made it engage with an elephant like itself, so that the proudest were surprised. The elephant Lakhna, on which H.M. was riding, was victorious and was madly pursuing the other when suddenly its foot, which resembled a great pillar, fell into a deep ditch, and in its furious condition, and when the fumes of wrath were circulating in its brain, it made great struggles and movements. At this time an athlete who was riding on the elephant's rump, for the rule is that a lion-hearted, skilful man rides crupper on these mountain forms, and such a one is called in

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Hindi Bhoi,[1] could not sit the sky-high rearings of the elephant, and fell to the ground. Then, when cries awoke on every side, and the hearts of the loyal melted within them, the holy personality was also moved from its place, and his sky-brushing foot became fixed in the rope of the elephant's neck, which in Hindi is called Kalāwa.[2] H.M. with a heart which can throw the noose of courage on the heavens, and a palm which had God's help in its fingers, firmly seized the
74 the rope, and having hold of the strong cable of this Divine protection remained strong of heart and serene in soul. In that tumult and uproar which produce an earthquake in the terrene, and a riot in time, and while the elephant with his great strength was extricating his feet from the abyss, and was making marvellous struggles and inclining from side to side to the ground, and while on one hand there were the cries of the people, and on the other the efforts of the elephant for getting rid of H.M's sacred personality, a number of intrepid, loyal and alert men came and released H.M. from the elephant. The disturbed heart of the world was appeased, and the commoved life of the age became stationary again. I do not know if this beauty under the aspect of terror displayed itself without the intention of this chosen one, in order that the far-reaching thoughts of the wicked might be shortened by seeing such (Divine) guardianship, or whether that spiritual and temporal Khedive, that king of the visible and invisible, knowingly and designedly exhibited such glory, so that by one splendid act might be manifested the blindness of weak-sighted malevolents, and the illumination of the loyal. In a short time, when H.M. had put himself in order, the elephant by his own efforts brought out his foot from the hole and began to be riotous. H.M. with the same open view, and serene soul again mounted the elephant and proceeded, encompassed by the Divine protection, to his fixed abode. Bairām Khān Khān Khānān on hearing of the circumstances, which threw into agitation the tranquil souls of devotees, came to prostrate himself at the throne, and in gratitude for the safety of the royal person, and to avert the evil eye, distributed great largesses to the world. The cherubim of the Court of heaven and the members of the holy assembly raised the

[1] Blochmann 125.

[2] Blochmann 127 note. Apparently the word is really Persian.

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hands of supplication and implored from a bounteous God enduring dominion and the perfecting of humanity by the fostering care of this great lord of horizons!

Let it not be concealed from inquirers that the first elephant which H.M. the Shāhinshāh rode was called Dilsankār. It was sent along with other elephants by Bairām Khān Khān Khānān to H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī as part of the plunder of Māciwāra. H.M. Jinnat Āshiyānī presented that elephant in Lahore to H.M. the Shāhinshāh, and as his elephant-riding had not advanced so far as that he could ride alone on grand elephants, he used to ride this one, which was perfectly quiet. And there was an elephant called Faujbidār (scattering the army?) which at the very first time he rode alone without the help of a driver. This too was an elephant which H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī had presented to him. One day when H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī was coming from Māci- 75
wāra to Sihrind, H.M. the Shāhinshāh rode on that elephant as far as Sihrind. The first *mast* elephant that H.M. the Shāhinshāh rode was called Damūdar, which H.M. had presented to Bairām Khān. When H.M. the Shāhinshah was going from Delhi to Salīmgarha, which was on the bank of the Jumna, that elephant was tied under a tree by the roadside. As it possessed the virtue of steadiness the driver was, even in the height of its *mast* condition, taking cooked rice in his hand and putting it into the elephant's mouth. H.M. was pleased with the good behaviour of the elephant, and went up to it, and getting upon a female elephant which they had tied by its side, mounted upon the neck of Damūdar. The first *mast* elephant which H.M. the Shāhinshāh mounted upon, and engaged in battle with another *mast* elephant, was called Jhalpa. This was during the siege of Mānkot. After battle had been waged between these two monsters for a long time the contest ended, like a game of chess,[1] in a draw, and they were separated. At that auspicious time H.M's age had reached fourteen years. After this, the power of H.M. in riding *mast* elephants rose to such a pitch that that victory-supported one would unhesitatingly mount on a *mast* elephant which experienced drivers despairingly declined to ride (*lit.* placed the back of the hand on the ground of helplessness). And

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1 Fīl, elephant used to be the name of the rook at chess, and is now that of the bishop.

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he would lead it against *mast* elephants, and without exaggeration he rode more than a hundred times on *mast* elephants which had killed their drivers and were men-slayers, and were capable of smiting a city or perturbing an army, and engaged them in fighting. May Almighty God preserve this eternally-aided one for cycles and epochs on the throne of success and of fulfilment of the desires of mortals!

Among the dominion-increasing events of this time there was this, that Khwāja 'Abdulla, son of Khwāja Muḥammad Zakarīāh the son of Khwāja Dost Khawand, on whose forehead was the jewel of orthodoxy, along with other high-minded Khwajas, who had their *jāgīr* in the town of Talūndī[1] and Mīrza Ḥasan of Tirmiẕ, and Qarā Bahādur of Kashghar, were appointed to proceed against Rājah Kapūr Cand, who had shut himself up in the fort of Jamū.[2] These good servants marched according to proper regulations and displayed full zeal and loyalty. By the help of victorious dominion they fought a great battle and won a great victory. They obtained much plunder, and the jewel of their good service and right action was tested.

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[1] Jarrett II. 320. See T.A. 393, where Camīārī, which is not far off, is described as a Khwājah fief.

[2] In Kashmir, but held at that town by a Rajput family whose domains extended into Sialkot. Talūndī was not far from Jammū, for which see Jarrett II. 320 and note.

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CHAPTER XIX.

H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S PROGRESS TO AGRA, AND OTHER OCCURRENCES.

When the pleasant region of Delhi had been for six months 76
an abode of justice and peace owing to the stay there of H.M. the Shāhinshāh, and its affairs had been arranged according to the instructions of inspiration, the world-adorning mind, which is a ray from the world-lighting splendour of the sun, and a light derived from the fountains of eternal light, resolved that the sublime standards should proceed to Agra, which for air and water makes Bagdad ashamed of the Tigris, and Egypt of the Nile, and his ocean-scattering mind decided on travelling by boat and on the river Jumna. The fluviatile officers prepared vessels and boats, and outside and inside the planks were beautified by silks. On the day of Ishtād 26 Mihr, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 26 Zī-hajja, (9th October, 1558) that ocean-hearted Shāhinshāh and that ocean without a bound embarked, and imparted the dignity of the circumambient ocean to a petty piece of water. The great officers, the courtiers and others who had made preparations for the journey also embarked. It seemed as if the river was in fête; or as if the tulip and the rose had raised their heads from the water. With all kinds of joy and pleasure they set out towards Agra. On that pleasant journey they engaged in fishing and in water-fowling. And the sublime reunion, which was another river brimful of grand jewels, became by the effect of the movement of the boat-shaped flagons billowy with gifts and munificance, till at length on 17 Ābān, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 17 Muḥarrum 966=30th October 1558, the crescent-moon of the standards of the Shāhinshāh emerged from the ascension point of the horizon of the city of Agra, and made that fortunate and auspicious city the centre of the circle of the throne and the ascension point of the light of fortune. H.M. the Shāhinshāh gave celestial rank to the citadel, which was known by the name of Bādalgarha, by his alighting there. Abodes were

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distributed to the grandees. Fortune took up her dwelling there, and auspiciousness laid her foundation in that rose-garden. In a short space of time this city became, by the blessing of the sublime advent, the rosy cheek of the seven climes. It is a city of temperate heat and cold, its climate harmonises with the constitution, for trees and fruits its soil is like Khurāsān and 'Irāq. The river Jumna, which has few like it for the lightness and digestibility of its water, flows through it. On either side the servants of fortune's threshold erected pleasant homes and made charming gardens which come not within the mould of description. With all grandeur and glory it became once more the abode of the Caliphate, and the centre of the Sultanate.

77 As the auspicious constellations regard with favourable aspects the fortunate horoscope of the Shāhinshāh, and results corresponding thereto must show themselves, predestined victories, and the unveiling of the brides of aspirations displayed themselves in their order. Every hope which promised to arise either by dint of struggle and labour, or without effort or striving, was fulfilled in divers ways. Among these was the happy augury which occurred after the coming to Agra, *viz.*, the facile conquest of the fort of Gwāliar. It has already been briefly stated that Qīyā Khān and an army of gallant men had gone to beseige it. But as that strong fortress is for strength and solidity a masterpiece of the wise of former times, and a wondrous memorial of skilful ancients, so that to take it by force is impossible, and could only be thrown open by the daily-increasing prestige of such a master of Fortune, the enterprise had not advanced in spite of the endeavours of the world-conquering combatants. At this time, when Agra became the seat of the standards of victory, Ḥabīb 'Alī Khān and Maqṣūd 'Alī Sulṭan and a number of others were appointed to assist Qīyā Khān. Bahabal Khān did not neglect the smallest point in the maintaining of the fort. A number of guides to fortune who were his well-wishers gave him sound advice to the effect that though the fort was strong, and supplied with munitions, yet nothing could prevail against Divine help and celestial fortune, especially when no protector remained to back him up. As the remark was very just he accepted the counsel, and in Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Rabī'-al-Ākhir, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī went at the request of the garrison and composed his (Bahabil's) disturbed mind, and brought him to serve

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H.M. the Shāhinshāh. That auspicious one recognised that to make over the keys of the fort to the imperial servants was to open the gates of his own wishes. That strong fort come into the possesssion of the heroes of fortune. H.M. treated him with great kindness and gave him presents, robe of honour and a fief. In fact it was by payment of promises of kindness that so many great works were accomplished. A new article of faith was added, *viz.*, belief in the truth and rectitude of that mine of the greatness of collective humanity. A fresh support was given to those wandering in the desert of astonishment. All were convinced that whatever was determined in this world-protecting court would be fulfilled without fail. Nor would any room he given for evil-doing by any shortsighted **78** and narrow-minded person. The wild denizens of the wilderness of unsociability obtained confidence and found direction to the pleasant abode of society, for this is a court where, as regards advancement and selection, no heed is taken of identity, or difference of race. Whoever has a clear conscience, and a sincere heart, and a grateful soul, and ability, and knows the value of instruction, escapes from the furnace of punishment and receives princely favours.

Of the events which occurred during this fortunate year was the engaging in battle of Kámāl Khān Ghakar, and his victory. The facts of this beautiful story are that at the time when Agra became the abode of sovereignty it came to the royal ears that an Afghan tribe called the Mīyāna was stirring up strife in Saranj[1] which is in the province of Mālwa. H.M. sent Kāmāl Khān Ghakar against them as he showed marks of courage, and was fit for this employ. He went off with a body of troops and fought a battle. He was victorious and returned to kiss the threshold. He was rewarded by a robe of honour and received the towns of Karah, Fatḥpur,[2] Hanswah,[3] and other places in fief.

Among the occurrences was the sending of Adham Khān with a body of troops against Hatkānt. The brief account of this is that Hatkānt, than which there is no stronger place, is near Agra, and the

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[1] Blochmann 456.

[2] Jarrett II. 202. It was in Sarkār Cānderī.

[3] Jarrett II. 167, 168; and Blochmann 390 and 320. Karah, it seems, should be Karrah. In several MSS. Fatḥpur-Hanswah is written as one village.

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landholders are of the Bhadauriyah[1] tribe, etc., and are distinguished for sense[2] and courage. They always were in revolt against the Sultans of India. As Bairām Khān was always suspicious of Adham Khān, he thought to give him this territory in *jāgīr*, so that in this way he might be removed from Court, while at the same time the rebels of that quarter would receive punishment, and thus two good objects be carried out at once. Accordingly he was appointed to this jāgīr and despatched. Bahādur Khān, Khān Jahān, Saiyid Maḥmūd Bārha, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Ṣādiq Khān, Ism'aīl Qulī Khān, Kharram Khān, Amīr Khān and a number of heroes were inscribed in this army. By God's help they subdued the country, and the seditious received fitting punishment.

One of the events of this year was the arrival at Court of Shāh Muḥammad Qilātī, to whom the governorship of Qandahār had been entrusted by Bairām Khān. It has already been recorded that when Shāh Muḥammad Qilātī had worsted Bahādūr Khān, the brother of the Khān Zamān, by entering into engagements with the ruler of Persia, and by bringing an army from there, he had not stood by his promises. Consequently the ruler of Persia appointed his brother's son, Sulṭān Ḥusain M., the son of Bahrām M. and his nephew's guardian, Ḥusain Beg Īcak Ughlī Istajlū, and Wali Khalīfa Shāmlū to
79 take Qandahār. Shāh Maḥd., relying on the buttress of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, exerted himself to hold the fort, and the siege was protracted.

At length some Rustum-like heroes sallied out one night from the New Gate and attacked the batteries of Walī Khalīfa Shāmlū. They wounded him, and killed many. After a long discussion Sulṭān Ḥusain M. retired from the foot of the fort without having accomplished his purpose. The ruler of Persia was vexed and sent the said Mīrzā, 'Alī Qulī Sulṭān the Governor of Shīrāz, and Walī Khalīfa Shāmlū with a large force to get possession of Qandahār by every means possible. 'Alī Qulī Sulṭān, who had boasted much about this affair, made great efforts to take the fort, but became by a

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[1] See Elliot's Supplemental Glossary, Beames, 1859, Vol. I, 25, for an account of the Bhadaurya tribe and of Hatkānt. The Bhadauryas are a branch of the Chauhān Rurjputs. See also Blochmann, 488.

[2] *Hushiyārī*. Some MSS. have *bisyārī* numbers, which seems preferable.

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musket-ball[1] a traveller to the region of non-existence. A division arose in the army. Though no outward assistance came from the Khedive of the Age, the Divine aid helped from time to time, and confounded such large forces. Sulṭān Ḥusain M., who could neither venture to return, nor judge it right to remain, spent his days in a distracted manner and encamped round the fort. Meanwhile Shāh Muḥammad Qilātī sent a representation to Court, explaining the state of the case, and in reply a command was issued to him to the effect that H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī used to say that when he had conquered India he would give Qandahār to the Shāh. It was not right to fight with these men, and to carry matters so far. The fort should be delivered to the Shāh's servants, and he, (Shāh Muḥammad) should, after making apologies, repair to Court. I laud the gentleness and humanity which were here displayed in such a high degree; and the observance of right and the adherence to obligations which were so conspicuous! In accordaace with the lofty order Shāh Muḥammad delivered over Qandahār to Sulṭān Ḥusain M., and proceeded to the Court, and this year had the bliss of service, and was the recipient of royal favours.

One of the strange occurrences was Shāh Quli Khān Maḥrams' becoming a *jogi* and hermit. There was a boy with him named Qabūl Khān who knew how to dance and whom he loved. As H.M. did not approve of this kind of conduct in any of his servants,[2] for though it may be pure, yet there are improprieties mixed up with it which sensible men well know, he prohibited it. Shāh Qulī could not give up the practice, and so it was ordered that the boy should be taken from him and made over to guards. Shāh Qulī Khān owing to the burden of humanity gave way to anguish and set fire to his name and fame. He put on the dress of a *jogi*, and sought retirement. Bairām Khān recited an ode to comfort him and tried to amend him. He came back to his allegiance to the Shāhinshāh. and was ashamed of what he had done; and he was treated with endless favours.

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[1] The text his *tīr-u-bandūq* which seems nonsense. The Lucknow edition and some MSS. have *tīr-i-bandūq*, which is a phrase for a musket-ball, and I adopt this reading.

[2] As Blochmann remarks, 409, the Maaṣīr II, 535, points out that this account differs from that in the 'Aālam-ārāī.

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One of the wonderful felicities that befel the holy personality during this time was that the Khedive was engaged in hunting at
80 Mandhākar, which is six *kos* from Agra, when a *cīta* pursued a fawn. He caught it in his mouth and was carrying it off when the mother, being moved by her affection, made a fierce attack on him. The *cīta* which was exulting in the prey it had taken, fell to the ground in disgrace; in appearance it was from the blow of the mother, in reality it was from the graciousness of the Shāhinshāh, and the gazelle escaped from the claws of death and scoured the plain along with its mother. Though the holy heart wished to remain veiled (*lit.* to adorn the curtain), yet the divine contrivance was revealing his world-adorning beauty. During this dominion-increasing time H.M. the Shāhinshāh always wore in Agra the garb of indifference, and was testing the men of the age. He was continually engaged in hunting deer with the *cīta*, and in elephant-fights, and such other external matters which the superficial man regards as matters of insouciance, while the wise recognise them as the veil of world-adorning beauty. The incomparble Deity day by day made the light of the sun of fortune of His own chosen one more and more resplendent, and what H.M. regarded as a veil of his beauty was converted by the Creator into exhibitions of his beauty, so that day by day the majesty of that Khedive of the age was exalted. The kingly might and majesty were continually unveiling themselves without any external insignia. The specialities and details of such actions cannot be committed to books and records. The dust-seated mote, Abul Faẓl, who has come in haste and is putting together an abridged account of the acts of this Khedive of the age, by questioning bit by bit those acquainted with them, is somewhat surprised at the eloquent and able men of this dominion-conjoined with eternity. For, if the lord of the world remained under a veil, and did not, for the instruction of mankind, dictate an account of his wondrous deeds, and glorious state, what negligence took possession of these able and connoisseurs, so that they have not collected the holy occurrences of this God-given dominion? Moreover where have I the ill-fated one, who have neither trunk nor leaf of outward growth and have to carry out royal orders, and who know that unstinted service is my reasonable devotion, and so spend my time in discordant occupations, the leisure to record things in detail? Yes, truly, if God grant me sufficient life in the service of His Majesty, I shall

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recite the wondrous tale of my spiritual and temporal king, and under this guise pay my devotions to God! In short, although the ruler of the age was spending his days under the veil of indifference, yet every day men of genius and talent, loyal combatants devoted heroes, sages, and other men of skill were coming from the quarters of the earth in troops and were gaining their desires. The court of the king became the shadow of the Divine Court, every section succeeded above its wishes and became part of the army of fortune; and the garden of human hearts blossomed out in various colours, and **81** gladness and joy went on increasing.

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CHAPTER XX.

Beginning of the fourth Divine year from the sacred accession of the Shāhinshāh, to wit, the year Tīr of the first cycle.

Thanks be to unequalled bounty, and to unceasing excellence that the third year of the Divine Era has happily come to an end, and that time has come for the beginning of the fourth year. On Sunday[1] 2 Jumāda-al-akhirī 966 (12? March 1559) the light of Akbar[2] and the great light shed their radiance on the house of exaltation. The visible and invisible world obtained splendour; the gates of joy were opened before mortals, the things of delight displayed brilliancy before the eyes of mankind, the orb (*kaukava*) of the Sulṭan of spring (the sun) inflamed the world and took possession thereof; the sound of the army of King Rose opened the ears of time and the terrene; the New Year-bounty of the spirit of vegetation breathed on the bodies and moulds of terrestrials; the liberality of spring bestowed brain-nourishing odours and perfumes on the horizons; the vernal breeze taught the nurslings of the garden the tripping gait[3] of the partridge and the stately step of the pheasant, the atmosphere gave to earth's fixtures the ascension of fire, and the mobility of water. The brown covering of earth was changed into a satin and brocade[4] carpet, without woof or warp, of verdure and roses; the throats of the birds of the garden threw discredit on the fine-breathing flute, the beak of the nightingale buffeted Pan's[5] pipes, the tulip laughed at the bill of the parrot, and the verdure at the tail of the peacock, the violet touched

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[1] The Tabaqāt Akbarī says, Friday.

[2] A. F. plays on the double meaning of Akbār, the great light and also the light of Akbar.

[3] *jalwa*, but probably *jalwī*, meaning gait, is meant for the partridge as famed for its elegant motion.

[4] *aksūn*, said to be a black satin worn by princes.

[5] *mūsīqār*, also the name of a fabulous (?) bird whose bill is perforated. Compare for these hyperboles I, p. 20, l. 9, and Errata.

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the eyes of beholders with the collyrium of vision, the narcissus remained in open-eyed[1] admiration of Divine power, lilies[2] and and hyacinths[3] unveiled the mysteries of white and black, tulips and sweet-smelling flowers became skilled exponents of the truths of God and of existence.—

Verse.

From Paradise came a cup[4] to the tulip
From Riẓwān came a greeting to the rose
There was glory of the garden-beauties
Each cheek shone like a lamp,
Under each calyx there was a fragrant bud
Like a swart amulet on the arm of the beloved,
The lily put forth her silent tongue[5]
Every moment she sought a draught
The dew shed silver on the grasses's heads
The zephyr shook down a couch of flowers
At each fount the duck was inserting his bill.
Like golden shears in a piece of silk.
On every branch the birds were organists,
The rose-bush tossed her head at every note
The early-waking nightingale sang love-ditties
And quickened the ardour of the wine-bibbers, 82
The Shāhinshāh by adorning the world
Added another spring to spring.

In this fortunate year, which was the ornamental border of the book of fortune, the world-conquering genius ordained that a proper army should be appointed to the eastern districts to take Lucknow and the territories appertaining thereto from 'Alī Qulī Khān, and to awaken him from his neglectful sleep. "If he betook himself to ways of auspiciousness, and made loyalty his travelling-gear, and

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1 According to the Lucknow edition the narcissus is generally compared to a half-shut eye. Here wonder makes it full-eyed.

2 *Shigūfa.* It seems to mean any white flower.

3 In the list of flowers given in the Āīn the hyacinth (*sambal*) is described as dark-red in colour.

4 Referring of course to the shape of the flower.

5 The leaves of the lily are compared to tongues.

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sent that camel-driver's son, who was the ground-work of his arrogance and negligence, to Court, or drove him away from his presence, and made obedience and submission to the lord of the world and of mortals the ground-work of his own fortune, he would certainly have been compassed with royal favours, and should march with the army of fortune of the sublime dynasty to Jaunpūr and chastise the Afghans, who still carried in their brains the vapours of sedition, and make a place for himself there, his former good service would be approved of and his present follies would be passed over and he would receive help and support." An order was issued that the victorius troops should proceed to their fiefs and make their preparations and assist 'Ali Qulī Khān. Should that ill-fated and intoxicated man not recognise the amount of favour that was shown to him, then to punish him and to put him down would be regarded as the ground-work of the administration of the world, and the ornament of the worship of the Creator. On account of these considerations, Qiyā Khān Gung, Sulṭān Ḥusain Khān Jalāīr, Muḥammad Khān Jalāīr, Shāham Khān Jalāīr, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī, Calma Khān, Kamāl Khān Ghakkar, and a number of other loyal heroes were despatched. And a firmān was issued that he ('Alī Qulī) should make over Lucknow to the royal servants and proceed to Court. 'Abdullah Khān Uzbek, who had charge of Kālpī, was exalted by a royal command and directed to take part in this enterprise and to act with loyalty. As the veil over 'Ali Qulī Khān was not yet fully rent, and some days were wanting until the veil should be removed, he on hearing the command, made over Lucknow and its territories to the Jalāīrs and other officers, and bound the girdle of courage on himself for the conquest of Jaunpūr. Ibrāhīm[1], who has already been mentioned, had at the time when Mubāraz Khān was killed, and Hīmū disappeared, made the convulsive movements of a slaughtered animal, and was now in Jaunpūr. 'Alī Quli took from him Jaunpūr without a battle,[2] and a wide tract of country came into his possession by the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh. He displayed

[1] This is Ibrāhīm Sūr. 'Alī Qulī's victories are described by Badāūnī, Lowe, 18. See also for details about Ibrāhīm, Ranking 548 and 554. He was put to death in 975 A.H. (1567).

[2] *bejang*, but perhaps it should be *ba jang*, see Elliot V. 259, and Badāūnī, Lowe, 18. Badāūnī represents the Afghān Sulṭān Bahādur as his opponent.

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these acts of valour, and one deed which was ostensibly good was the sending away of Shāham. If this had been done from the bottom of his heart he would have sent him to Court. At last in some way or other he separated that groundwork of sedition from himself, and after giving demonstrations of loyalty sent representations and presents to the sublime Court.

One of the instructive occurrences which might be a guide to 83
those astray in the wilderness of denial, and which occurred in this year was the killing of the camel-driver's son. As the Creator is surety for the administration of the sovereignty of this Khedive of the horizons, the superintendents of fate were at work, in spite of the enthroned one of the Caliphate's being under the veil of insouciance, and sent the opponents of dominion-conjoined with eternity to the abyss of destruction, and gave every one their appropriate punishment. At one time they bestowed power and victory on the imperial servants, as for instance in the victory over Hīmū and the capture of the Fort of Mānkot, etc. At another time they struck the enemies with shame and sent them to the wilderness of vagabondage, as in the ruin of M. Sulaimān. At another time they stirred up strife among the black-thoughted opponents, so that they attacked each other and reached the abode of annihilation, as in the catastrophe of this camel-driver's son. The details of his descent to nothingness, which was a great stroke of good fortune, are as follows: When 'Alī Quli Khān showed a semblance of submission and cheatingly put him away from himself for a time, that low wretch went on spending his days in that neighbourhood in arrogance, until one day he went to the town of Surharpūr[1] which was in the fief of 'Abdu-r-raḥmān Beg, the son of Muyīd Beg Duldai, who had been a favourite courtier of H.M. Jahānbānī, Jinnat 'Ashiyāni. This camel-driver's son in the beginning of his infatuated career had held the relation of being the beloved of 'Abdu-r-raḥmān, and according to the wicked ways of Transoxiana, which are neither consuming nor melting, neither love nor friendship, they took the path of shamelessness and immodesty, and played the game of affection with one another. On account of this relation Shāham came to his house, and fell to remembering Ārām Jān, and asked that she might be returned to him.

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1 A pargana in the Faiẕābād district of Oudh.

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The story of Ārām Jān is this. She was a prostitute, and 'Ali Qulī Khān, from love to her, which had its source in lust, surrendered his fūtile heart to that street-walker, who was the embraced of thousands, and married her. He put her in the rank of his wives, and had the shamelessness to bring that slut to the drinking-bouts which he had with Shāham Beg in order that she might recite and sing, and become the groundwork of strife. At last Shāham Beg by degrees fell in love with her, or rather came to lust after her, and, as 'Alī Quli Khan was overcome by sensuality, he acted as Shāham's servant, and made his lands into three portions, keeping one for himself, and giving two to that clown's son, and waiting upon him. One night that intoxicated wretch brought forward his wishes, and 'Ali
84 Quli Khān was so wanting in self-respect as to make over to him his own wedded wife. Shāham Beg for a time enjoyed his lust, and then when his heart grew cold he in his folly made over that wanton whom he had adulterously carried off, to 'Abdu-r-raḥmān Beg in the same way that he had received her. 'Abdu-r-raḥmān made her his wife, and kept her secluded. When Shāham Beg was his guest, he remembered in his drunkenness and infatuation that Ārām Jān and showed restlessness (*be-ārāmī*). Judging of 'Abdu-r-raḥmān as of 'Alī Qulī Khān he expected that Ārām Jān would be returned to him. 'Abdu-r-raḥmān Beg had self-respect and refused to do this. Shāham Beg who was inflamed with wine, and was habituated to insolence and despotism, got angry. He at once forgot the claims of friendship. Such is the degree of stability of a connexion founded upon lust!

In fine, Shāham Beg proceeded to violence and bound 'Abdu-r-raḥman Beg and took the prostitute away from his house to a neighbouring garden and there celebrated a singing and drinking party. Meanwhile Mūyīd Beg, the brother of Abdu-r-raḥmān Beg, heard of this, and having armed himself went to the door of the garden where that low wretch was. The men tried to stop him and a fight took place. Suddenly, in the confusion, an arrow reached that miscreant and the bird of his soul was released from the narrow cage of his body. 'Abdu-r-raḥmān obtained deliverance from his bonds, and turning to flee he with all haste betook himself to the world-protecting Court. There he put[1] up to sale this proper action,

[1] *Ba farokht dād.* This is followed by the expression *bahamīn qadr* which, I think, means "for the same price," and is intended to carry on the meta-

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which in his case was but the result of [1]an accident, as the preamble of good service, and having attained the same price as if he had been the cause of the occurrence, he was made the recipient of favours and was ranked and welcomed among his peers.[2]

When 'Ali Qulī Khān heard of the occurrence he rent the collar of patience and cast the dust of sorrow upon his head. He pursued 'Abdu-r-raḥmān Beg and came as far as the Ganges. When it appeared that he had already crossed, he returned in despair, and conveyed the carcase of that camel-driver's son to Jaunpūr, and buried it on the edge of a tank, and erected a lofty building over it. Thus without the efforts of the loyalists all this disturbance subsided. Assuredly, whoever rebels against one who has been made great by God, and a ruler whom the inhabitants of the visible and invisible world hasten to obey, strikes with his own hand the dagger of death into his bosom, and his own action as sufficient for his suppression, so that the occurrence may be the groundwork of increased awakening 85
of the enlightened and fortunate. Such instances are to be found in the career of the Khedive of the world, and a few of them will be mentioned in their proper places.

One of the happy occurrences of this year was the arranging of the marriage of Adham Khān. The succinct account of this is that the favour of the Shāhinshāh which was bestowed on the cupola of chastity, Māham Anaga and her children, directed itself towards the marriage of Adham Khān, who was Māham Anaga's younger son, and after inquiry and consideration the daughter of Bāqī[3] Khān of Baqlān,[4] who for a long time was M. Hindāl's secretary (*parwānīc*) was betrothed to him. In a short time preparations for a feast were made and the marriage took place. The lofty disposition of the Shāhinshāh made this feast the occasion of a thousand favours.

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phor. The "proper action," is the killing of Shāham.

1 *Kaif māittifaq azū baẓuhūr āmid.*

2 The story of Shāham Beg and Ārām Jān is told at length by Badāūnī, Lowe, 13 *et seq*, but the chronogram at p. 17 gives a wrong date. I am decidedly of opinion, however, that *seh*, three in Badāūnī's text, p. 24, l. 10, is a mistake for ستّه *sitta* six, and that *sāqaṭ*, which properly means mutilated, should be translated "halved," and not subtracted. This would give 966 the proper date.

3 He is mentioned in A. N. I. 291, as Bāqī Muḥammad.

4 The text has Baqlāti, but the variant Baqlān is clearly right. It is a division of Balkh and lies S. E. of it and S. Qundūz. It is mentioned in A. N. I., 283 and 286.

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CHAPTER XXI.

The imprisonment of the Nāṣir-ul-mulk Pīr Muḥammad Khān by Bairām Khān.

As the world caravanserai is a source of warning to the far-sighted spectator, whatever appears in it has thousands of designs and equities in deposit and is an expression of Divine power. It behoves the seer to see this. In the hall of justice of the True Judge which is in the market-place full of noise and evil (the world) no good fortune is destroyed and no one is brought from the heaven of honour to the earth of ignominy so long as he does not abandon rectitude and take the road of wrong. Accordingly, at this time, when the capre of Bairām Khān's fortune was nearly full, there came a rift into his disposition, so that by the agency of short-sighted strifemongers and ill-fated envious ones who are displeased with destiny and at war with God, and who from meanness of understanding are grieved at others' joy, and rejoiced at others' grief and trouble, Bairām Khān's heart became alienated from Mullā Pīr Muḥammad. The latter in the abundance of his loyalty and sincerity continued in his devotion and disposed of matters political and financial. He relied upon his rectitude and probity, and did his work without a wrinkle on the brow of his heart, or a knot in the eye-brow of his soul. As such a person is inevitably the mark of high and low, and is surrounded by crowds, this makes the hearts of the incompetent bleed with envy, and from their evil imaginations indulge in calumny and slander; while the minds of the great on account of press of business, and want of leisure for investigation, become confused by the buzzing of such fly-like creatures. Pīr Muḥammad Khān was also the asylum and refuge of mankind, and enviers by profession felt their blood boil and girded themselves up to be tale-bearers and stirrers-up of strife. Bairām Khān's day was near its close, and he let fall from his hand the thread of deliberation, which is fitted to be the
86 comptroller of men, and put himself into the hands of the envious, and grew suspicious of Pīr Maḥammad's lofty actions. Without the

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latter's having done anything which merited dismissal, he, at the instigation of enviers by profession, and on the statements of untrue and interested persons flung off an honest man who had put his trust in him.

Just at this time there was the incident of the Nāṣir-ul-mulk's falling ill for some days, and of the Khān-Khānān's paying him a visit. The Turkish slave, who was the doorkeeper, ignorantly said: "I'll announce (your arrival)." The Khan-Khānān was put out by this treatment, and when Mullā Pīr Muḥammad knew of it he came out and made a thousand apologies. At the same time only a few of the Khān-Khānān's suite were allowed to enter with him. The frowu which for some time had been behind his brow came out, and he meditated something against the Nāṣir-ul-mulk. The envious waiters upon events got their opportunity and made remarks, especially Shaikh Gadāī. After two or three days Khwāja Amīnu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, Mīr 'Abdulla Bakhshī, Khwāja Muḥammad Ḥusain Bakhshī and some servants were sent to Nāṣir-ul-mulk with the message: "You were wearing the dress of a poor scholar when you came to Qandahār. As you appeared simple and honest, and did good service you were raised to high office by me, and from being a Mullā you became a leader of armies. As your capacity was small you easily became intoxicated and got out of hand after one cup. We fear lest some great mischiefs may be committed by you which it will be difficult to remedy. It is better that for some time you should draw in your feet under the blanket of disappointment, and sit down in a corner. You will now make over your standard, drum and other insignia of distinction and of your exaltation, and betake yourself to the amending of your disposition, for this is good both for yourself, and for the world. Thereafter whatever we shall determine with regard to you, will be carried out."

As soon as Pīr Muḥammad Khān heard this message he, being a man of independent mind, made over with an open brow the paraphernalia of office, and with a blithe heart accepted retirement. Some days afterwards, Bairām Khān, at the instigation of some evil-disposed persons, resolved upon imprisoning him in a fortress. With this idea he sent the Mullā along with a number of men to Bīāna. There, at the intercession of men who held a medium between well-wishing and enmity, he got permission to go to the Ḥijāz, and set off

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for Gujrāt. When he came to Rādhanpūr[1] Fatḥ Khān Balūc watched over him for a time, and strove to do him honour. At that time letters came from M. Sharafu-din Ḥusain and Adham Khān bidding
87 him stay at whatever place he had reached, and to await events. He returned from there and took up his abode at the valley of Jhāīn[2] near Rantambhūr, and fortified that defile. When Bairām Khān heard of this he sent Shāh Qulī Maḥram, Kharam Khān and a body of troops to seize him. When this force approached, there was an engagement. When night came on, Pīr Muḥammad Khān evacuated the place and went off with a small following. His goods fell into the hands of those who had been sent on the expedition.

In short Bairām Khan, on account of his own carelessness and the instigation of envious, short-sighted men put aside this honest and able servant, and with his own hand struck with a hatchet the foot of his fortune. As H.M. the Shāhinshah had made over the whole business of sovereignty to Bairām Khān and was remaining behind a veil and testing the characters of men, he left to God the retribution of this evil deed which had its origin in wicked designs, and in the plenitude of his wisdom said nothing openly, and merely watched the spectacle of the world. Bairām Khan appointed, as *vakīl* in succession to Pīr Muḥammad Khān, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī, who was an old servant of his. But though Ḥājī Muḥammad was the nominal holder of the office, the real Vakīl was Shaikh Gadāī who was the Ṣadr. In all political and financial matters Bairām Khān did nothing without consulting him, and the latter being unhinged by the man-throwing wine of the world did not consider the poor and weak. Arrogance, which casts down old fortunes; what then must happen to newly-made ones?—was assumed by him and was the cause of his own fall and of that of his patron. The effects of this were soon seen, as will be related in its place.

One of the events of this year was the sending Ḥabīb 'Alī Khān[3] to conquer Rantambhūr, which was a fortress famous for its height and

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[1] In Gujrāt, Fatḥ Khān was in the service of the king of Gujrāt. See Bayley's Gujrat, pp. 16 and 439.

[2] Jarret II, 275. It is in Jaipūr, Rājputāna.

[3] Badāūnī, Lowe 25, gives a different account of this affair, and he calls Jājhār Sangrām. Niẓāmu-d-dīn calls him Hājī. Elliot V., 260.

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solidity. In the time of the Afghan supremacy Salīm Khān had entrusted this fort to his slave Jajhār Khān. When the drum of the Shāhinshāh's fortune beat high, this ill-fated slave saw that the maintenance of the fort was beyond his powers and, with the evil intention of preventing its falling into the hands of the imperial servants, sold the fort to Rai Surjan, who was a servant of Rānā Udai Singh, and who was powerful in that neighbourhood. Surjan built houses in the fort, and established himself there. He also forcibly seized the villages round about. At this time the sacred mind turned its attention to the capture of the fort and despatched Habīb 'Ali Khān 88
and other leaders. The force girded the loins of resolution for the capture, and beseiged the fort. The flame of battle rose high, and the courage of the foe became like water, but as the Almighty reserved the taking of the fort for the supervision of H.M., there happened just at this time the disruption of Bairām Khān, and prudent men thought other matters more necessary and so did not proceed with the siege.

Among the occurrences of this time is the Shāhinshāh's, the dweller under the veil, going to Gwaliār. As the lofty genius of H.M. the Shāhinshāh is innately devoted to the capture of kingdoms and the chase of hearts, he, during this interval of his career, was much inclined to hunting with the *cīṭa*. He made that the veil of his world-adorning beauty. At this time he directed his progress southwards for the sake of hunting and glorified the territory of Gwaliār by his presence. While he was hunting, some deer-keepers (*āhubānān*) and other huntsmen represented that the merchants accompanying Shaikh Muḥammad, who was one of the famous Shaikhs of India, had brought bullocks[1] from Gujrāt which were unequalled and fit for the royal hunting equipage. Accordingly an order was issued to bring the bullocks after paying the merchants the price which was agreeable to them. Thereupon it was represented to H.M. that Shaikh Muḥammad and his relatives had better cattle than these, and that if he would pass by his location on his way back, the Shaikh would certainly for the sake of his own glorification present him with them. Accordingly, with the ostensible object of procuring those animals, but in reality in order to test the Shaikh's urbanity, he went to his abode. The Shaikh made the dust of the

[1] The cattle of Gujrāt were, and are, famous. See Blochmann, 149.

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royal party the eye-salve of his glory and recognised in H.M.'s advent a protection[1] against Bairām Khān's oppression, and presented all the cattle which belonged to his people, together with other gifts and curiosities of Gujrāt. He also tendered various sweet-meats and perfumes. At the end of the interview he asked H.M. the Shāhinshāh if he had become the disciple of anyone (*lit.* given the hand of fealty.) H.M. who had placed the hand of trust in God's hand and was a treasury of the treasuries of spiritual and temporal truths, and sought to conceal his status and spiritual rank, had withheld the hand of his genius from the empty-handed, and was a spectator of the varied spectacle of the universe, formally replied in the negative. The Shaikh put out his arm, and laid hold of the sacred hand of that divinely nurtured one, and said, "We have taken your hand." H.M. the Shāhinshāh in the abundance of his courteousness and modesty took no notice,[2] but smiled and departed. H.M. the Shāhinshāh often used to relate in his high assemblages that, "On that same night we returned to our tents and had a wine party and enjoyed ourselves, and laughed over the way to catch bullocks and the Shaikh's dodge of stretching out his arm."

Verse.

89 Under their variegated robes they have nooses,
See the long arms of those short-sleeved[3] ones.

Good God! What was the rank of this boastful simpleton, and what was the degree of the just appreciation, urbanity and gentleness of H.M. the Shahinshah! For although it was reported universally to H.M. that this Shaikh in general conversation instead of feeling remorse for his misbehaviour gloried in it, he took no notice and did not try to correct him! This Shaikh was the younger brother of Shaikh Bahlūl who has already been mentioned as having been put to death by

[1] The interview apparently took place after the Shaikh's return from Agra and his having been coldly treated by Bairām.

[2] Short sleeves are a mark of asceticism. See Defremery's Gulistan, Paris 1158, p. 337 note.

[3] *cīze babahāī ān nadāda*, lit. gave nothing as the price thereof, but I think it is a phrase, meaning that Akbar ignored the Shaikh's presumption, see Vullers I. 608a, where bacīze nagiriftan is rendered nihili facere. I cannot think that it means, as the Lucknow edition says, that Akbar gave nothing in return for the cattle.

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M. Hindāl. Though these two brothers were void of excellencies or learning, they at various times lived in mountain hermitages and practised incantations with the Divine Names. They made these the proofs of their renown and credibility, and obtaining, by the help of easily-deceived simpletons, the society of princes and amīrs, they put saintship to sale and acquired lands and villages by fraud. His elder brother was in the service of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshyiānī, and as the latter was inclined towards magic he held the Shaikh in reverence. The Shaikh (Bahlūl) also used privately and when in the company of simple ones to boast of his having relations with H.M. Jahānbānī of devotion and of teachership. At the time of the sedition of Sher Khān, as his elder brother had lost his life from his loyalty to H.M. Jahānbānī, and as people regarded his family as appertaining to the enduring dominion (of the imperial family) the Shaikh had, from fear of being ill-treated by the Afghans, gone to Gujrāt. When the vast country of India had been irradiated by the light of the Shahinshah's fortune and had become a periphery of peace and quiet, the Shaikh came with his sons and grandsons to Agra and presented himself at Court, and was received there with honour. Shaikh Gadāī, who had an old grudge against him, girded up anew the waist of enmity, and produced before the Khān Khānān a treatise which the Shaikh had composed in Gujrāt, and in which he ascribed exaltations to himself and made strange claims, and thereby attracted to himself the minds of the simple. This indisposed the Khān Khānān towards him, and the Shaikh having managed by the help of some men to escape from the Khān Khānān's ill-treatment, went off to Gwāliār and became a hermit. On 3 Ardībihisht, Divine month, of the 8th year corresponding to Monday, 17th Ramẓān 970, 10th May 1563,[1] he went to the abode of annihilation.

[1] There is a great deal about Muḥammad Ghauṣ in Badāūnī, *vide* Lowe, 28, and III. 4 of Bib. Ind. text. There is also, as the author of the Darbāri Akbarī points out, a long account of the interview between Akbar and the Shaikh in the Iqbāl-nāma. According to it, Muḥammad Ghauṣ is the author of the Jawāhiru-khamsah which in the elaborate article on Da'wah in Ḥughes's Dict. of Islam, p. 72, col. b, is ascribed to Shaikh Abū-l-Muwayyid. But perhaps they are the same person. The treatise of the Shaikh which Gadāi showed to Bairām is described by Badāūnī, Lowe, 28. The beautiful tomb of the Shaikh at Gwalīār is well-known.

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Of the occurrences of this year there was the sending of Bahādur Khān, the brother of 'Alī Qulī Khān, with a large army for the conquest of Mālwa. Let it not be concealed that Mālwa, which is a country with a good climate, with many springs and full of cultivation was governed by Shujā'at Khān, who is generally known by the people of India as Sujāwal Khān. After him, his son Bāz Bahādur possessed the country. During the tyranny of Salīm Khān, Sujāwal Khān once visited his court. After some time he got suspi-
90 cious and went off to Mālwa without taking leave. Salīm Khān went there with a large army in order to seize Sujāwal Khān, who took refuge with the Rajah of Dongarpūr. Salīm Khān sent men from Mālwa to reassure him, and by dint of promises got him to come to him. He then made over the whole Sirkār of Mālwa to men whom he trusted and gave them fiefs, and taking Sujāwal Khān along with him gave him some parganas out of the province. After that when Muḥammad Khān 'Adlī came to power he restored Mālwa to Sujāwal Khān, and he remained governor thereof till the end of his life. After that his son Bāz Bahādur become governor in his room. At this time when the world-conquering mind was engaged in knitting together the dispersions of the world, H.M. turned his attention to the administration of Mālwa. He determined in his mind that if Bāz Bahādur behaved properly he should have the honour of coming to court, which was the elixir for obtaining desires; otherwise it would be right to rescue such a fine country from unjust sensualists. With these thoughts Bahādur Khān was sent with a number of distinguished officers in order that the auspicious design might be realised, and that the sympathy for and relief of the oppressed, which appertain to sovereignty, might be carried into effect. Bahādur Khān went off to conquer the province, but when the army was encamped at Sīrī,[1] the confusion of Bairām Khān's affairs, of which details will be given, became known, and the latter for his own sake sent and recalled Bahādur Khān and his army. The conquest of the province therefore remained over till another time, as will be related in its proper place.

[1] Sīrī, now Shāhpur, is in old. Delhi and was founded by 'Alāū-d-dīn See Harcourt's Guide, p. 3. But the text is certainly wrong. Sīrī is hardly a town, and Delhi lay quite out of the way from Agra to Mālwah. The variant Seopurī is probably right, that being a town in Gwālīār, I. G. and Jarrett, II, 190. Or it may be Seorha in Bandalkand. Some MSS. have Sīprī.

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CHAPTER XXII.

BEGINNING OF THE 5TH YEAR ILĀHĪ FROM THE SACRED ACCESSION OF THE SHĀHINSHAH, *viz.*, THE YEAR AMARDĀD OF THE FIRST CYCLE.

Again the heart-expanding spring came with a thousand adornments of the world, and the fifth year Ilāhī, from the auspicious accession of the Shāhinshāh, which is the year Amardād, began with glory and splendour. In the night known[1] as Monday, after four hours and nine minutes, on 13 Jumāda-al-akhirī 967, 12th March 1560, the world-warming sun cast its rays on the sign of Arie and reported to the feeders at the table of the elements the arrival of the new year. The flowers of fortune bloomed anew and from every leaf there came out afresh before the eyes of the gazers on the garden of sovereignty the diploma of dominion. The market-day of abundance was born for the new-comers to the garden of youth, and the apathetic melancholy of those in the valley of frenzy (of love) was stirred up to activity.

Verse.

The earth was of flowers, and the grass-plot of rose-bushes, **91**
The rose's lamp was brightened by the breeze,
The violet twisted[2] her curl
And made a knot in the heart of the bud.
The rose and tulip oped their luminous veils
Regarding from afar the eye of the narcissus,
At the voice of the francolin and the dance of the pheasant
The cypress grew nimble and rose to his feet
The carpet of flowers was spread on the garden
Lovers came out into the fields.

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1 *ūrfī.* I do not feel sure of what is meant by this word here. But A. F. probably means that the day is called Monday in common parlance. Cf. the use of *barū'yat* in p. 3 of text, 6 lines from foot.

2 *Sir-i-zalfrā kham zada.* This may also mean, gave a sidelong or downward glance or gesture. But I think it has here the literal meaning of twisting and is connected with the tying of a knot in the next line.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

Hunting-expedition of H.M. the Shāhinshāh and the removal of the veil from the actions of Bairām Khān.

In this fortunate year, which was the ornamental border of beauty and the beginning of the removal of the screen over this aggregate of the works of the embroiderers for eternity, the garden of Reason came into flower, and the bud of contrivance opened. For the expectant world this year was the beginning of the attainment of desires. This day gave the revolving sky the good news of the results of its motion and enabled it to obtain repose. It was the commencement of the locating of their aspirations in the bosom of the celestials. For terrestrials the flower of success came forth from the lap of hope and took root. Among these things was the circumstance that Bairām Khān, who regarded himself as the unique of the age in regard to courage, administrative abilities, devotion and sincerity, and who in consequence of a crowd of flatterers had got the belief that the affairs of India could not be managed without him, took, from the bad advice of shortsighted associates, the path of destruction, and did shameful deeds, such as should not have come from him.

It is an old rule that when the wonder-working Creator for reasons known to Him, or for considerations which may be partially followed by a sage, casts anyone into enduring affliction, He begins by making him the source of certain acts which do not bear the cachet of well-pleasingness to God. Accordingly, a man who in this material world makes himself illustrious does not regard Prudence, which is the greatest of Divine gifts, as of no account, but recognises in the following of it the means of pleasing God. And the first thing which it behoves men immersed in business to look to, is that they give little access to flatterers. It is difficult on account of the constitution of the world to be clear of them altogether; it is indispensable that they after using circumspection and insight select one or two servants and intimates who may in privacy tell them the truth, which

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may be very bitter, and is indigestible by most dispositions. For the numbers of flatterers are unlimited, and busy men have not the time to distinguish truth from falsehood and right from wrong. The wine 92
of success robs the senses, and out of a hundred thousand successful men perhaps there may be one who from largeness of capacity preserves his mental stability. For instance, this great gift and perpetual table is the fortune of the Divinely nourished Khedive of our age, so that in proportion as his success and world-conquest increase, the degree of his perspicacity becomes greater, and his progress steadier. And though flatterers in this sublime court attain their desires, yet the wise prince holds firmly the thread of discrimination and prudently gives them the go-bye, so that neither is the veil of the reputation of these men rent nor has the flatterer any influence. Do you not know that in former times flatterers have, owing to the insouciance of rulers, ruined houses and families, and what other evils they have done? Doubtless it is in accordance with eternal decrees that there should be flatterers in the workshop of governments, but so also is it that there should be foreseeing wisdom. And this consists in not letting them interfere with root-questions, and not letting go altogether the Reason which unravels difficulties and is the Sulṭān of the material world.

Verse.

There's both road and well, an eye to see, and the sun,
So that man may look in front of his feet,
He has so many lights and yet goes the wrong road!
Let him fall and see his own punishment
Enemies do not work to one another the ill
That folly and passion do to oneself.

Of the improper acts which were done by Bāirām Khān in consequence of bad company there was the putting to death of the Shāhinshāh's own elephant-driver. The succinct account of this warning-giving occurrence is as follows: The royal elephant became *mast* and beyond the control of the driver and attacked one of Bairām Khān's elephants. It struck the other elephant so severely that the entrails came out. Bairām Khān was so enraged that he put the driver to death. By such an act as this, which was beyond all bounds, and transgressed both loyalty and respect, he made himself an object

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of disgust to men of experience. More strange still was what happened when one day one of the Shāhinshāh's private elephants got *mast* and rushed into the Jamna. Bairām Khān was taking the air in a boat, and the elephant, which had got out of hand, proceeded towards his boat. The Khān Khānān was much alarmed; but at last the driver contrived to master the elephant, and Bairām Khān was saved from the animal's attack. When this affair was reported to H.M. the Shāhinshāh he, in order to soothe Bairām Khān, had the driver bound and sent to him, though he was innocent. The Khān, the time of whose fall was near at hand, put him to death and paid no heed to the fact that this driver belonged to the altar of his loyalty and allegiance, and that H.M. had out of politeness sent him bound to him.
93 Apart from this he did not consider that nothing could be done with intoxication, especially when it was a brute that was intoxicated, and that too an enormous beast which was specially apt to become *mast*. H.M. the Shāhinshāh, who was a mine of gentleness and wisdom, passed over such improper actions as this, of which only a few out of many have been described, and abode under the veil of indifference. All his genius was turned to this consideration, that those men might take the reins of justice into their hands, even if they could not advance some steps on the road of loyalty, and might become travellers on the way of practical wisdom. This faction became intoxicated by power, and being unhelped by sound ideas, it daily became worse. But so long as the wickedness of those oppressors did not exceed all bounds, H.M's sacred soul was not affected by the mean nature of his allowances, for the kingdom of the Lord of the Age was withheld from him and distributed among his (Bairam Khān's) flatterers, and as H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat, Āshiyānī had given Bairām Khān the name of Atālīq, and as H M. (Akbar) often called him Khān Bābā, as it is the custom of young monarchs to call old men Bābā (father), he magnanimously observed the meaning of the phrase and overlooked his improper acts. He was eager about travelling and hunting, and kept the head of surrender on the ground of well-pleasing (to God), and worshipped the incomparable Deity, until, at last, things came beyond bounds, on account of ill-fated, maladaroit flatterers such as Walī Beg Zū-al-qadr[1] and Shāikh Gadāī Kambū. He (Bairām) took ruinous

[1] Blochmann 329. He was married to Bairām's sister.

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ideas into his head, and his crude thoughts ripened. When the enlightened mind of H.M. the Shāhinshāh was aware of the frauds of this ungrateful crew, he, before they disclosed their evil intentions, laid his closely-hidden secret before the sincere, and united, such as Māham Anaga, who was a marvel for sense, resource and loyalty, Adham Khān, M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain, and a number of other courtiers, and intimated that he would throw off some of the veils of his world-adorning beauty and would assume sovereignty, and would inflict suitable punishment on Bairām Khān and his assemblage of flatterers, so that they should awake from their sleep of neglect and long mourn over their misconduct. Good God! How could such thoughts enter a human head in the face of the supremacy of Bairām Khān, the largeness of his army and the tyranny of the lords of opposition? But as the world-adorning Deity was desirous that this chosen one should throw off one or two of the hundreds and thousands of the veils of his beauty, and should put another veil over his world-illuminating countenance, and that he should take his seat on the throne of command, it was inevitable that at such a time thoughts and inspirations such as these should find their way into his truth-worshipping mind. On one occasion these considerations were adduced at Bīāna, whither he had gone for hunting, and the servants of fortune's thres- 94
hold, partly on account of vexation at the life they led, for these servants of the king were on account of the tyranny of the Bairām Khān confederacy in indigent circumstances just as the king of the Age was, and partly from the glory of a little loyalty, and at this time of the typhoon and simūm of disloyalty, a little loyalty made a great show, engaged in proper schemes. Māham Anaga communicated this close secret to Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, who was governor of Delhi, and a favourite on account of his judgment, loyalty and truthfulness. On 8 Farwardīn, Divine month, corresponding to Monday 20th Jumāda-al-akhirī 967 (19th March, 1560) he left Agra with an intention which involved in it the administration of the world, and was a cause of peace and tranquillity. Ostensibly he went to hunt at Kūl (Alighar) and its vicinity, and so crossed the Jumna. As he had no residence he spent that night in the house of Ḥakīm Zanbīl[1]. As

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1 Blochmann 442. In the Pādshāhnāma, Bib. Ind. ed. I, 347, there is an account of his nephew Hakīm Ṣadr. From this we learn that H. Zambīl or

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Bairām Khān always showed adherence and attention to Abul-Qāsim the son of M. Kāmrān, and as the evil thoughts of the faction always put him forward, he, in accordance with the dictates of reason, sent for him from that side of the Jumna and took him with him on this hunting-party in which the game of his design fell into his hands, so that he might not be the staff of the inwardly blind ones of the stage of enmity and rebellion, or a voucher for the wayfarers in the desert of sedition. Certainly the idea was a good one, and it was carried out in accordance with H.M's inspiration. Next morning he arrived, under the guidance of fortune, at the town of Jalesar,[1] and from there he went to Sikandra.[2] Muḥammed Bāqī Baqlānī father-in-law of Adham Khān was there. Māham Anaga had sent for him and confided the secret to him. That low-minded, inauspicious one sought exclusion from the bliss of meeting (Akbar), and not being content with this he sent news of the scheme to Bairām Khān; but as the time of the expiry of Bairām Khān's sway was near at hand, and the rulers of the Shāhinshāh's fortune had planned this divine contrivance, Bairām Khān regarded the report as old, idle tales and paid no heed to it. The sublime standards proceeded from there, hunting as they went, towards Kūl, and as His Highness Miriām Mahānī was in Delhi and was in somewhat weak health, he made this his motive and went there. He came to the town of Khurjah[3] and alighted at the Serai of Bahankīl (?). At this stage Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān and his brothers and other relatives met him and had the bliss of welcoming him.

They were made the objects of royal favours. From there he proceeded to Delhi and in a fortunate hour on 16 Farwardīn, Divine
95 month, corresponding to Tuesday, 28th Jumāda-al-ākhirī, 27th March 1560, that city received celestial glory by his advent. Mankind

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Zambil Beg came from Wilayat (Persia) in the beginning of Akbar's reign, and that he was descended from Ḥārith who was a friend of Muḥammad. See D'Herbelot. Bāyazīd Mem. 74a mentions Ḥakīm Zambal in his list of the officers who accompanied Humāyūn to India.

[1] Formerly in the Agra district, Jarrett II, 183, now in Etah.

[2] Sikandra Rao in Aligarh, Jarret II, 186 and I.G. Probably it is to this expedition that the story belongs which Akbar told A.F. Jarrett III, 397.

[3] Formerly in Aligarh, Jarret II, 186, now in Bulandshahr, 30 miles N. Aligarh.

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obtained their desires and raised shouts of joy to the skies. H.M. became by his God-given wisdom the guide of the sincere, and employed them in proper occupations. He issued orders to the special retainers of the threshold of fortune, and to the old members of the family, to the effect that as Bairām Khān owing to the pressure of wordly affairs had deviated from the straight path he had disregarded him and come to Delhi. Whoever was loyal to H.M., or was intelligent and wished for his own safety, and desired to attain his desires should, on receiving these commands, proceed to the Court—the protection of mankind—for everyone would be exalted to high office. This was the commencement of the emergence of his (our) dominion conjoined with eternity. Fortunate was he who should unite himself to this daily-increasing supremacy! Among these orders was one sent to Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka, who was in Bhera,[1] directing him on becoming acquainted with the *firmān* to come to Lahore and to make over that city to Mīr Muḥammad Khān Kalān,[2] and to come himself rapidly to Court. He was also to bring Mahdī Qāsim Khān, for this was the way to fortune. Shamsu-d-dīn under the guidance of perfect fidelity acted according to the command and hastened to render service. Similarly orders were sent to Kabul to Missron Mun'im Khān. The imperial servants on every side donned the garb of pilgrimage towards this K'aaba of fortune.

When Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka entered upon service he was received with princely favours and the rank of his elevation exceeded the degrees of hope. In conformity with his loyalty he attained to a lofty dignity which he had not even imagined. The standard, drum and *tumān togh* of Bairām Khān were presented to him, and he was entrusted with the government of the Panjab. Right-minded novices and devoted seniors, and experienced men came trooping in from all parts to the sublime Court. Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān from motives of vigilance and precaution engaged in strengthening the fort of Delhi and in repairing the bastions and walls, and took charge of political and financial affairs. In a short

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1 In the Shāhpūr district of the Punjab. The town is on left bank of the Jhelam.

2 Blochmann 322 and Badāunī III, 287. He was Shamsu-d-dīn's elder brother, and was a poet as well as a man of action. He died in 983, 1575-76. T. Akbarī, 381.

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time the report of the alienaton of the sacred disposition from Bairām Khān was spread far and near. There was a rift in his sway and men began to separate from him. The first man to leave the Khān-Khānān and to proceed to the throne, and the forerunner on the path of rectitude, was Qīyā Khān Gang. He was an old and able officer. After him men came, one by one, and two by two, to the sublime threshold.
96 Māham Anaga was joined with Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān, and being entrusted with the *vakalat* represented matters to H.M. Everyone who brought sincerity to the threshold was exalted by fitting offices and titles and fiefs.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

Awakening of Bairām Khān from the sleep of neglect, and his seeking to rectify his affairs, and his going astray.

From the auspicious time when the sublime standards were upraised in Agra for the purpose of chasing fortune, until the glorious arrival at Delhi, Bairām Khān, in spite of all his wisdom and discernment, was unaware that the throw of the dice had been the reverse of his wish and that the scheme of the world had taken another form, and was unconcernedly beating the drum of power. In the complete intoxication of his pride, if any report of this came to his ears, he did not believe it, and if an honest friend cast a ray of the truth into his mind, it had no effect, as the wind of arrogance was in his brain, until the time when the comforting mandates reached the officers, and the report of the alienation of the sacred mind was bruited abroad, far and near. He became certain that the H.M. the Shāninshāh's hunting was this time of another sort, and he perceived that he had been dismissed, and that H.M. was going to undertake the direction of the Sultanate. He dropped the thread of counsel and became confused. He inquired after M. Abū-l-Qāsim.[1] Nothing but sorrow and regret came into his hands. Of necessity he put his hand to deceit and sent Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī and Khwāja Amīnu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, who on account of his good service had received from the Shāhinshāh's court the title of Khwāja Jahān, to the threshold of fortune, and submitted a message of submission and supplication for various offences and of excuses in order that he might succeed by smoothness of tongue. He did not know that the Ruler of divulgation was concerned with this display of the Lord of the Age in order that he might emerge from the screen and show his beauty in the guise of administering the terrene and terrestrials, so that the expectants of heaven's court might witness the revelation of power and might arrange for increased adoration, and that

[1] That is, he thought about setting up this prince who was Kāmrān's son and Akbar's cousin.

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terrestrials might hope for spiritual and temporal bliss. When such is the case what effect can fraud and deceit have or what fruit can they yield except material and spiritual loss?

In short, when the envoys arrived at court they heard the words of wisdom and became ashamed and downcast. Accordingly they saw that their own welfare was outside of the reply, (*i.e.*, had nothing to do with the reply), and moreover they were not allowed to leave the court. When Bairām learnt the state of affairs from their letters, and from the dispersal of his dependants he became astonished, and the thread of counsel was snapped in his hand. At one time he thought that the general stampede had not yet occurred, and that
97 he would quickly convey himself there, and put matters right. Again, when he reflected, the consideration of the words, sincerity and devotion, which he had often taken on his lips, came to stop him, and the idea of going under the guise of loyalty did not fit; and moreover he had no stomach for such a proceeding (?). At last he decided to throw the scarf of loyalty on his shoulder, and to go weeping and wailing, and burning and melting, to the entrance-porch[1] of the Court of honour.

When prudent intelligencers reported the true state of the case to the royal hearing, a number gave it as their opinion that whatever form Bairām Khān's coming might take, there was danger and deceit involved in it. H.M. should go to Lahore before he arrived, and should not grant him an interview. They were not prepared for open war, and what would be the use of an interview at this stage? If Bairām Khān should come to Lahore, H.M. should go to Kabul. Another number were prepared for war, and did not think the departure of H.M. the Shāhinshāh would be proper. After much discussion, that tiger of the forest of dominion and fortune, and that lord of the material and spiritual universe put down the foot of determination and decided on war. He sent Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān and Mīr Ḥabīb-Ullah to forbid Bairām Khān to come, and not to permit him to approach under the guise of friendship, for H.M. would not see him under such circumstances. When Bairām Khān found this road, on which he had advanced, closed, he fell into a long meditation.

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[1] *Ṣaf-i-n'aāl*, the place of shoes, *i.e.*, the place where shoes are taken off. See Vullers II, 514b.

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For to go in fighting order was to act contrary to his repeated avowals. Though Walī Beg and Shaikh Gadāī, who were the ringleaders of disloyalty, exerted themselves in this direction, and held to the view that he should march quickly, and carry out his object before there should be a general rush, yet from the regard which he had for righteousness he could not decide upon levying war. In reality too he was restrained by the "Stand back" (*dūr bāsh*) emanating from the daily-increasing fortune of H.M. the Shāhinshāh. His arrogant mind too did not admit the idea that the administration of India could go on without him. Consequently it seemed better that he should act hostility under the guise of friendship, so that the writing of eternal infamy should not be inscribed in his record. He did not see the world-adorning, intrinsic beauty of H.M., nor was he aware of the guardian courtiers who were adorning the territories of India. For these reasons he did not throw off the veil from his actions. He saw from men's faces that they were going, and so proceeded to give them leave to depart. He had thoughts of a fine snare. Sometimes it occurred to him that as he had sent Bahādūr Khān to conquer Mālwah, and he had not yet arrived there, he would go with his followers and join Bahādūr Khān, conquer that country and there take his repose and get leisure for his designs. Sometimes he thought that he would leave Agra and join 'Alī Qulī Khān by way of Sambal and come into the country of the Afghans, and collect a force there. Sometimes he spoke of asceticism, and would say that a wish for abandonment and seclusion had seized him by the collar, in order 98
that he might spend the remainder of his life in holy places. Now that H.M. was applying himself to the management of affairs, what better opportunity could he have for carrying into effect his long-cherished wish or for asking leave from the court? In this way perhaps all his desires would be fulfilled. At last having determined upon this plan he turned back Bahādūr Khān, who had gone towards Malwah, and gave him leave to kiss the threshold of the sublime Court. In giving men leave he took this into consideration, that if they were disposed to be loyal and of one opinion with himself, it was well that such men should be in the royal forces. And if they wanted to separate from him, his giving them leave, apart from the fact that to have such men with him would not help his affairs, would be a means of his acquiring a good name, and of convincing all that he had

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the intention of retirement. At last, after much talk and little intent, for he spoke of pilgrimage (*ḥaj*) but inwardly he thought of crookedness (*kaj*), he began by sending Iskandar[1] Afghan's son to Ghāzī Khān Tanūr, in order that he might go and stir up strife in the imperial territories. He also sent secret letters to various quarters, and hastened towards Alwar in order that he might take his family and proceed to the Panjab. If things did not turn out according to his plan, he would of necessity make preparations for a rule suitable to the time of contest.

When this evil design became known to H.M., inasmuch as the disposition of this great one of the horizons is one of much kindness and gentleness, he did not approve of the disgrace of Bairām Khān and sent him a *firmān* full of kindness and graciousness. In that wisdom-increasing exhortation, an exact copy of which has been seen by me, there were the following among other expressions.

"You having taken counsel with a faction, which has been the source of this trouble, and being without consideration of final consequences, have at their instigation and misdirection come forth and been the cause of putting the provinces into disorder. You have given Iskandar's son and Ghāzī K. leave to depart so that they may make disturbances in the country. And you have sent a letter to Mahdī Qāsim Khān along with his diwān Mubārak, telling him that you are coming to Lahore, and bidding him guard the fort and not make it over to anyone else. You have also sent a message to Tātār Khān Panj Bhīya, and you have sent instructions in all directions for making commotions. You have also proceeded to Alwar with the design of going from there to Lahore. Though we are certain that, inasmuch as you are perfectly loyal, you never of your own accord assented to any of these acts nor were the author of them, and that a faction has been the cause of these errors and has brought matters so far, yet you yourself said that 'it was impossible that after forty years' service with all that loyalty and devotion, and after receiving such honours and favours, you should in this last stage of life convert a name, which by the favours of this glorious family had been famous throughout the earth for loyalty and
99 fidelity, into that of a rebel, and not be ashamed before one's God.

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[1] 'Abdu-raḥmān, son of Iskandar, i.e., Sikandar Sūr, B. 366n. Tanūr is perhaps Tanwar, that is, strong-bodied.

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As you are still dear to us, in spite of these troubles and improper and unseemly actions, and we wish your welfare, it appears to us right that, seeing that our meeting is in the knot of delay, and if we bestow on you a province in these territories, whither you may go designing[1] people will again say things to me which will cause us increased grief, you should adhere to the resolution of going to the sacred[2] places, which you have intimated to us by a petition, and for which you have asked leave to depart. And send persons to convey the presents for these places which you have left in Sihrind and Lahore. After that, when you shall have, by the divine guidance and assistance, attained this blessing and have turned your face towards the pilgrimage of service, we shall under these circumstances grant you a favourable interview such as your heart may desire. And we shall be mindful of your former services and show you more and more favour. And as it is by the infamy of that gang that things have come to such a length, and that your good name has been made a bad one among the people, and as we do not wish that you should have a bad name, beware lest after you have set your foot on the road you turn aside from the right path at the words of designing men! And as by our prestige you have attained the height of earthly desires may you also by our directions become a partaker in final bliss."

Bairām Khān who from foolishness and deficiency in practical wisdom had a boundless reliance on himself, and who had been deceived by the sense-robbing wine of success and of flatterers, did not find the road in consequence of this noble missive which was worthy of being the bracelet-amulet of the wise, and the charmed necklace of the fortunate. How shall I say that he went all the faster in the wrong path? Māham Anaga in her great loyalty and wisdom took charge of affairs and made Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān and Khwāja Jahān her tools, and exerted herself to soothe those who came, and to hearten every one.

Among the occurrences was this, that Māham Anaga for the sake of the welfare of the kingdom and for the better-ordering of the superficial and inexperienced, devised the appointing of Bahadūr

1 This refers to Shaikh Gadāī, Walī Beg and others.

2 Not necessarily Mecca. Bairām had prepared an exceedingly costly banner for Mashhad, Badaūnī, Lowe 35.

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Khān, the brother of 'Alī Qulī Khān, to the lofty office of Vakīl, and made a reference to this effect to the seat of royalty. H.M. paid regard to the necessity of the time and affected[1] to clothe him with this glorious robe which does not suit every form. Though professionally wise and experienced men who did not get to the bottom of the
100 affair said much about this, and in appearance they were in the right, for perfect capacity, complete experience, great integrity, ample understanding and extreme diligence are required for this great post; and in addition to these qualities there is need of complete independence, so that the holder put aside his own loss or gain and engage with all his strength in furthering his master's work. Should the putting to death of his own father be required for his benefactor's service he should not recede but exert himself to bring it about! And together with all this, which constitutes a great gift, he should be at peace with all men. For should the Vakīl of the Lord of the Age, whom the world-adorning Deity has brought out from among thousands of thousands of men, and has entrusted to him so many human beings, and has made over to him the education of so many different races and religious sects, not possess such notes (*nishān*), how shall the world be governed? And how shall opposing creeds, and diverse faiths, such as have sprung from the Divine wisdom, have repose? But in reality the words of those men arose from ignorance, for this appointment was an imaginary (*must'aār*) one, and made for the satisfaction of the superficial, and, apart from this, the intention was to put down commotion, for all the foolish Tūrks, such as Qīyā Khān Kang,[2] Sulṭān Ḥusain Jalāīr, Muḥammad Amīn Diwāna, were in league with him (Bahādūr), and were attacking Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, Khwāja Jahān, and such like men. The world-adorning mind exalted him to the office of Vakīl, in order to extinguish the flames of those malcontents. Qīyā Khān on account of his old good services

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[1] *'āriyatī* borrowed, or factitious, *e.g.*, false hair.

[2] Bayāzīd 75*a* describes Qīyā Beg Jūān, who seems to be this Qīya K. as a relation of Māham Anaga. Beg is a Turkish title, and this and other indications point to Māham Anaga's having been a Turk. She is often called Begī. It is true that Shihābu-d-dīn who was a Persian from Nīshāpūr was also related to Māham Anaga, but this was by marriage. Bahādur was an Uzbeg, and the Uzbegs regard themselves as Turks.

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was given Bahraich and dismissed thither. Sulṭan Ḥusain Khān and a number of others were imprisoned for some days, and then released after punishment. Muḥammad Amīn Dīwāna fled and became a vagabond. When the stone of separation fell among this evil crew Bahādur Khān was given the fief of Etawah and dismissed. And in those days, though Bahādūr Khān had the name of Vakīl, yet in reality the business was transacted by Māham Anaga. O ye worshippers of forms, what do you behold? For this noble work, wisdom and courage were necessary, and in truth Māham Anaga possessed these two qualities in perfection.

Verse.

Many a woman treads manfully wisdom's path.

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CHAPTER XXV.

March of the Shahinshāh's army of fortune from Delhi to put down the sedition of Bairām Khan, and other dominion-increasing events.

When the world-adorning Creator wills that the Khedive of the Age shall come forth from the veil of concealment and display his world-decking beauty, assuredly He darkens the judgment and the fortune of the wise of the age who engage in opposition to such a great one. Accordingly, the schemes of Bairām Khān and his crowd of wise men by profession came to nought. In a helpless condition he came out from Agra, the capital, on the day of Anīrān the 30th Farwardīn, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 12 Rajab (8th April 1560), and proceeded towards Alwar. When he came to
101 the city of Bīāna he took off the chains of Shāh Abū-al-M'aāli and Muhammad Amīn Dīwāna, who had been confined in the fort of Bīāna in order to suppress their sedition-mongering, and set them at liberty. Though he professed to tell them to resort to the sublime court, yet his object in releasing such experienced troublers was nothing but to give them the opportunity for sedition. When the news of Bairām Khān's having left Agra reached the royal hearing, and it appeared that his intention was to proceed in his evil course towards the Punjab, the universe-adorning mind determined that the world-traversing standards should advance from Delhi and establish themselves at Nāgor, so that Bairām Khān might not be able to plant his foot in that region. The road would thus be blocked if he in his vain imagination thought of entering the Punjab. Accordingly on the day of Azar 9 Ardībahisht, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 22 Rajab (18th April), the world-conquering army marched from Delhi. As the vigilance and caution of the Shahinshāh were unwavering, he was not contented with giving such excellent admonitions as have been already described, but on the first stage out from that place he sent Mir Abdu-l-laṭīf of Qazwīn

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who was distinguished for knowledge and fidelity, that he might guide Bairām Khān by righteous exhortations. The gist of his words was as follows: "Your services and your fidelity to this great family are known to mankind. As owing to our tender age, we gave our attention to promenading and hunting, we did not cast our glance on political and financial affairs, and all the business of sovereignty was entrusted by us to your excellent capacity and knowledge. Now that we have applied our own mind to the affairs of government, and the adminstration of justice, it is right that this sage well-wisher (Bairām), who ever boasted of his sincerity and devotion, should recognise a Dīvine gift in this truth, and offer up endless thanks for it. He should for a time gather up his skirts from business and turn his attention to the bliss of pilgrimage of which he was always desirous, and with regard to which he was constantly, in public and in private, expressing his great longing to obtain such a boon. We shall grant him whatever place and whatever extent of land he may wish for in India, so that his servants may remit him the proceeds, harvest by harvest and year by year." On 13 Ardībihisht, Divine month of the above-mentioned year (22nd April) corresponding to Tuesday 26 Rajab, the standards of glory were planted at the town of Jhajhar.[1]

In the meanwhile Shāh Abū-al-M'aālī, who was a repository of strife and sedition, arrived with his evil ideas at the sublime court, in order that, as he could not do anything outside, he might effect something under the disguise of service. But whoever cherishes evil thoughts against God's chosen one, is his own ill-wisher, and his affairs worsen daily. In order to refresh my narrative I shall here give a short account of Abu-al-M'aālī from the time of his escape from Pahlwān Gulgaz kotwāl's custody in Lahore, already described, till now.

When Shāh Abū-al-M'aālī escaped from Lahore in the first 102
year of the Divine Era by his own craft, and the carelessness, or avarice and treachery of his custodians, he, by the contrivance[2] of

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1 Jarrett II, 286, and I.G. It is in the district of Rohtak.

2 Niẓāmu-d-dīn, T. A., p. 623, in his chapter on Kashmīr, says that Abu-al-M'aāli went off with his chains on his ankles on the shoulders of Yūsuf. Ferishta adds that he settled matters with Kamāl Ghakkar,

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Yūsuf Kashmīrī, who served him, conveyed himself to the country of the Ghakars. There he was imprisoned by the landowner Kamāl Khān. By his trickery he managed to escape and arrived at Naushahra, which is a town between Bhimbhar and Rājaurī.[1] The Kashmīrīs who had seceded from Ghāzī [2] Khān, the ruler of Kashmīr, came there, and about 300 Moghals, who are always opportunists and ingrates, joined them. The Kashmīris also to the number of about 700 or 800 men joined him, and this filled Abū-al-M'aālī with pride and arrogance. Shams-l-mulk Cārdara, and Khwāja Ḥājī,[3] who had formerly been in the service of H. M. Jahān-al-bānī Jinnat-Ashīyānī came and infused spirit into them. Daulāt Cak, the ruler of Kashmīr, who had been blinded[4] by Ghāzī Khān, assembled there along with a number of Kashmīr Sirdārs such as Fatḥ Cak, Hasūbat and Mūsūbat, the nephews (brothers' sons) of Daulat Cak, Lohar[5] Zhānkar, the sister's son of Daulat Cak, Yūsuf Cak, who also had been blinded by Ghāzī Khān, but without effect, owing to the contrivance of the Kashmīris, and Muḥammad Khān Mākrī, the father of 'Ali Sher, who is at present in service; they proceeded via Punc and Khāwara[6] by secret passes, called in the Kashmīrī language Ākūdeo,[7] and arrived at Bārahmūla. From there they hastened to Nūrpūr, and having passed it they fought a battle above the village of Pattan with Ghāzī Khān. As he (Abū-al-M'aālī) had turned his back on the altar of fortune, he was defeated, and returned without having effected his object and in a wretched condition by the same route as he had set out, and came to India. He nearly fell into the hands of the

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and that he resolved in imitation of Haidar Mīrza to conquer Kashmīr. The expedition was in 965 (1558).

[1] The ancient Rājapūrī. See Stein, Ancient Geography of Kashmīr, J.A.S.B. for 1899. Extra No., p. 128.

[2] Both Niẓāmu-d-din and Ferishta give details about this prince in their histories of Kashmīr. They describe Abū-al-M'aālī's expedition. See T. A. 623, or Ferishta 361.

[3] He was Ḥaidar Mīrza's Vakīl. See T. R., Ross and Elias, pp. 460 482 and 490.

[4] See T. A., 622.

[5] These names are doubtful.

[6] Probably the Khāwarpāra of Jarrett II, 359, 369. Dr. Stein kindly informs me that Khāwara is the small tract below Bāramūla on the left bank of the Jehlam, and that Pattan is Patan.

[7] I do not know the meaning of this word.

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Kashmīrīs; but one of the Caghatai[1] heroes who was with him got off his horse and occupied a narrow place and shot arrows. He continued doing so till his quiver was empty, and then the Kashmīrīs came and finished him off, while Abu-al-M'aāli took advantage of the opportunity and escaped. He came by the Dāmān-ī-koh and arrived at Sīālkot. Troubled and in distress he wandered about in disguise from village to village, and was in quest of a disturbance. At last he came to Dīpālpūr which was then the fief of Bahādūr Khān, brother of A'lī Qulī Khān, and obtained shelter with one Tūlak, a servant of Bahādur Khan and whom he formerly knew. He was long concealed in his house, and was preparing the methods of a disturbance when Tūlak's wife, on account of a disgust which she had conceived for her husband, went to Bahādūr Khān and told him that her huband was keeping Abū-al-M'aālī concealed in his 103
house, and that they meditated killing him (Bahādūr). Bahādūr Khān immediately mounted his horse and came to the house. He had it surrounded and he captured Abū-al-M'aālī, and put Tūlak to death there and then. He confined Shāh Abū-al-M'aālī and sent him to Bairām Khān who made him over to Walī Beg in order that he might send him to Gujrāt *via* Bakar. Walī Beg sent him by that route to Gujrat in order that he might go from there to the Ḥijāz. When Shāh Abu-al-M'aālī reached Gujrat he in unruliness and madness did improper actions and committed a murder. Then he fled from there and came to the eastern provinces, and joined 'Ali Quli Khān, thinking that he might by his help stir up a commotion As that disloyalist was himself meditating on sway and sovereignty, he did not give any room to Shah Abu-al-M'aālī, and sent him to Bairām Khān. He arrived at the town when Bairām Khan's affairs were in convulsion. For the sake of apparent loyalty he confined him and sent him to Bīāna. At last, at the time when, under malign influences, he was going to Alwar, he released him from Bīāna Fort and turned him loose on the world, as has been stated. The Shahinshah's

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1 Niẓāmu-d-din calls this hero a Moghal. He says he gave his horse to Abu-al-M'aāli. He and Ferishta remark the interesting fact that Ghāzī Khan after his victory killed all the Moghals he caught except Hāfīẓ. Habshī who had been reciter to Humāyun, and was spared on account of his elocutionary skill.

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victorious standards had reached Jhajhar, when that headstrong and disrespectful one came in his folly and offered the *kornish*[1] from horseback. H.M. ordered the mad man to be put in chains and to be made over to Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān in order that he might be sent off to the Ḥijāz. On this occasion, too, the spiritual and temporal Khedive, acting on the advice of old servants, and out of consideration of the times, ordered the release of such a sedition-monger. They should have released his futile soul from the prison of the bodily elements. Alas, alas! that they should not[2] have freed that essentially and innately wicked one from the burden on his neck (his head). Because his evil soul long remained connected with his body, many wicked deeds of his came to pass. He thus became still more the subject of eternal punishment. I now leave this subject and return to my task.

It is not unknown to the wise and instructed that as Bairām Khān worsened so did fortune turn away her face from him. Though he ostensibly accepted the admonitions, in his heart he retrograded, and on the day when the imperial camp was established at Jhajhar, the Nāṣir-al-mulk Pīr Muḥammad Khān Shīrwānī arrived and made the dust of the threshold of fortune the collyrium of his lessoned eyes. The above-mentioned had not yet reached Gujrat when he heard of the overthrow of Baīrām Khān's fortune. As he was a well-wisher of the Court he hastily came and did homage. H.M. distinguished him by royal favours and exalted him by the title of Khān and the communication of a standard, and a drum. In consequence of his excellent character, which was innate in him, he was successful both temporally and spiritually.

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[1] Nizāmu-dīn and Badāūnī say that Abu-l-M'aāli wanted to embrace (or salute) Akbar from on horseback. This is more likely than that he wanted to do kōrnish as A. F. says. This was hardly possible from horseback. The coming up to Akbar on horseback was a great liberty. At p. 275 of vol. I, last line, A. F. tells us how Hindāl as a special favour was allowed to approach Humāyūn without dismounting. The verb used by Nizāmu-d-dīn and Badāūnī is *daryāftan*, and Dowson and Lowe have rendered this overtake, but I think it only means to salute or embrace. In the same sentence in which Niẓāmu-d-dīn uses the word, he has already used the expression *malāzamat daryāft* to describe Husain Qulī Beg's payment of respects.

[2] The text wrongly has *me* instead of the negative *nah*.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

Return of the royal cavalcade from Jhajhar and the sending of troops to arrest Bairām Khān's progress. 104

As H.M's mind was not at ease about Bairām Khān's proceedings, and it was not fitting that the Shāhinshāh in person should make the expedition, the world-adorning mind resolved that Adham Khān, Sharafū-d-dīn Ḥusain Mīrzā, Pīr Muḥammad Khān, Majnūn Khān and a large body should be sent to Nāgor. If it should appear that he did not intend to go to the Hijāz, but wanted to put H.M. off his guard by this report, and to proceed to the Panjab, which was a mine of resources, and there become a reservoir of disturbance, these brave men were to bind on the girdle of courage and inflict punishment on him, otherwise they were to arrange for his leaving the imperial domains. Nāgor and its territory were given in fief to M. Sharifu-d-dīn Ḥusain. The officers proceeded in a proper fashion to perform this service. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Khān was sent to put down the sedition of Sikandar Khān's son and of Ghāzī Khān Tanūr, whom Bairām Khān had separated from himself, when he marched out, and who, in conjunction with Mattar Sen were making a disturbance in the province of Sambal. He hastened there and chastised them. The troops having been sent off, the imperial cavalcade set out on its return, and on 28th Ardībihisht, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 11th Sh'abān (3rd May) it arrived at Delhi. The gates of justice and benevolence were opened before mankind.

Bairām Khān was in Sirkār Mewāt when the news of the approach of the army was spread in his camp. At once his flourishing circumstances declined, and men separated from him. Except Walī Beg and his two sons Ḥusain Qulī Beg and Ism'āīl Qulī Beg who were related to him, and Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, and Ḥusain Khān and some others, no one remained with him. The soldiers separated from him in crowds and came to Court.

When the fortunate army was coming in that direction, march by march, Bairām Khān became convinced that it was not possible

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for him to remain longer. His heart turned away from power, and he sent a petition full of supplication and various kinds of excuses. He expressed his regret at separation, and begged leave to visit the holy shrines. He also sent some elephants, *tumāntogh*, a standard, a kettledrum and other insignia of office along with Ḥusain Qulī Beg, who afterwards received, by the Shāhinshāh's favour, the title of Khān Jahān, in the hope that by submissiveness he might be able to effect something. To the officers, who had been appointed to dispose of him, he
105 wrote: "Why do you give yourselves trouble; my heart has grown cold to the world and the burden thereof. I have sent my insignia to Court." The officers were deceived and returned. Ḥusain Qulī was admitted to do homage in Delhi, and it appeared perfectly clear to everyone that Bairām Khān had set off on pilgrimage. At the same time Shaikh Gadaī the intriguer returned to Court frustrated and lost. Though he was worthy of punishment he was treated with favour. Far-sighted courtiers kept their ears open for the report that perhaps there was some treachery and that such would raise its head again from some quarter, and that it would be difficult to amend it. Just then a report suddenly sprung up that he had turned away to the Panjāb, and the dust of commotion arose. The evil-minded waiters upon events were pleased for a time. O God, may such runagates never attain their objects!

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CHAPTER XXVII.

Bairām Khān's rebellion becomes manifest: he flings off the mask and goes to the Panjab.

On account of the coming of the victorious forces, the Khān-Khānān left the imperial territories and came to Bīkānīr. Rai Kalyān Mal who was the chief of that country, and his son Rai Raī Singh, who is now one of the devoted servants of the Court, and is ranked among the great officers, came and visited Bairām Khān. He had no place to stay in, and now finding a pleasant residence he remained several days in that agreeable country. He was looking for an opportunity of raising a disturbance. As owing to the royal fortune every plan which he had put together turned awry, it behoved him to traverse with blistered feet the stages of auspiciousness and to proceed to the holy places, and thus with a shamed face prostrate himself on the ground of ashamedness. But as he was especially an open-minded man he was deceived by some miscreants and became overpowered by sorrow and anger. The wind of pride and arrogance increased in his head, and he in concert with ill-fated, black-thoughted ones went towards the Panjab. He withdrew his hand from every plan, and taking the veil off his face proclaimed himself a rebel. To the officers on the borders he wrote that he had been going towards the Ḥijāz, but he had come to know that a faction had spoken words for the purpose of perverting the noble mind (of Akbar) and had made him a vagabond. Especially Māham Anaga, who was a great authority, had wrought this, and was making it her business to ruin him. At present his sole desire was to come and punish those evil-doers, and to take leave once more and proceed on the blessed journey. He wrote such whimsical things and summoned men, and sent Khwāja Muẓaffar 'Alī, who obtained by the royal favour the title of Muẓaffar Khān, to Darvesh[1] Beg Uzbeg, who was one of the great officers of the Panjab, and had been educated by him, in order that he might 106

1 Blochmann, 402. Khāfī Khān I. 146 says he was related to Khān Zamān.

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bring him by filling him with hopes. When the news of this came to the royal hearing, H.M. out of his great kindness sent a letter of advice to Bairām Khān in order that if he wished to be fortunate and happy he might accept these excellent admonitions and exert himself to obtain his own felicity. For the better instruction of the prudent both now and of the future I give a copy of this document.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

Firmān of Jalālu-d-dīn u-ad-daniyā Akbar Pādshāh Ghāzī.

Be it known to the Khān-Khānān that whereas he has been nourished and cherished by this sublime family and his duties of good service to this Court have been ascertained, and as H.M. the king Jinnat-Dastgāh (Humāyūn)—May God be bountiful to him! on account of the good qualities and sincerity which appeared in him, bestowed favours on him, and confided to him the great office of being our guardian (*atālīq*), and whereas, after that king had departed from the defiles of this world to the wide spaces of the eternal world, he (Bairām) with loyalty and sincerity bound upon his waist the girdle of devotion and discharged the offices of prime minister (*vakil*), we, observing his alacrity in that service, and his seemingly good dispositions, left to him the bridle of loosening and knotting to the utmost extent conceivable. Accordingly, whatever he wished, good or bad, was carried out, and thus in these five years some improper acts of his came to light which disgusted everyone, such as his patronage of Shaikh Gadaī[1] so that he made him Ṣadr, and in spite of the office's requiring consummate ability and knowledge, he, on account of his own private companionship and intimacy, chose him from among all the men who were fit for it by capacity and lineage. And in addition to making him Ṣadr and allowing him to endorse[2] decrees with his seal, he exempted him from the ceremony of homage (*taslīm*), and in spite of his utter ignorance and want of capacity, he gave him precedence in the paradisaical assemblies over all the Saiyids of noble

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[1] See Lowe, 22 and 124, and Badāunī III. 760 and D. Akbari 770. For his father Jamāl see Ranking 429 and 455. He had a brother, 'Abdul Ḥai who died in 959, A.H., Ranking 526.

[2] See about Ṣadrs, Blochmann 270, and about their sealing *firmans* 262. last line. About seals, see 52 and 263.

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rank and all the distinguished 'Ulama, to whom we paid reverence on account of their rank and qualities. He thus showed in the clearest manner his contempt for the purest and holiest family, (that of Muḥammad) in spite of his boasting of his love and affection for that lineage. He gave his protegé, who was rejected[1] and despised by everyone precedence over those who were divinely nurtured, and feeling no shame or reverence before the holy spirits of all our ancestors, he advanced him to such a rank that he appeared before us on horseback[2] and took us by the hand! To his own menial servants, whose conditions and qualities were well-known, he gave the titles of Sulṭān and Khān, and presented them with flags, kettle-drums, rich fief, and productive territories, whilst he with total want of considerations made the Khāns, the princes, the officers, and the trusted servants
107 of H.M. Jahānbanī Jinnat Āshiyānī, whose rank, claims and qualifications are known to everyone, to be in want of even dry bread. Nay, he aimed at the life and honour of all of them, and he took no thought for old[3] servants and domestics, who had served for years in hopes (of reward) and had become entitled to kindness and favour, and did not provide them with even the smallest offices which might have been a means of livelihood to them. As for those who in hunts and expeditions had done service and had undergone thousands of labours and troubles, he every now and then fabricated lies against them and thirsted for their blood. He committed various immoderate and disproportioned acts. If his own servants committed a hundred faults, such as murder, theft, highway robbery, plundering, &c., and these were brought to his notice, he from partiality and hypocrisy took no notice of them; whereas if a small thing were done by the Court-servants, or were slanderously alleged against them, he had no hesitation in imprisoning them or in putting them to death, or in plundering them. He also practised various kinds of oppression and insults for purposes

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[1] Gadāī's father was a poet and of high position in Delhi, but all the Kambūs were originally Hindus, Elliot Supp. Glossary I. 304, and so were looked down upon by the Saiyids. Besides, Gadāī was a Shiah.

[2] See *ante* about Abū-al-M'aālī. The Lucknow editor thinks that it was Bairām who had this honour, but it rather seems to mean that S. Gadāī got so high a post that he was entitled to salute from on horseback or from litter.

[3] Bābari, but properly *bāirī*. The word has nothing to do with Bābar.

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of espial; and some in their utter baseness had engaged themselves in his service, and uttered flatteries to him, such as Shāh Qulī Nāranjī,[1] Muḥammad[2] Ṭāhir, and Lang Sārbān.[3] He in his simplicity believed them to be truth-speakers and patronised them, and supported them. For instance, Shāh Qulī behaved in an offensive manner and did not listen to orders, and Muḥammad Ṭāhir gave such a rude answer that he deserved to have his tongue cut out or rather to be put to death. He (Bairām) heard of this and did nothing. Lang Sārbān uttered before a number of people and in his presence such rude expressions that he too was deserving of condign punishment. He himself knows what was the position and rank of Walī Beg among the Qizilbāshes. Without considering his service, his lineage or his position, and mainly on account of relationship, *viz.*, his being his (Bairām's) brother-in-law,)[4] he brought him and put him over the great officers, so that he even gave him precedence over Saiyid Qulī[5] Mīrzā, who is distinguished for the height of his Saiyīdship and for his connection with the sovereign. He gave Ḥusaīn Qulī, who has not even fought with a chicken,[6] equal position with Iskandar Khān, Ābdullah Khān, and Bahādur Khan, and gave him cultivated fiefs, while he satisfied the great Khāns with waste lands. At these times in many assemblages such deeds were performed by him as to distress and trouble our capacious soul. As we wished to please him, and regarded him as a sincere well-wisher of our family, and fully relied upon his words and actions, we considered all these unseemly actions of his as his extreme loyalty and good-will, and knowingly and intentionally passed them over with consummate

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1 Blochmann 480.

2 Blochmann 424.

3 Lang seems to be a tribe. It occurs several times in *Bayāzīd's* list.

4 *dāmād.* A good illustration of the fact that *dāmād* in Persian does not always mean son-in-law. Walī Beg had married Bairām's sister.

5 Not, I think, the M. Qulī of Blochmann's 385.

6 Cf. Bābar, 31, p. 19, of Shīrāzī edition where Khasrū Shāh is described as not having the spirit to face a barn-door chicken. Apparently this is the officer who afterwards became so distinguised as Khān Jahān, Blochmann, 329. The contemptuous language used regarding him refers to his extreme youth. He could not have been more than 17 or 18 when Bairām promoted him, for Bayazīd 71*a* speaks of him as being 10 or 11 in the end of 960.

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benevolence. At last it was represented to us that he at the instigation of the same gang meditated rebellion, and the separating from us of the few who remained with us, and of reducing us to solitude. In order to defeat this wickedness we went from Agra towards Delhi, and wrote to him that on account of various acts which had come to light, and of speeches which had been repeated to us, we did
108 not hold that he could serve us at this time, and that though we had received many injuries from him, we still continued to regard him as the Khān Khānān, and to style him such, and in order to comfort him we took solemn oaths that we had no design against his life, property or honour. But as we were ourselves giving our attention to affairs of government, it was considered that he should take his own position and submit what he judged proper, and that then we should according to our judgment pass orders thereon. As we had on various occasions represented that the time had come when we should address ourselves to the duties of sovereignty, it was thought that on hearing of this good news he would be pleased, and that he would be firm and constant in obedience. But it came to our knowledge that he had utterly forgotten the favour which had been shown to him while holding his office, and the claims of our glorious family from their favour and patronage of him during forty years, and from their support of him from his cradle, and had hearkened to the words of that rebellious crew. They for their own selfish objects wished to enlist him among the rebels, and in this last stage of his life to exclude him from other-world joys and to involve him in eternal disgrace. Accordingly, from perfect devilry, baseness and arrogance, they won him over and have carried him off the (right) road. He has sent a message to the son of Iskandar to come forward in opposition, and has also sent men to Tatār Khān Panj Bhīya to invite him to come into the Dāmān-i-koh and commit violence there and then come out. He himself had thoughts of Lahore, thinking that there he might lay the foundation of strife, and come into opposition. Into the imperial dominions he has introduced dissension and has endeavoured to extinguish by a cold breath the lamp of the dominion of this family which has been kindled by the eternal radiance, and kept alight by the hand of Divine power. Seemingly the veil of pride and arrogance has blinded the eyes of his understanding, and that he does not know that

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Verse [1]

Who puffs a God-lighted lamp,
Sets fire to his own beard.

Since from considering all that sincerity and reliability which were clearly manifested in all his behaviour, it appeared and still appears that these actions originated in wicked men and were in reality far from himself; nor can it be believed that they are his own, for he has been nourished and cherished by this great family, and obedience to our orders is for him right and proper, we directed for the sake of demonstration that he should withdraw himself from these abominable proceedings, and that he should arrest and send to Court this lost and abandoned crew who have been the cause of the destruction of his fortune and honour, and who for their own objects support his rebellion and enmity. As we, during these five years, have respected his wishes and have not shown any recusancy, and have not gone beyond his good pleasure in anything that he proposed, whether it was acceptable to us, or inacceptable, he likewise should at once submit to this our order, and not be vexed therewith. Whenever he acts according to this order, we shall clear our heart with regard to him and entirely forgive his crimes and offences. And when- 109
ever he is inclined to serve, and there is occasion for it, we shall summon him to our service, so that the veil over him may be removed. And as his services are still appreciated and approved by us, though he has received a thousand favours equal to them, we desire that his name, which has for years been celebrated in all countries and cities for sincerity, devotion, obedience, and reliability, may not become notorious for rebellion, contumacy and sedition, and that it be not included in the list of the Qarāca Qara Bakhts (see *ante*). Accordingly we make known to him the duties of obedience. Let him beware of cherishing other thoughts, and let him be assured that if out of ignorance and short-thoughtedness he leave the path, and if pride and arrogance ruin his brain and place him among the seceders,

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[1] This verse was quoted by Abū-l-makāram to Shaibānī in deprecation of his own folly. See Ḥabību-s-siyār, and Bābar, Erskine 125 and Vambéry's Hist. of Bokhara, who attributes the remark to Khwāja Yahīa from the mistaken notion that he is identical with Abū-l-Makāram.

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we shall proceed against him with our victorious troops, and attended by dominion and prestige, with the determination to put him down, and by the Divine favour we shall abolish him from the earth. There is hope that under these circumstances, when the fortune of our Caliphate is preluding, and his is beginning to retrograde, there will be a great victory, and that he shall be overcome by the army of fortune and put to shame and made a prisoner. Let him not show his folly by thinking that he has bestowed so many favours on his own men during these five years, in order that they might be of use in time of need. In his shortness of thought and ignorance he does not know that fortune is linked to the Divine favour. Whenever that favour does not exist, an unfaithful servant does not succeed. Accordingly, it is transparent that most of those who called themselves sons and brothers, and who, he thought, never would separate from him, have under the guidance of auspiciousness separated from him. Those who have remained, are separating, one by one, and coming to Court. Gradually they will leave him all alone. Under these circumstances, nothing but submission and surrender will avail.

Verse.

The head must bend and the neck obey
For whatever a just prince does is right.

FINIS.

The Khān-Khānān, whose decline was near at hand, or rather who was going headlong into the dark night of decline, did not receive instruction from these admonitory words which were capable of constituting an auspicious code. Shall I say that they increased his disaffection? But he who knows, knows that he by his own endeavours hastened down the precipice of dishonour. In short, he went on from the pargana of Bikānīr towards the Panjab. When he came near the fort of Tabarhinda,[1] which was

[1] In Sirhind. See Badāūnī, Ranking 69, note 2. According to the Labb-at-Tawārīkh it is now known as Biṭhandah, the Bhaṭandah of Jarrett II. 295. It is evidently the Tiberhind of Rennell's map, Tieffenthaler Vol. III. map of Hindustan, No. 2, and of the accompanying list or memoir, page 254. It has nothing to do with the Bihand or Waihind of Elliot II. 438, which was on the Indus, and it appears

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in the fief of Sher[1] Muḥammad Dīwāna, he left his son 'Abdur Raḥīm and the rest of his family and his baggage in the fort with Sher Muḥammad, who was one of his special intimates, and passed on. Sher[2] Muḥammad paid more regard to his real benefactor and separated from him. He took possession of all the goods and chattels that were left in Tabarhinda[3] and took Bairām's family to the Court. Darvesh Muḥammad[4] Uzbeg imprisoned Muẓaffar 'Ali, who had come to fetch him, and sent him to Court, and he himself bound on the 110
girdle of loyalty. He recognised his own liege lord and withdrew from his fictitious benefactor. When he (Bairām ?) came near Thārah[5] M. 'Abdulla Moghal put it in a state of defence and prepared for battle. Walī Beg came to Thārah and was defeated. Bravo! Whoever tries to extinguish a lamp lighted by God flings into the fire the harvest of his fortune and felicity! As it was the time of Bairām Khān's fall, whatever he thought to be to his advantage resulted in loss. And as self-interest is a veil over the eye of counsel, he did not know what was his own good, and regarding causes of awakening as causes of somnolence, he went to the pargana of Jālandhar.

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from Raverty's note, quoted by Ranking, that he was unaware that there was a Bathindah in the same Sarkār as Thāneswar, though considerably to the S.S.W. of it. Though in Sirkār Sirhind, the place lay a long way to the south, and its site is, I presume, now in the Sirsa district of the Panjab. See extract from Major Powlett's report in I. G. under article Bhatnair, where Bhatindā is mentioned. It is noteworthy that Tieffenthaler spells Bhatindah Tabanda, I. 134.

[1] Bairām's adopted son, Blochmann 316 and 524. It was perhaps his subsequent rebellion that made him be called Dīwāna. See account of him and of his death in A.N. II. 263.

[2] See later account of him, text II, 263. There A. F. says that Akbar regarded his disloyalty to Bairām with disgust.

[3] Bhatinda of Ferishta.

[4] Ferishta says he was in Dīpālpūr. We find from Bāyazīd's Memoirs, 99*a*, that Muẓaffar 'Alī was kept confined in Darvesh Muḥammad's house in Delhi, and that he was released by Akbar on the representations of Afzal Khān (Khwāja Sulṭan Alī) and Mun'īm Khān. See J. A. S. B. for 1898. Muẓaffar is there called Bairām's *dīwān*.

[5] Jarrett II. 295. "It has a brick fort on the Sutlej."

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CHAPTER XXIX.

THE DESPATCH OF THE KHĀN Ā'AẒAM SHAMSU-D-DIN MUḤAMMAD KHĀN ATKA WITH AN ARMY TO QUELL THE SEDITION OF BAIRĀM KHĀN. THE EXPEDITION OF H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH IN THE SAME DIRECTION. THE KINDLING OF THE FIRES OF BATTLE BETWEEN THE ARMY OF FORTUNE AND BAIRĀM KHĀN, AND THE VICTORY OF THE IMPERIAL SERVANTS.

During that auspicious time when the capital of Delhi was the abode of the sovereign, news were brought of Bairām Khān's proceeding from Bīkānīr to the Panjab, and the royal resolution was taken to send an army to block his progress, so that there might be no cloud of disturbance in the province of Lahore. A number of short-thoughted ones were of opinion that H.M. should go in person to prosecute the war, and another party said that the army of fortune should be despatched thither. H.M. the Shāhinshāh accepted both opinions, and decided that the victorious forces should proceed in advance, and that afterwards he should go in person. After much discussion, he approved of Māham Anaga's maternal solicitude and kept back Adham Khān. Shāmsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka and his son Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān Kokaltāsh, Mahdī Qāsim Khān, Muḥammad Qāsim Khān of Nīshāpūr, 'Ali Qulī Khān, Mīr Laṭīf Ḥasan Khān, a relation of Shihābu-d-dīn (khwesh, perhaps son-in-law), Aḥmad Khān, and a number of others were appointed to the Panjab, in order to prevent the Khān-Khānān from going there. Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān and these great officers went towards the Panjab, relying upon the Shāhinshāh's daily increasing fortune. After they had started, H.M., as a measure of increased precaution, made arrangements for his own expedition.

111 When in his perfect foresight H.M. determined to make the expedition, he, for the purpose of carrying on the affairs of state, exalted Khwājah 'Abdu-l-Majīd,[1] who had been made Sharaf-i-dīwānī,

[1] Blochmann 366 and Maaṣir I. 77. In a MS. of Akbarnāma in my possession a short account of Aṣaf Khān is inserted here as part of the

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by conferring on him the title of Āsaf Khān, and he assigned to him the government of Delhi, as part of the office of Vizier. He gave him kingly admonitions, and bade him not to be proud of his own wisdom and dignity, to remember the favours he had received, and to regard his exaltation as involved in his humility, and to consider H.M.'s grace as the reward of his services, and to withhold his eye, his heart, his hand, and his tongue from men's goods. The Khwājah understood the precious monitions, and illuminated his auspicious forehead by prostrating it on the sublime threshold. He gave his heart to his work and exerted himself sincerely and devotedly.

When the uproar caused by Bairām Khān's rebellion arose, an order, consistent with sense and precaution, was given for arresting Ḥusain Qulī Beg, and he was made over for some days to the care of Adham Khān. With the consummate humanity which was one of his characteristics, H.M. informed Adham Khan that he would be held responsible if any injury happened to Ḥusain Qulī. On 31 Amardād, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 20 Ẕī-al-Qāda, 12th August 1560, H.M. left Delhi to put down the sedition. As it is in accordance with the Divine decree that noble achievements, such as the world could not imagine, should be accomplished merely by their coming within purview it is clear what happens as soon as H.M. gives his personal attention to a matter. There was a fresh instance of this when the faithful men who had been deputed took leave and went to perform their service. They gave no heed to any other considerations, as is the way of old, self-seeking servants, but went firmly on without slackening rein till they came to pargana Dikdār,[1] which is near the pargana of Jālandhar and lies between the Sutlej and the Bīāh, and blocked the path of Bairām Khān at

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text. It says he was brought up at Herat, and that in Qandahār he was in M. Askari's service, and afterwards entered Humāyun's. Niẓāmu-din and Badāūnī say Husain Qulī was put in charge of Aṣaf, but all the MSS. of the Akbarnāma seem to have Adham Khān.

[1] Not on list of Bet Jālandhar mahals given in Jarrett II. 316, but Tiefenthaler I. 103 has Dakh and Balsānī where Jarrett has Besālī and Khatteh, and an MS. of 'Aīn in my possession has Dakha or Dikha. The Khulāṣat Tawārīkh has Dardak, which is also a pargana in the Bet Jālandhar, Jarrett II, 110 and 316.

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Gūnācūr[1] which appertains to Dikdār. Bairām Khān was arranging for the capture of Jālandhar when he heard of the approach of Atka Khān. In his pride he did not heed Atka Khān and was eager for battle. In his presumption and arrogance he distributed his force into two bodies, and made the advanced one consist of Walī Beg, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, the brothers of Walī Beg, Ismʿāīl Qulī Khān, Ḥusain Khān, (Tukrīya) Yʿaqūb Sulṭān, Sabz Talkh (?)[2] and a number of men destined to be vanquished. Another army was under his own direction and had in front of it nearly fifty famous elephants. On the other side Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān arranged his forces, and was supported by the Shāhinshāh's fortune.
112 He heartened his men and advanced. He himself took charge of the centre, the right wing was commanded by Muḥammad Qāsim Khān of Nīshāpūr, and the left wing by Mahdī Qāsim Khān. ʿAlī Qulī Khān of Andarāb, Qīyā Khān Ṣāḥeb Ḥasan, and other devoted servants formed the vanguard. Farkh Khān and some brave men formed the altamsh, and Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān Kokaltāsh with some gallant heroes took post between the centre and the altamsh. As Atka Khān was not certain of his men he took oaths and promises from them, and strengthened their hearts before engaging. Though Bairām Khān had not many men with him, they were of good quality. He also placed much reliance on the royal army, as many from an evil disposition and double-tonguedness were sending him letters.

When these two forces engaged in the village of Gūnācūr in the middle of Shahriyūr, Divine month, corresponding to the early part of Ẕī-al-ḥajja, 23[3] August, there were brave feats on both sides.

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[1] Not marked. Badāūnī has Phillaur which is a well-known place S.S.E. Jālandhar. Gūnācūr is perhaps the Gancott of Tiefenthaler and Gangot of Jarrett. The Ikbālnāma has گونا حور Ferishta says Mācīwāra, and Khāfī Khān Mahī Bejwāra. The Darbār Akbarī 186n. does not state Blochmann's remark correctly, see B. 619 supplementing 317n. 1. B. says the correct name is Gūnācūr and that it lies S.E. Jālandhar.

[2] The text appears corrupt. Perhaps Sabz Malīḥ is the true reading, see Vullers II. 207b. Sabz is a possible name and occurs twice in p. 154, vol. III A. N. The Talkh of text may be a mistake for Tūlaqār.

[3] This is 1 Zī-al-ḥajja, but apparently A.F. was not quite sure of the date.

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Though in the first encounter the advance-corps of the enemy displayed such valour that most of the soldiers of the army of fortune were put to flight, Atkah Khān and many of his own force, and Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān with a few men stood on the field of battle, and in their astonishment at the hypocrisy and cowardice of their men sought help of courage from the sacred soul of the Shāhinshāh. At this time when Bairām Khān's men had driven off most of their foes and were pursuing them, and Bairām Khān was advancing with his own army and exulting in the thought of victory, the army of Atka Khān, which had been standing behind a ridge, appeared in sight. Bairām Khān advanced to overthrow him, and in the first place sent forward the elephants, of which the leader was the elephant carrying the travelling litter (*takht rawān*).[1] He himself was in the back part of it (the litter). Suddenly the royal fortune and heaven's help withdrew the veil of concealment from the face of success. Between the two armies there was a rice-bottom [2] and the elephants came into that bog [3] and stuck there. The brave men of the victorious army shot arrows at the drivers, and by the favour of a hidden succour one hits the driver of the leading elephant and he hangs down from the animal's neck. When Bairām Khān saw that such was the condition of the elephants, which were his mainstay, he sought to come out by their rear, leaving the rice-bottom on his right, and to get to the dry land and make his attack.

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[1] *Takht-rawān*, a travelling litter, apparently meaning that it was Bairām's pad-elephant. The D. Akbari, p. 187, says Bairām was riding on the elephant, and I suppose *az 'aqab-i-ān* mean the hinder part of the elephant, though it may mean the elephant immediately behind. Perhaps Takht-rawān was the elephant's name, and Bairām was in the rear of the line of elephants.

[2] *shālipāyā*. *Shalī* is an autumnal rice, white and growing in deep water. It is the *āman* of Bengal. A.F. calls it in the 'Aīn shālī mashkīn. See Jarrett II. 96, where "dark-coloured" should, I think, be musky or fragrant; for A.F. says, text I. 299, that the rice is very white (*bas safed*) and fragrant. "Ripens quickly" should be "soon cooked" (*zūd-paz*). It is the word shāli that is used in 'Ain I. 389. Jarrett II. 121, where the rice of Bengal is described as growing as fast as the water rises.

[3] *jamjama*. This explains the passage supra, p. 277 of vol. I, line 5. The meaning there is that in front of the river there was a quagmire. The Ikbālnama says "the elephants' feet stuck in the devouring morass (*jamjama ūbār*).

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The Atka Khan in his foresight and courage perceived Bairām Khān's manœuvre, and prepared to make the attack himself before it was carried out. Yūsuf Muḥammad Khan said, "Most of our men have thrown the dust of disgrace on their heads and gone off, where is the time for fighting?" The Atka Khān replied, "Though men are
113 few, the Shāhinshah's fortune is on our side, and besides we do not think of flying: this is a day of killing or being killed (*jān-fishānī yā jān sitānī*)." He sent on Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān with a body of brave men, and made ready to fight himself with another body of courageous combatants. At the time when Bairām Khān turned back in order to execute his manœuvre, those seekers of renown drew the sword of vengeance from the scabbard of resolution and attacked Bairām Khān's force. His men thought his retreat was a flight, and fell into confusion, and Bairām Khān was obliged to withdraw, and to retreat in disgrace. By the Divine aid a victory which might be the embroidery of other victories, showed her face in spite of the want of harmony, and the discouragement and the disgrace of so many men. The black-fated foe, whether those who had pursued the fugitives, or those who with Bairām Khān were determined on fighting, was dispersed. The victorious troops pursued the retreating army and made many the repast of the blood-drinking blade. A number of the wounded and half-dead were levelled with the dust. The heroes pursued the abandoned crew for two *kos*. Ismāīl Qulī Khān was caught alive. Just then news was brought that Walī Beg was wounded and lying hidden in a sugar-cane field. He too was seized, and also Ḥusain Khān [1] who had been blinded by an arrow. Yāqūb Hamadānī, Aḥmad Beg and many of the hostile leaders were caught in the noose of retribution. An immense booty fell into the hands of the imperial servants. Atka Khān was prudent and did not pursue the fugitives very far. It was solely by secret aid that such a victory which was the preamble of other victories, emerged from the hiding-place of fortune.

H.M. the Shāhinshāh was marching with a firm mind, and a contented soul. Inwardly he was keeping close to the Divine temple; outwardly he was engaged in hunting. Near Sihrind the messengers of

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[1] This is Ḥusain Khān Tukrīya, Badāunī's friend. Badāūnī, Lowe 35, says he was wounded with a sword. He was not permanently blinded.

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fortune brought the good news of victory. The confused world obtained fresh repose, the materials of praise and thanksgiving were provided, and the rites of joy and pleasure took the upper hand. The affairs of the Sultanate received fresh arrangement. The beverage of abundance was supplied to the small-natured. The thread of understanding fell into the hands of the simple and ignorant. Dominion was freed from the hands of the proud. The king of the time was released from the oppressive partnership of the non-recognisers of right. The wisdom of the wise was increased. Dominion showed her face, prestige unveiled her countenance. The universe received fresh moisture. Time and the terrene put on fresh beauty. The inwardly blind and the envious descended into the pit of humiliation and scattered the dust of defeat on their heads. The old world grew young. Justice was born, and the administration thereof became patent. One veil, which the Khedive of the age threw off from his world-adorning beauty Thou, O heart, sawest and beheldest what **114** was the nature of the great of the world! and to what height the greatness had arrived! One can infer from this that if several veils more beautiful than this were withdrawn from the face of my subjects and some special glories were shown, what achievements there would be, and what secrets would be revealed! But it seems that permission to show them is not granted, or that display does not come within his far-seeing design. May he remain for generations in fortune and felicity, for such a Khedive has very rarely come into the world's possession. Abul Faẓl the writer of this preamble of fortune utters[1] a cry from his bosom and says, "If I were not a dependant and did not wear the clothes of service I would make some remarks out of my own knowledge. But as I am included among the conformists I shall not say anything more because the inwardly blind and prejudiced will regard such words as flattery. This apprehension has no place in the house of my understanding for there tainted worldlings do not come. It is my feelings[2] that I speak, not my understanding

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[1] *nafṣa-i-maṣdūr barawarda.*

[2] *ṭabiyʿat* and *fiṭrat*. Jarrett says III. 403, note: "The difference between معسرت and طبيعت is that the former signifies the essential nature of individual man, the latter the super-induced accidents of temperament which are more under his control." Here I think he means to distinguish between his feelings and

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Verse.

When shall the envier of light depart
That I may say what 'tis right to say.

While H.M. was encamped at Sihrind,[1] Mun'im Khān who had come from Kābul in obedience to commands, arrived along with other officers such as Muqīm Khān, a relative[2] of Tardī Beg Khān, Qāsim Khān Mīr Baḥr,[3] Khwājagī Muḥammad Ḥusain his brother, Khwajah 'Abdu-l Mun'im, commonly known as Khwāja Pādshāh-i-Marīẓ[4] Maulānā 'Abdu-l-bāqī Ṣadr,[5] Mallā Khird[6] Zargar, Payindah Muḥammad, Shagun Muḥammad,[7] Fārīdūn, maternal uncle of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Abu-l fatḥ son of Faẓīl Beg, Mīr Muḥammad Nīshāpūrī, and many others, including a large number of soldiers. They arrived on 27 Shahriyūr, Divine month, corresponding to Monday 18 Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 10 September, and were received with royal favours. Mun'īm Khān was appointed to the high office of Vakīl and styled Khān-Khānān and decorated with a robe of honour, while all the officers received favours proportionate to their rank and merits. At the same delightful spot Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka, and the other loyalists who had done good service and had returned victorious, did homage and were distinguished by favours. The *dāqū*[8] dress (pelisse) and the *fattaḥī* dress[9] of Bāirām Khān were bestowed on the Atka

his reason. His reason tells him that he is quite sincere and unprejudiced in Akbar's favour, his feelings warn him that he had better suppress his sentiments for fear of being suspected of adulation.

[1] The T.A. and Badaūni say Mun'im Khān joined the emperor at Ludīāna. Elliot V. 267 has Jālandhar, but the Lucknow text and at least one MS. have Lūdīāna.

[2] *khwesh*. This word often means son-in-law. Here it stands for sister's son, Blochmann 371.

[3] Barr in text, but the variant Baḥr is right.

[4] *Marīẓ* means diseased. Perhaps he is the Padāshāh Khawāja of Blochmann 459.

[5] He was Ṣadr in Humāyūn's time. See *ante*.

[6] He has been mentioned twice in the first volume, originally he was Kāmrān's servant.

[7] He was the son of Qarāca.

[8] See Vullers s. v. دق who says *pannus laneus villosus*. The word is of Arabic origin and means some valuable kind of dress. The form dāqū is not given in our Persian dictionaries, but is given by Zenker who explains it as schlafpelz. See B. 333 n.

[9] *fattāḥī*. Apparently the robe of victory.

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Khān, and he received the title of Ā'āzim Khān. Some wretches, who had been made prisioners on the battle-field, such as Walī Beg, his son Ism'aīl Quli, Ḥusain Khān, Aḥmad Beg Turkomān and others were produced with chains on their feet and necks, together with abundant spoil, also the standard which was embroidered with gems and intended for the shrine of Raẓavī of the holy Mashshad, but had not been sent. The arrival of this standard was looked upon as the beginning of happy omens for the Shāhinshāh. Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Nīshāpūrī, Abu-l-Qāsim, brother of Maulānā 'Abdu-l-Qādir Akhūnd and a number of others who had got leave to go to Multan before the news of Bairām Khān's rebellion, Multan having been taken from Muḥammad Quli Khān Barlās and given to them, were now despatched to Multan. Among those who were captured on the day of battle, Walī Beg, who had received severe wounds, died in prison, and his head was sent as a warning to the eastern provinces. The others were kept in prison until they were released by the intercession of intimate courtiers, and afterwards showed loyalty and obedience and were raised to dignities. The particulars of each of them will be related in its proper place.

God be praised! Whoever was more wicked and more seditious (than others) received separately condign punishment, above all, Walī Beg, who was the substratum of sedition and strife, received such a punishment as might be an increase of the devotion of the right-seeing and right-acting. Owing to the overthrown fortunes of Bahādūr Khān, what might have been a source of instruction and auspiciousness became a cause of increased wandering and error. When the brainless head of Walī Beg was brought by a Tawācī to pargana Itāwa, which was the Bahādur's jāgīr, the inward dissension and disloyalty of that ingrate were revealed. He inflicted martyrdom on the Tawācī! Several unbecoming actions were exhibited by this disloyal one. For[1] some days his loving companions induced him to feign madness (*lit.* pointed the way of madness to him). Nay, nay, his real madness was the commission of this shameful act. Afterwards, in truth they brought him from madness to sense, and so saved him. The imperial servants, who doubtless were neither hypocritical nor negligent knowingly concealed so improper an act. Though some in

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1 Perhaps the meaning is that his friends suspected him of madness.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

EXPEDITION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH TO THE SIWĀLIK MOUNTAINS, AND THE COMPLETION OF THE AFFAIR OF BAIRĀM KHĀN.

When it was ascertained that Bairām Khān had gone to Rājah Ganes[1] at Talwāra,[2] which is a strong place in the midst of the hills, and was seeking protection there, the spiritual and temporal Khedive proceeded towards the Siwāliks on 18 Mihr, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 10 Muḥarram 968 1st October 1560, under the Divine protection, in order that the affair might be concluded without the chicanery of designing persons, and that the world might obtain tranquillity. The great camp was in Māciwāra awaiting the arrival of H.M., when the Khedive of the earth came there, march by march. Munʿim Khān and the other grandees went out to welcome him, and were exalted by performing the *kornish*. From thence they proceeded to carry out their object. On the way the Mīr Munshī and Khwāja Sulṭān ʿAli, who had fled at the time of the affair of Tardī Beg Khān, and had undertaken the journey to the Ḥijāz, were permitted to kiss the threshold. When the standards had been set up in the Siwāliks, an army of brave men entered the defiles and pressed forward. Many Hindu troops and their leaders, *viz.*, hill Rajāhs and Rayān, opposed their march, and there were several contests between them. There were great onsets on both sides, and Sulṭān Ḥusain Jalāīr of the victorious army had the good fortune of martyrdom. The Rajāhs were defeated and fled, and many of those ill-omened hill men were made the harvest of the sword.

When the rumour of the approach of the victorious standards reached Bairām Khān he came to think of his latter end and placed

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[1] Niẓāmu-d-din has Gobind Chand. The Khulāṣat T. has Gones zamīndar of Dānāpur who lived at Talwāra. See also A. N. II. 169, where he is described as zamīndar of Nandūn. Bāyazīd, 94b, says the principal Rajah of the hills (Siwālik) was called Takht Mal.

[2] Jarrett II. 318.

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the head of justice in the collar of shame and repentance. He sent Jamāl Khān, a trusted servant, with a request for pardon of his offences, and made excuses, *viz.*, that on account of various occurrences which were the result of compulsion and not of his free will, the sweat of shame was on his brow, and the countenance of penitence on the earth; if H.M. would complete the skirt of fortune **117** by affixing thereto the hem of forgiveness and would raise from the dust him who had fallen on the road of wretchedness, his was the head of supplication and here was the dust of the threshold. Jamāl Khān arrived at the Shāhinshāh's tent and delivered the petition. He also stated *vivâ voce* the purport of Bairām's desires. H.M. the Shāhinshāh on account of his general benevolence, and special kindness, and in gratitude for so great a blessing, listened to his unheard of excuses, and, because his noble nature relishes forgiveness, he with an open brow and an expanding heart drew the line of pardon over all his offences. In order to assure him, he sent Maulānā 'Abdullah of Sulṭānpūr with some of his intimates along with Jamāl Khān, in order that they might comfort Bairām Khān with the good news of pardon and favour and bring him to kiss the threshold. The deputies performed their office, but Bairām Khān's mind was not consoled. He said that he was ashamed and downcast for what he had done, and was deserving of every kind of punishment. His heart was at rest as regarded the graciousness and glorious kindnesses of the Khedive of the age, but he was in trepidation on account of the Caghataī grandees and the other imperial servants. If Mun'im Khān would come and give him assurance and make oaths and vows he could by his instrumentality come forth from the rebels and perform the prostration. Then, having got leave, he could spend the remainder of his life in holy places, and could seek in humiliation and self-abasement the amendment and atonement of his crimes. As the sea of beneficence was in effervescence, this request of his was also granted. The standards of fortune were pitched in the town of Ḥājīpūr[1] which is near the dāmān-i-koh, and between the Satlaj and the Bīāh, and Mun'im Khān, Khwājah Jahān, Āshraf Khān, Hājī Muhammad Khān Sīstānī were sent to assure Bairām Khān by promises of favour and to bring him to do

[1] Jarrett II. 316.

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homage. The envoys went with a few men into those wild defiles where he had taken refuge. There was a rush (or a crowd) of the zamīndārs, and with a chivalry[1] (*ḥamīyat*) which is rooted among the zamīndārs of India, they stood determined to sacrifice their lives. The envoys threaded the defiles and entered the fort where Bairām Khān was. As soon as Bairām Khān saw Mun'im Khan he became reassured, and knew that the message which they had brought from H.M. the Shāhinshāh was genuine. He came forward hopefully and embraced him, and showed excessive shame. Mun'im Khān encouraged him by promises and covenants and took him towards the sublime threshold, Bābaī[2] Zambūr and Shāh Qulī Maḥram laid their hands on Bairām Khān's skirt and wept and lamented, saying that there was perfidy, and that he should not go. Though Mun'im Khān and the other envoys soothed them, they were not satisfied. Apparently they were under apprehensions about themselves. Consequently when Mun'im Khān said to them, "You remain
118 here this night and wait for news, and after that, when your minds are composed, you will come and do homage," they let Bairām Khān go, and themselves remained behind. Bairām Khān went on to the threshold of fortune. The royal army was waiting in the confines of the hills in expectation of events, and the opportunists (wāq'i'a ṭalabān) were making various remarks when the goodly company (*'aizzā*[3]) made their appearance. The royal army raised

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[1] Apparently this is a reference to the practice of *johar*.

[2] It appears from Bāyazīd 96b that Bābā Zambūr was the elder brother of Shāh Qulī.

[3] Perhaps this specially refers to Bairām. There is a long description of Bairām's surrender in Bayāzīd, who was present on the occasion, in attendance on Mun'im Khān. See pp. 94*a*, *et seq.* He mentions the death of Sulṭān Ḥusain Jalāīr, which had such an effect on Bairām (Blochmann 317 and Badāūnī, Lowe 39). Bāyazīd 95*b* calls him Sulṭān Ḥusain Beg, and says he was the son of Sulṭān Bāyazīd who was Humāyūn's *qūrcībegī*. He adds that Akbar was very fond of him and that he had no equal among the Caghatāīs for courage and beauty. He was killed in the Siwāliks in a sally made by the Hindus from the fort where Bairām was. The place was a bambu-jungle, and as Sulṭān Ḥusain was unsupported he was killed. Next day Bairām sent out a letter to Mun'im Khān who, it seems, had also the name and title of N'iamat Lagh. Bāyazīd gives the contents of the letter. In it Bairām refers with

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a shout and there was general rejoicing. The day was unpropitious to the sedition-mongers and their faces were blackened. He (Bairām) turned his face towards the sublime court, and in Ābān, Divine month corresponding to Muḥarram 968, he flung a handkerchief round his neck and made the prostration of shame and contrition. He laid his dust-strewn head at the sphere-traversing feet of H.M. the Shāhinshāh, partly with pain, partly with shame for his crimes, and partly with joy at his pardon, and wept aloud. H.M. the Shāhinshāh accepted his excuses, and with his sacred hand raised Bairām Khān's head from the ground of humiliation and embraced him. He took the cloth (*fauṭa*) from his neck and wiped from his face the tears of penitence and the dust of shame. With his gracious lips he inquired about his health and bade him sit on his right hand, as had been the rule when Bairām Khān was prime minister (*vakīl*). He bade Munʿim Khān sit down beside him, while the other officers took their places according to their rank. With his gracious lips he uttered such words of kindness and favour that the dust of bashfulness and the mist of shame disappeared from his brow. Yet the word remains true.

Verse.

Though the crime be forgiven, shame abideth.

Thereafter he rose up and bestowed on Bairām Khān a glorious robe which he was wearing over his own breast, and gave him permission to go to the Ḥijāz. In accordance with vigilance and foresight, which are the basis of every act, especially of acts of sovereignty, he gave him as companions Tarsūn[1] Muḥammad Khān and Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī. They were to be his guides to the confines of the empire, and were to conduct him in safety over the dangerous roads. They returned from the territory of Nāgor.

One day Bairām Khān reproached Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī, saying, "No one's opposition and infidelity hurt me so much as yours; you forgot all your old obligations." Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān replied,

regret to the death of Sulṭān Ḥusain. He writes: "When to my sorrow a man like Sulṭān Ḥusain was killed yesterday, how can I be pleased with this unnecessary quarrel. If H.M. and the nobles wish for a spoonful of my blood, I am ready to give it." (*sijl kardam*).

[1] Blochmann 342.

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"You in spite of all the claims to loyalty which H.M. Jahanbānī Jinnat 'Ashiyānī possessed, and all his nurture of you, and all the kindnesses which you had received from H.M. the Shāhinshāh, showed yourself a rebel and drew the sword, and then occurred what has occurred. If I have left your society, what is there extraordinary? and what have I done?" Bairām Khān felt ashamed, and made no rejoinder. I have heard on good authority that Bairām Khān continually during that journey felt the pain which these forcible words had given him.

119 God be praised! The magnanimity and innate kindness of H.M. the Shāhinshāh made an impression on all hearts. This simple man, who was proud of his courage and his sagacity, awoke from his sleep of negligence and emerged from the whirlpool of rebellion. The sincere were exalted and the market of the seditious fell flat. The age received lustre, and mortals wore the face of joy. A letter from the Khān A'azim Atga Khān has come to light, and as it gives accounts of various events, I give an exact copy of it in this Iqbālnāma (record of fortune), so that the wise may receive instruction.

PETITION OF THE LEAST OF LOYAL SERVANTS, SHAMSU-D-DIN MUḤAMMAD ATGA.

"After prayers and expressions of devotion he represents that when this well-wisher arrived at Delhi, and when your Majesty bestowed royal favours on him and gave him the flag, the kettle-drum and the *tuman-togh* of Bairām Khān and made him governor of the Panjāb, it appeared right that this well-wisher should perform service corresponding to such favours and preferment, so that none of the loyal might say anything against his promotion. When the news came that the disloyal and seditious had by letters and messages brought Bairām Khān into the neighbourhood of Fīrūzpūr, an order was issued that the pillars of the empire should assemble and should represent what should be done for the welfare of the state. In that meeting the letter of Bairām Khan to Darvesh Muḥammad Khān was produced. It was there written, 'I am the slave and bondsman of His Majesty, but I wish to take vengeance on H.M.'s *vakils*.' Each well-wisher stated at that meeting what he thought should be done to baffle Bairām Khān. As two days ago the paraphernalia of the said Khān's dignity had been bestowed on

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this well-wisher, he decided that the occasion for doing good service had arrived. There was much talk and discussion among the pillars of the empire—and both small and great were gathered there—and this *faqir* claimed the right of move (*dāv talbīd*),[1] and proposed that the affair of Bairām Khān should by God's favour and the unending auspices of the king come to him, and added, that if wherever he met him, or came in sight of him he should slacken in his advance, he would be less than girls or catamites. The pillars of empire said "the putting down of Bairām Khān is a great undertaking. So long as H.M. does not go in person it will not be possible to capture him." When the pillars of empire were of this opinion, your servant did not say much, but represented to his Lord that Muḥammad Qāsim Khān and Mahdī Qāsim Khān had got leave and gone towards Multan and Lahore. It might be that this servant could also go in the employment of a scout of his Lord (*mukhādīm*) and report day by day everything that occurred. This well-wishing servant's application was favourably received, and an order was given that he should go, accompanied by the great officers, and suppress Bairām Khān. An order was also given that a thousand men should be enrolled[2] as auxiliaries. He took leave and halted four or five days in the neighbourhood of Rohtak and in *pargana* Māhim,[3] but there was no sign of the auxiliaries. On a representation being made to his Lord fif- 120
teen men, out of all the thousand, were sent. As there were many veterans[4] present, the anxieties which are part of warfare came home to them. As also it was the rainy season, and there was mud and water, there was some delay in marching. Men made use of the "Mother"[5] as a go-between, and told a hundred thousand

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[1] An expression taken from chess or from play with dice. The Iqbālnāma uses it with reference to the slave Fūlād's being told off to assassinate Akbar.

[2] *Kumak-navīsand.*

[3] Jarrett, II. 295. Mīhim in Ell. Supp. Glossary II. 133.

[4] *Kahna suwārān.* Apparently the meaning is that they knew what war was, and so were cautious.

[5] *Wālida.* The petitioner speaks lower down of his regarding M. Anaga as his mother, and so I have no doubt that the reference here is to her and not to Miriam-makānī. The author of the Darbār Akbarī has translated the letter, p. 750, and he takes the passage as referring to Māham Anaga.

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tales, such as that the Atga marched every day two *kos* and did not advance because he was afraid, and that matters would not progress in his hands. He should be deprived of his fief and allowances. The "Mother" acted upon what men said, and without giving weight to (my) twenty years' service and affection represented (to Akbar) whatever they said. Your Majesty knows that this was so. My son 'Azīz Muḥammad could not stand men's words and allusions, and wrote: "Father, men's words have killed us. Whatever is your fate will happen. By all means act quickly and dispose of the affair of Bairām Khān."

This well-wisher knew what was designed.[1] In reliance upon the Divine favour and the king's fortune he advanced to suppress Bairām Khān. Now the affair of Bairām Khān has been disposed of by your Majesty's fortune; a number of his attendants and leaders (sulṭānān) have been killed, and all his relations have been arrested and brought to court. God deliver us! if things had turned out otherwise, one knows what would have happened. Probably the truth of the case has been represented to you by Bairām Khān.

After the victory, all the well-wishers who were not present at the battle, and whose services are known to your Majesty, received tenfold presents and favours. As yet no one had asked after the well-wishers who were in the engagement, when Jān Muḥammad Sulṭān Bahasūdī, who was two days in Jālandhar fort, was recommended and received the title of Khān. Besides him, everyone has received presents and pensions tenfold more than their services. When after all these this well-wisher and his son Yūsuf Muḥammad, who wielded his sword in that great battle, had their turn, the favour shown to them was the order of the first day that the name "Atga" should appear on the *firmān*, (i.e., bulletin of victory)! Protector of the world! this well-wisher regards the Bega (Māham Anaga) as a mother, and says no evil of her. May God make lawful what I am about to say! This well-wisher took his life in his hand for the behoof of your Majesty, and taking with him his twelve-year[2] old son encountered Bairām Khān and his ten to twenty relatives,

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[1] By his enemies.

[2] The Maaṣir and Mr. Blochmann have taken this as referring to Yūsuf, but this cannot be if Yūsuf was the elder son, for his younger brother 'Azīz was born in 949, and consequently was then 17 or 18 years old. The twelve-year old son must be

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servants and sulṯāns. None of the great officers came from their parganas to help me, and the men who were with me acted in a way which Bairām Khān has probably represented. In such a manner did they behave to this old servant. All the body-guards (*qūrcīān*) of Bairām Khān, who were in your Majesty's service as spies,[1] have by your Majesty's favour received titles, and grants of two or three *krors*. Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān encountered with the sword Bairām 121
Khān, and his Khāns[2] and Sulṯāns, and your Majesty gave him the title of Khān. The authorities gave him an order for one *kror*, but it has no assignment (*tan*).[3] They gave one *kror* as a reward to this servant who has been exalted by the title of Khān Ā'aẓim. Out of the whole of it the authorities assigned (only) forty lakhs on Fīrūzpūr. Protector of the world! all the retainers of this well-wisher have for a lifetime been serving with their brothers and sons in expectation (of reward). And now by your Majesty's good fortune each has been exalted by the title of Khān and Sulṯan. As the flag, kettle-drum and *tumantogh* of Bairām Khān have been presented to this humble one, and as after the victory over Bairām Khān his *dāqū* and *khil'at-i-fattāḥī* (robe of victory?) and the insignia of his dignity have been granted, and his rank bestowed upon him, he is hopeful that his office also will be assigned to this humble one."

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some younger child that the father took with him, unless, indeed, twelve years old be a colloquial expression for a youngster.

[1] Meaning that some of Akbar's servants were really spies for airám.

[2] I do not think that Haibat and Sulṯān are proper names here. The MSS. vary.

[3] *tan nanamūdand.* Perhaps it means they have not shown him where he is to get it, *i.e.*, on what estate or province it has been assigned. See below, where the petitioner seems to say that only 40 lakhs of his grant had been localised.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

March of the Shāhinshāh from the Panjab to Agra, his casting the shadow of fortune over Delhi, and from thence proceeding by water to the capital.

When H. M. the Shāhinshāh had by the might of soaring fortune removed one screen from the face of his actions and had set before himself the management of political and financial affairs, when the shops of the short-sighted and ill-fated had been overset, and each one of them had retired to a corner, ashamed and downcast, and when the holy soul was by heavenly aids freed from these affairs, he turned his rein towards the capital. His object was that by increasing his attention to the administration of justice, new vigour might be given to the perturbed universe, and that certain regulations should be established which should be codes for the use of administrators, present and future. As the standards of fortune were pitched at Sihrind the order was issued that the camp should proceed by the direct road to Delhi, while his own cavalcade should, for the purpose of hunting, proceed towards Ḥiṣār Fīrūza. When Ḥiṣār Fīrūza became the seat of the standards, the huntsmen represented that there were in the neighbourhood jungles containing *yūz*, which in Hindī are called *cīta*, and that the method of catching that ravening animal was one of the most remarkable of the arts of hunting. Accordingly the sacred heart, which is a decorated mansion of sports, mental and physical, turned its attention towards this charming spectacle. An order was given for making the necessary arrangement. In a short time all the apparatus was got ready, and sundry pits, which in Hindī are called *odī*[1] were dug according to a special plan (of Akbar's, see Blochmann 286). Several heads of *cīta*[2] were caught there and then, and the cavalcade moved towards Delhi. Though before this many *cīta*

[1] The spelling is given in the Āīn text II. 207, top line Apparently it is a corruption of the Sanskrit *ūdar*.

[2] *qilāda* lit. necklace, or collar, but used, like *zinjīr*, to express number of elephants or leopards. See Vullers s.v.

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had been collected for the royal establishment, this was the first 122
time that H.M. hunted them in person. On 11 Āẕar, Divine month corresponding to Saturday 4 Rabī'al-awal 968, 24th November, 1560, the standards were set up in Delhi, and mortals attained the materials of tranquillity.

Among the occurrences of this time was the despatch of a body of troops under the command of Abū-l-fatḥ, brother's son of Mun'im Khan to Kābul. The short account of this is that at the time when Mun'im Khān came to the foot of the throne under the pressure of the Shāhinshāh's commands, he made over Kābul to his son Ghanī Khān, and appointed him in his own stead. In order to help him and instruct him he left Ḥaidar Muḥammad Ākhtabegī. Owing to the incapacity and childishness of both of them things fell into disorder When the imperial cavalcade alighted at Delhi, a petition from Ghanī Khān came to court disclosing the unsatisfactory character of Ḥaidar Muḥammad Ākhtabegī. Accordingly, on the recommendation of Mun'im Khān, Ḥaidar Muḥammad was summoned to court, and in order to help Ghanī Khān, Shagūn the son of Qarāca, Darvesh Muḥammad, Khwāja Dost, Khwājagī Muḥammad Ḥusain, brother of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān and a large body of troops were sent to Kābul under Abū-l-fatḥ's command.

In short, H.M. the Shāhīnshāh after passing some days in Delhi proceeded on the day of Āzar 9 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 2 Rabī'-aṣ-ṣānī, 21st December, to Agra, and he made the journey by water. The nobles and pillars of the empire accompanied him, while the great camp proceeded in the same direction by land. H.M. arrived at Agra on the day of Farwardīn 19 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Monday 12 Rabī'-aṣ-ṣānī, 31st December. The gardens of the hopes of the sincere bloomed. The wounded ones of the age obtained healing plasters. The market of justice grew brisk. Fortune embraced the truthful, and a time of joy came to the good. The sapling of fortune shot up. The bud of prestige began to expand. The world-adorning mind of the Shāhinshāh gave its attention to the education of the spiritual and temporal world under the guise of inattention. He took up his abode in the fort, which is the best building in the city. The foundations of delightful dwellings were laid. The house of Bairām Khān was given to Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān. All the other

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123 courtiers and servants commenced to build pleasant houses on both banks of the Jamna, and so the city became adorned. In the interval Munʿim Khān Khān-Khānān gave a royal feast and begged that H.M. would honour it by his presence. His prayer was granted, and his mansion received celestial glory by the radiance of H.M. the Shāhinshāh's advent. The Khān-Khānān tendered rare and exquisite presents and stood ready to sacrifice his life for H.M. (*lit.* stood with the coin of life in his palm).

One of the instructive events which occurred at this time and was an eye-salve to the fortunately-minded was the killing of M. Ibrāhīm, the son of M. Sulaimān, and the latter's having recourse to the world-protecting court. Inasmuch as the truth-founded purpose of the Shāhinshāh is the portico to fortune's summit, it follows that whoever opposes and contends with him, receives punishment therefor from the superintendents of fate, even though H.M. the Shāhinshāh courteously passes such opposition by, and apparently takes no notice of it, and is compelled to take help from his court. For the punishment for raising the head of disaffection, and for letting stream the flag of pride is that such an one receives fitting chastisements and is brought into the ignominious abode of want, so that he may awake from the sleep of negligence and be active in service. The state of M. Sulaimān is an instance of this. In the beginning of the reign he displayed such improper conduct, as has already been mentioned, and the world-adorning Deity placed the retribution thereof in his bosom, and inflicted so great a defeat upon him, and made him a suppliant of this court. He sent a petition by one of his confidants, who was distinguished for his knowledge of affairs. At this time the said ambassador had arrived and was waiting to pay homage. He obtained leave for an audience after H.M. had alighted at Munʿim Khan's house and was exalted by performing the prostration. The petition of M. Sulaimān was presented along with appropriate presents. The purport of it was the expression of shame and contrition for past offences, an account of the killing of M. Ibrāhīm, and a request for assistance against his enemies. The account of the event is briefly this. M. M. Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm had in the beginning of the reign taken the road of destruction and sown the seed of their own overthrow, though victory had several times shown her face to them in their contests with the Uzbegs, and

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so was a cause of increasing their arrogance. Among these successes was the falling into their hands of the son[1] of 'Abbās Sulṭān who was continually coming from Ḥisār and making forays on behalf of Timar Khān who was the ruler of Ḥisār, and was his cousin. At length they brought an army against Ḥisār and captured the outer fort. Timar Khān shut himself up in the citadel, and was spending his days in stratagems. He was waiting in expectation of assistance from the Uzbegs, who had been summoned from various quarters. As the Mīrzās knew that help was near at hand 124
they returned from Ḥisār to Badakhshān. In the fifth year of the Divine Erā corresponding to 967 of the lunar year, the Mīrzās collected an army of their servants and Aimāqs and marched against Balkh. The shrewd and far-seeing were not favourable to this expedition, as the march against Balkh was unreasonable. For the army of Balkh was larger than the army of Badakhshān, and their military leaders were more numerous. A lesser army may engage with a greater if it have more leaders, but in the Badakhshān army there were only two, *viz.*, Mīrzās Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm; while in the hostile army there were Pīr Muḥammad Khān, and many princes. It was therefore not right to make this expedition. Though what the acute said was reasonable, their words did not find admission to the ear of reason, as the Mīrzās were drunken with the wine of arrogance. Rather their haughtiness was increased and they pressed on the expedition more than ever. The truth is that the eternal managers wished to punish them for their improper behaviour to H.M. the Shāhinshāh, so that by becoming intoxicated with insouciance they might with their own hands throw themselves into the pit of destruction.

When Pīr Muḥammad Khān heard of the enterprise of the Mīrzās he sent messengers to call for help, and at the same time sent an experienced ambassador to the Mīrzās and proposed an agreement. The ambassador declared that Pīr Muḥammad Khān

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1 We learn from the Iqbālnāma that his name was Waqāṣ Sulṭan, and that Sulaīmān treated him kindly and gave him his daughter in marriage. 'Abbas Sulṭān was the runaway husband of Gulcahra, a daughter of Bābar, but this could hardly be her son. It appears from the M'aaṣir I. 436, that Abbas was half-brother of Jānī Beg and son of Yār Muḥammad Khān.

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would surrender Khulm and Aibak to the Mīrzās. They sent M. Beg Barlās, who was an old and confidential servant, on an embassy, and said that if Pīr Muḥammad Khān would give them Khulm and Aibak, and put peace on a firm foundation, there would be an end of disputes. When they themselves marched out of Badakhshān they decided that for two reasons it would not be right to proceed against Balkh. First, because they had sent an ambassador. Second, because they would go and take along with them the Aimāqs[1] of Balkh, the hill-country[2] of which is towards Khurāsān, and get them into their power. Then the affair of Balkh would easily take shape. If they did not take this course, Pīr Muḥammad Khān would strengthen the fort, and collect troops from all sides. In pursuance of this design and in palpable oblivion of rectitude, they took their route by the foot of the hills, left Balkh behind them and proceeded towards Khurāsān, and brought under their control the Aimāqs who inhabited the wolds (*ṣaḥarānishīn*).

Meanwhile news came that M. Beg had been killed, and that Pīr Muḥammad Khān had collected an army and was preparing for war. The story of this catastrophe is that the Mīrzās had on their march to Khurāsān advanced to near the Cūl-i-Zardak (the brownish

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[1] Tribes. See Jarrett II. 401n. and Elphinstone's Cabul.

[2] *bālā ruyīa-i-ū.* I think that this must mean hill-country. The expression is used again in the next page of text and is there opposed to *pāyān ruyīa.* The Farhang Rashīdī, however, says that Bālā is a name given by Indians to the quarter of Irān and Khurāsān. It seems that the Mīrzās made a very adventurous and lengthy expedition, and left their own country, and presumed base of their operations far behind. The southern part of Balkh is hilly, and they marched by the foot of the hills leaving Balkh on the north, that is, on their right, intending to go westwards to Khurāsān. Apparently they took this course in order to deceive Pīr Muḥammad, for their object in sending an ambassador was to gain time, just as his was. Balkh they thought they could take afterwards on their return from Khurāsān, and when they had got the assistance of the Aimāqs, who presumably were disaffected to the Uzbegs and inclined to side with the Aimāqs in the Mīrzās' army. The words *ba-sahwī canīn ẓāhir,* which I have translated, "in palpable oblivion of rectitude," are ambiguous. Perhaps they only mean "palpable blundering." The Iqbālnāma helps us here a little by rendering the phrase by "an untrue intention."

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desert?) which is known by the name of Sān[1] Cārek, and had passed the Casma-i-Gāzarān, and were purposing to go on still further when the news came that M. Beg had left Pīr Muḥammad Khān's house after finishing[2] a great piece of work, when at a sign from Pīr Muḥammad Khān, Khusrū[3] had killed him with a sword. (Pīr Muḥammad's view was) "what weakness is there in us that we should give up our own territory," and his whole intention in proposing peace was to procrastinate, and to collect his forces. Now that assistance had 125
come he had marched across country and headed the Mīrzās. When the Mīrzās heard this news they took counsel among themselves. Men of experience said that the proper course was to bend round

[1] This is marked on the government map as Sang Charak. It lies S.S.W. of Balkh. So far the account is clear, but I do not understand the next clause which says that they had passed the Casma-i-Gāzarān, *i.e.*, the washermen's well, for that lies W.N.W. of Sang Chārak, and is marked on the map a little to the east of Sar-i-pul. I think there must be some mistake either in the text or on the part of the author, for it seems evident from what follows that the Mīrzās had not got as far as the Casma-i-Gāzarān when they heard that the Uzbegs had come across country (from Balkh) and were there blocking their advance towards Khurāsan. Sulaimān tried to force his way through the Uzbeg entrenchment, but failed and turned off and eventually managed to get back to Badakhshān. Ibrāhīm came up after him and was less fortunate and fell into the enemies' hands. It would seem that Ḥaram Begam, the masterful wife of Sulaimān, was bitter against him for having, as she considered, deserted her son, for she referred to it many years afterwards when speaking to her grandson Shāhrukh. See A. N. III. 151, last line. It may be noted here that Sān is given in the B. Q. and in Vullers as a town in Kābul, while Steingass, founding apparently on the Farhang Rashīdī, says it is in Balkh. The latter says, "a town or district of Balkh near Cārīt."

[2] *Muhimmsāzī gūna karda.* I do not understand this, and have adopted the reading of several MSS. which is, *kota karda, kota kardan,* meaning to finish an affair, to abridge it; it is perhaps used here ironically. The unfortunate envoy thought he had cut short or disposed of a great piece of business. Possibly, however, *gūna karda* may be used as = *bāz gūna karda,* as having upset a great affair, and the expression should be taken along with Pīr Muḥammad. *Gūna* may also mean "after a fashion," and the phrase rendered, "having after a fashion done a great piece of business."

[3] The Iqbālnāma has Khusrū Sulṭān.

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(*urīb shuda*) and make a rapid march to the shrine[1] (Ribāṭ) of Mī Rūzadār. The Uzbegs would be left behind. If it should come to a fight that too would be advantageous. But to march on to meet them was in no way expedient. The Mīrzās did not accept this opinion and went on to meet the enemy. The Uzbegs with great dexterity struck the bank[2] of the Casma-i-Gāzarān, which has a winding course[3] and dug trenches, and constructed a wall in front of their position, and having lined them with musketeers and archers remained ready for battle. The Mīrzās quickly put their troops into fighting order and were approaching the spring (*sar-i-casma*) in ignorance of the fortification; M. Sulaimān coming by the low ground near the river, and M. Ibrāhīm by the upper route. M. Sulaimān advanced against the enemy but could make no impression. As he did not know what to do he retreated, and perceived that to go on towards Khurāsān and its neighbourhood would lead to nothing but his being captured. Then he turned round and by great management got out of the ravines[4] (*jarhā*), and passing the enemies' rear (*arqa*,—the back, the rear, Tūrkī) went on to the desert (*dashtcūl*) which is on the side of Badakhshān. Many of his men perished. M. Ibrāhīm came to the spring and attacked, but could make no impression. He drew bridle and stopped, and many of his men were killed by bullets and arrows. Muḥammad Qulī Shighālī[5] ran up to him and said, "What time for standing is this? Your father has got out." The Mīrzā asked his own people what they advised. Many of his warriors said, "It will be very difficult to get out. The proper thing is to fight in this very place and see what the result will be." Muḥammad Qulī spoke roughly and said, "It is a

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[1] I have not found this place. It may be Zīārat Ḥaẓrat Imām, or it may be Mazār Sharīf.

[2] It is on account of this passage that I think there must be a mistake in the previous statement that the Mīrzās had passed the Casma-i-Gāzarān. Possibly, however, A. F. may use this expression for the whole river and not for a particular point on it.

[3] *ki mārpīc uftāda ast.* Perhaps the meaning is that there was a defile or bend in the river here which made it suitable for a fortification.

[4] Possibly it refers to the trenches dug by the Uzbegs.

[5] Apparently he had been with Sulaimān's force, and perhaps had remained behind to point out the way.

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fixed principle with military men that whenever soldiers have gone a bowshot away from the enemy it is difficult to come to close quarters with him again. Why do you unnecessarily bring the Mīrzā into destruction." After much talk the Mīrza came out from that place and proceeded to retreat. He fell into the enemies' country and many of his men dispersed. He shaved his head and face and went on with a few men, thinking that in this way they might perhaps get out. When they had gone some way their horses became tired out. They took to their feet and marched for two days more. Then getting ponies they came to a village in order to get something to eat. Meanwhile the brother of Kul Kāfir recognised the Mīrzā and arrested him with the aid of the villagers and took him before Pīr Muḥammad Khān. He confined him for some days and spoke of releasing him. The impure wretches of Transoxiana came in numbers to visit the Mīrzā on account of a similarity of disposition. Pīr Muḥammad Khān grew suspicious and hastened to put him to death. The chronogram of this occurrence was Kūrāk kusht (Kūrāk **126** killed, 967) Kūrāk was the name of an executioner. M. Sulaimān found the chronogram *Ko nakhl-i-umed-i-pidr* ("where is the sapling[1] of a father's hope," 967). Two days before this event M. Ibrāhīm composed an ode (*qaṣīda*) of which the opening lines were—

Verse.

I went to the land of regret like a tulip with a scar[2] on my heart,
At the resurrection I'll rise from the clay with a scarred heart!

A wonderful thing was that before this march M. Ibrāhīm was always troubled about a dream which he had had, and was divided between fear and hope. M. Ibrāhīm used to describe the dream as follows: "One night I came to wait upon H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī. I was gazing on his beautiful countenance, and was in a

[1] The Iqbālnāma remarks that if the *ko* be omitted we get the date of Ibrāhīm's birth also, for he was 26 when he was killed, and *ko*=26. See Ethp' Catalogue I. O. L. e. 420, No. 583. Ibrāhīm was born 941. It appears from the Haft Iqlīm s. v. Badakhshān that the verse was not made by M. Sulaimān. The two chronograms, one for 941 and the other for 967, appeared in an elegy composed by a dear man *'azīzī*.

[2] Alluding I suppose to the black spot at the bottom of some tulips, or perhaps only to their varied markings.

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reverie, being much in contemplation of the Divine halo. From time to time a longing to have his features took possession of my heart. One night I saw myself in a dream, possessed of his features, and was rejoicing thereat, but when I put my hand on my beard and eyebrows, I found that they were all rotten and came to pieces, so that in a short space of time I had no beard, or eyebrows or eye-lashes. I awoke grieving at this, and the sorrow for it will not leave me. It appears that some harm will come to me."

When M. Sulaimān had crossed the ravines (*jarhā*) he went towards Badākhshān by way of Wakhsh[1] and the desert of Maḥmūd With a few men he came amongst the people of the Hazārajāt and had to fight. He gave proof of courage and went on attacking, whatever loss he incurred (*kushta kushta*). Two and thirty times they blocked his progress. He personally fought and gained deliverance. When he reached Badakhshān, he got the news of the Mīrzā's mishap. The gates of sorrow were opened on his days. Especially did Ḥaran Begam, the daughter of Sulṭān Wāis Qibcāq and mother of the Mīrzā fall into prolonged sorrow. She put on blue clothes and wore them as long as she lived. One of the eloquent recited this quatrain—

Verse.

Ah, ruby of Badakhshān, thou has gone from Badakhshān,
Thou wentest shining from the protection of the sun;
Thou wert in the world like Sulaimān's ring,
Alas, thou hast gone from Sulaimān's hand.

Assuredly whoever fails to recognise the power of the lord of the age, and becomes intoxicated with the heady wine of the world, will see such days. This is the first stage that has been reached. Give ear to me, for among the occurrences I shall describe the downfall of M. Sulaimān,[1] so that the wise may take warning. The brief statement now is, that on the day when Munʿim Khān, the Khān-Khānān gave his feast the ambassadors were introduced. And when the protestations, the laments and the apologies for crimes of the Mīrzā had been made known, the heart of the Shāhinshāh, which

[1] Sulaimān apparently crossed the Oxus and made an immense detour, for Wakhsh lies to the N. of Fayzābād.

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is an ocean of kindness, accepted the excuses, and after making kind 127
inquiries he expressed compassion for the Mīrzā. He used lofty utterances, and the whole of that joyful day was spent in mental and physical pleasures.

During this auspicious year a large number of aspirants left their homes and came to prostrate themselves at the threshold of fortune, being attracted by the reports of the justice and liberality of the Khedive of the age. They succeeded in their objects and made the eulogium of H.M. the Shāhinshāh the amulet of their faith and fortune. Among them came the blessed feet of that bowl of knowledge and deposit of truths—Khwāja Abdu-shahīd, the son of Khwāja 'Abdulla, who is known as Khwājagan-Khwāja, who again was the son of Khwāja Nāṣiru-d-dīn Ubāidullah, who is known as Khwāja Aḥrār[1]. Khwāja Abdu-shahīd had external accomplishments and also internal gifts. He obtained the exultation of joining the sublime assembly, which is an auspicious elixir of things temporal and spiritual, and H.M. the Shāhinshāh who was inwardly a student in the Divine school, came forward with reverence and did him honour. That reservoir of instruction, Maulāna S'aīd[2] Turkistānī, who was at the head of the learned men of Transoxiana, and who had spent a lifetime in the society of Maulānā Aḥmad Junaid[3] also made the acquintance of H.M. the Shāhinshāh. The Maulānā also was imbued with inward knowledge. Though he had not plunged so far into the niceties of Divine wisdom, or into physics and mathematics, yet he had attained a high rank in those sciences which are current in Transoxiana, and had not made his knowledge a cause of trouble and disturbance. At this auspicious time, when the management of political and financial affairs and the expansion and contraction of the affairs of the Sultanate were illuminated by the radiancy of H.M.

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[1] Blochmann 539 and Badāūnī, Lowe, 166 and 174; also Niẓāmu-d-dīn. The author of the Iqbālnāma states that he was born in his grandfather's lifetime and two-and-a-half years before his death. So he must have been born in 1488 or 87 (Khwājah Aḥrār died in 1490) and was over seventy when he came to India.

[2] Blochmann 540; Badāūnī II, 49 and III 152 . He died in Kābul in 970, and Badāūnī represents him as returning from India, unappreciated.

[3] Badāūnī and some MSS. of A. N. have جنید

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Shāhinshāh's supervision, various ranks of men and skilful persons of every country came and were successful spiritually and temporally By the felicity of the attention of God's shadow the transactions of the Sultanate took an upward course. The market of administrations became brisk. A lofty foundation was given to faith. The world's springtime became more adorned. The masters of religion received support. Slanderers lost their trade. Worshippers of the creature received eyes to see with. The morning of auspiciousness breathed for the worshippers of God. The real world became revealed. The outer world acquired splendour.

Among the events of this time was the marriage of M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain. The auspicious-minded Shāhinshāh, who from outward signs knows secrets constantly distinguishes by royal favours and raised to lofty rank a number of persons who come before him, and are noted for good services and loyalty, and in whom high lineage adds to their intrinsic merits. By causing them to revolve continually in his presence he observes and studies their character. For the well-founded idea of the Shāhinshāh is, "Perchance a knave has put on the garments of the honest and has come into the
128 lists of the elect, and there may occur a fault and a fissure in the pillars of the sovereignty through his wickedness." It was on the same principle that the sages of old, when they would strip the veil of secrecy from hearts, poured reason-robbing wine into their mouths and made them intoxicated, so that their weak heads gave out from drunkenness whatever secret there was in their minds.

Verse.

Men try man by the test of wine.

And when the intention is right, to give wine of this kind as approved by the dicta of the wise. To overthrow such knavish intelligence and to test it is befitting to world-adorning religion. In the same manner the principle of this world-adorning Shāhinshāh is that when he desire to know the calibre of anyone's talents and disposition he primes him with the man-overthrowing wine of the world (*i.e.*, prosperity) and makes him mad with the world's inebriety, and then reads with the eyes of insight the nature of his character. Short-sighted men, whose eyes do not fall on the object,

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and are whirled round in the trough of error shoot out the tongue of reproach saying, "Why was such confidence reposed without inquiry?" While they who know the degrees of perfection recognise in this practice the use of the mirror of characters and eulogise such testing. An instance of this testing is M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain, who was of very exalted lineage, and whom H.M. looked upon with the eye of promoting, and to whom he gave lofty rank in order that he might be a prop of the Sultanate. As the high connections and the reputation of the Mīrzā were visible to all the world, some of the imperial servants, who only looked to external rank, judged him to be sound inwardly as well as externally, and gave him in marriage the cupola of chastity, the holy fruit of the Sultanate, Bakhshī[1] Bānū Begam, who was H.M. the Shāhinshāh's pure sister. By this alliance the position of the Mīrza was enormously exalted. Soon afterwards he obtained leave to go to Sarkār Nāgor which was his fief.

One of the occurrences of this year was the sending M. Qarā Bahādūr Khān, the brother[2] of M. Ḥaidar Gūrgān, to conquer Kashmīr. As it is a proper part of the rules of the administration of justice and of world-sway that whenever a ruler engages in his own pleasures, and spends his time in gratifying his lusts, and does not attend to the cherishing of his subjects and to symphathising with the oppressed, and to overthrowing the oppressors, the Lord of the Age, to whom Almighty God has given power and made him the governor of the terrene and terrestrials, should for the sake of thanksgiving to God, strive to uproot that tyrant, and to make over the inhabitants of his country to the prudent and just-minded, and should consider that as the preamble of elect devotion; so, acting upon this principle, an order was issued this year that a force be put under the command of M. Qarā Bahādūr, a relative of M. Ḥaidar, and one who was acquainted with the country, and that he be sent to conquer Kashmīr,

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1 She had previously been married to M. Ibrāhīm, whose death occurred in the previous year.

2 The word *barādar* is used here loosely. He really was Ḥaidar's cousin. From an incidental remark of Gulbadan Begam, to the effect that Gulcahra was in Qarā Khān's house when her brother Hindāl died, it seems probable that Gulcahra had been married to Qarā Bahādūr. This might account in part for his getting this command.

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inasmuch as the disturbances by intriguing Kashmīris, and the injustice of Ghāzī Khān, the ruler of Kashmīr, had been brought to the royal ears. A large body of men were nominated to assist Qarā Bahādūr. At this time Ghāzī Khān, the son of Kācī Cak, was the ruler of Kashmīr, for the government thereof had come to him after his father. But the truth is that he was the son of Ḥusain Cak the brother of Kācī Cak. When the measure of Ḥusain Cak's days was filled, Kācī Cak, either swayed by lust, or influenced by political considerations, took to himself his pregnant wife. Two or three months after the marriage Ghāzī Khān was born.[1]

As Qarā Bahādūr was not skilful nor laborious he proceeded on his service after long delay, and arrived at Rajaurī in the height of the hot season. Naṣrat Khān, Fataḥ Cak, nephew of Daulat Cak, Lohar, Ankarī, Najī Rīnā, the brother of 'Īdī Rīnā, Yūsuf Cak, son of Ramakī Cak, and Khwāja Ḥājī came and joined him. As they saw that the army was not well constituted, Naṣrat Khān, Fataḥ Cak, Lohar and Ankarī[2] fled to Kashmīr. The army remained for three months in Lālī Khokar, near Bimbhar, waiting for the coming of the auxiliaries. As the leaders of the force were old servants, they took the longer time in arriving. It is not by such slowness and heaviness that the entrance into Kashmīr is to be effected, for the roads of that country are of such a nature that if the ruler get news a few days before of the approach of strangers and seize the passes, it would be difficult, or rather impossible, for an army adorned with thousands of Rustams to get possession of the country. Ghāzī Khān, who heard of the coming of the army, and some months had passed meanwhile, so strongly fortified the roads and passes that there could be no idea of getting through them. He also sent[3] his infantry down from the hills. M. Qarā Bahādūr, after fighting for some days near Rajaurī, was defeated and turned back. It was not solely the strength of the Kashmīris that effected this. The season of ague, the beginning of the rains and the non-arrival of the auxiliary force were the principal causes of the defeat. A wonderful fight

[1] A similar account is given by Niẓāmu-d-dīn in his account of Kashmīr, and he gives details of Ghāzī Khān's reign.

[2] The T. A., p. 620 seems to call him the son of Sahū. At p. 624 Lohar is called Deo Harī.

[3] The T. A. says, he himself stayed at Naurūzkot and sent on his infantry.

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occurred on this occasion. On one side were musketeers, and on the other archers. Though the royal soldiers were few in number, yet by heavenly aid they did great things and gave proof of their courage. Kucak Bahādūr, a Rustam-hearted man, specially distinguished himself. At last, as the thing was an impossibility and as the superintendents of fortune had reserved the conquest of this delightful country for another time when the world-cherishing Shāhinshāh should throw off the veil over his world-adorning beauty and undertake the management of affairs without the partnership of the destructive and contumacious, they did not on this occasion gather together the materials of victory. Qarā Bahādūr made such arrangements as he could and came to the fort of Dāīra[1] near Rajaurī. Kūcak Bahādūr was wounded with an arrow. He became a prisoner and was brought before Ghāzī Khān. As the Kashmīris had seen his valour, Ghāzī Khān received him with kindness and made him over to the physicians. But as remedies were of no avail he took the path of annihilation.[2] Next day Qarā Bahādūr arrived at Naushahra. At this time of increasing dominion H.M. the Shāhinshāh in accordance with the suitability of the time was engaged in Agra, the capital, in rendering thanks for the glorious favours of God and under the disguise of inattention to the affairs of the sovereignty, for every day the notes of fortune and felicity were coming into evidence. In every direction countries were being conquered, and the news of victories was arriving. From all quarters the lords of sincerity were congregating in crowds. Dominion was increasing, and fortune was adorning. Understanding was becoming far-sighted, and men were becoming devoted. What place in that holy festival could be held by such news as that of what had happened to Qarā Bahādūr? And what dust of loss could it raise in that sublime sanctuary?

Among the occurrences was the coming of the news that Bairām Khān had passed away. As the holy personality is a fountain

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1 There is the variant Dātara, and several MSS. have Dānra, so it may be the Danaor marked in Dr. Stein's map, see J. A. S. B. for 1899 as N. E. of Rajapūrā.

2 But the defeat was a very serious one. The T.A. tells us Qarā Bahādur had a large army and nine elephants, and that 500 Moguls were killed. The T. A. gives particulars of Ghāzī Khán's reign. See also Jarrett II. 380.

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of generosity and humanity he expressed regret at this event in spite of the things that had taken place, and of which a few out of many have been related. I do not know if this event was the retribution of past deeds, or if his mind was still polluted by evil thoughts, or if his prayer had been answered, or whether the favour of God released that good man from the heavy burden of shame. In truth Bairām Khān was in reality a good man, and of excellent qualities. On account of bad company, which is the worst evil for mortals, his excellencies were first perceived by him, and his infatuation was increased by excessive flattery. For, whenever one fixes his eye on his own goodnesses and abilities there becomes a brisk market of flatterers in the antechamber of his heart. And he takes every flattery that reaches him to be true, and becomes a self-worshipper, and a self-adorner. Consequently, when the time came, the true beauty of the Lord of the Age remained hidden from Bairām Khān, because it was screened by the tender age and the absence of practice in political matters. While searching for the defects of others he did not consider his own. But the house of flatterers did not do him so much harm as did his honest but inexperienced and short-sighted friends. At length, as he in reality belonged to the band of the auspicious of mind and awakened of fortune, he by good guidance did not end in rebellion and contumacy, and lived to repent. By the blessing of service and the grace of pardon he attained to happiness, and the king of the world became pleased with him and was gracious. He set off on a pilgrimage to the glorious places, with honour, accompanied by his family, and provided with goods. When he arrived at the city of Pattan,[1] which is the nearest city of Gujrat, and used formerly to be called Nahrwāla, he stayed for some days in that delightful neighbourhood in order to take repose. At that time the governor[2] of the city was Musā Khān Fūlādī, and he was firmly established there. A number of Afghans had assembled round him, and were disturbers of the country. Among them was Mubārak Khān Lohānī, whose father had been killed in the battle of Māciwāra when Bairām Khān was in command. A desire for revenge took possession of that mad Afghan, and he resolved to kill

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[1] Jarrett II. 262, and Bayley's Gujrat, 25.

[2] On behalf of the king of Gujrat. See Bayley's Gujrat, 453.

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Bairām Khān. Moreover[1] a Kashmīrī wife of Selīm Khān, the son of Sher Khān, and her daughter by him, were in the caravan, and were intending to go to the Ḥijāz along with Bairām Khān. It had also been arranged that Bairām Khān should marry his son to the daughter; this too was displeasing to the Afghans.

While Bairām Khān was in Pattan he was continually visiting its gardens, &c., and one day he went on the great pond,[2] which is a delightful excursion, and has within it a pavilion[3] which can be reached by boat. At the time when he disembarked and was about to mount his equipage, that ignorant, unrighteous one and 30 or 40 other Afghan wretches came to the bank of the pond to attack Bairām Khān. It appeared as if they had come to pay their respects to him, and so he called them to him. When that villain went up to him he incontinently drew his dagger and struck Bairām Khān on the back with such force that the point came out at his breast. Another wretch struck him on the head with a sword and finished

[1] It seems probable that Islām Shāh's wife joined Bairām at Pattan, and that his stay there was partly on her account. Pattan was full of Afghans, and Islām Shāh's wife may have come there with Ḥājī Khan Alwārī. Probably it was he and Musā Khān who disliked the marriage-proposal, for, if they did not connive at Bairām's murder, they seem to have taken no steps to protect him or his family. It is Badāunī, Lowe, 40, who tells us that Ḥājī Khān was at Pattan when Bairām came there. He says that Ḥājī Khān and Musā treated Bairām with respect and hospitality, but this feeling may have changed afterwards, and certainly the Afghān governor seems to have been very remiss in providing for the safety of Bairām's family.

The passage in Elliot V. 268, describing the Rānamand temple, is not in the Lucknow edition, nor in a MS. in my possession.

[2] Known as the Sahasnak or Sahaslang. The word really is Sahasralinga, *i.e.*, the thousand lingam-temples. The lake was made by Siddha Rajah Jai Singha who belonged to the Solankhī or Chālukya dynasty and reigned from 1094-1143 A.D. The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, 179, says: "The remains of the Sahasralinga lake at Anahilapura show that it must have been a work of surprizing size and richness well deserving its title of *Mahāsarah* or great lake." See also Bayley's Gujrat, p. 35.

[3] *Nishīman*, a bower or nest. Cf. Spenser's: "It was a chosen plot of fertile land amongst wide waves set like a little nest." The Bengalis call such a place a *jaltūnghī*. Apparently there is no word in English exactly corresponding to this, though "water-pavilion" may give the idea.

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him. In such a condition did he, fortunate in his end, depart from this world with the words Allah Akbar (God is great) on his lips. He had the bliss of martyrdom which was ever his wish, and for which he asked in his morning prayers and for which he sought the prayers of the men of God. One day, in the very midst of his authority, one of the simple-minded Saiyids[1] said, as he rose up to quit his levee, that he would say the Fātiḥa[2] with the intention that the Nawāb should obtain martyrdom; Bairām Khān smiled and said, "My good Sir (Mīr), why this commotion, and why this regret, we wish for martyrdom, but not in such a hurry."

In fine, his companions were disconcerted and confused at this and dispersed, and Bairām Khān lay in the dust and in his blood till some faquirs and poor men lifted up his bloody corpse and committed it to earth in the precincts of the tomb of Shaikh Ḥisām[3] who was one of the great Shaikhs of his time. On the day[4] of Bād 22 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 14th Jumāda-al-awal 968, 31st January 1561, this catastrophe occurred. [5]Qāsim Arslān made the following chronogram :—

Verse.

132 When Bairām donned the pilgrim's dress to visit the K'āaba
His martyrdom by the way fulfilled[6] his object.

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[1] The *M'aaṣir* I, 380, explains this by saying that the Saiyid had heard of Bairām's practice of shaving and bathing every Wednesday in prospect of martyrdom. Wednesday is a lucky day, and Bairām's practice might have to do with this and also have a reference to the Akhir-Cārsambha, a Masalman festival which celebrates the last time (the last Wednesday of Ṣafar) that Muḥammad bathed. *See* Hughes' Dict. of Islam, 12, 2.

[2] The first chapter of the Qurān. The phrase "say the *faith*" is used figuratively for entering upon an undertaking, Badāūnī, Lowe, 229 note.

[3] The Iqbālnāma says he was a disciple of Niẓamu-d-dīn Auliya.

Hājī 'Aārif Qandahārī was present at the murder, and tells us in his history that he completed the pilgrimage.

[4] Firishta says (Beveridge's Hist. of India I. 124) the assassination took place in the morning, but Badāūnī says it was at the time of evening prayer. This is more likely. Bairām had evidently been spending the day at the *nishīman* or islet.

[5] Blochman 609, Badāūnī III, 178.

[6] *Kār tamām* also has the meaning of "was killed," *lit.* "his business was done." Badāūnī II, 45, has a different reading.

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An invisible angel uttered this chronogram
Shahīd shud Muḥammad Bairām.
(Muhammad Bairām became a martyr, 968).

Afterwards the body was removed to Mashhad by the exertions of Husain Qulī Khān[1] the Khān Jahān and buried there. On the occasion of this strange catastrophe the vagabonds of Pattan plundered Bairām Khān's camp, and left nothing undone in the way of insolence. The horror of the murder produced great affliction among the people of the deceased. Muḥammad Amīn Dīwāna, Bābāī Zambūr and Khwāja Mulk brought away 'Abdu-r-rahīm, Bairām Khān's heir, and who was then four years old, from the scene of the catastrophe along with his mother and some servants, and went off to Aḥmadābād. A crowd of Afghan wretches quickly followed them, and the unfortunate sufferers had to fight the whole of their way through to Aḥmadābād. They stayed there four months, and then Muḥammad Amīn Dīwāna and some servants took the proper course and set off for the mankind-protecting court, taking with them Abdu-r-raḥīm. Before they had kissed the threshold, news of Bairām Khān's death had reached H.M. the Shāhinshāh, and a gracious order was issued for the attendance of 'Abdu-r-raḥīm. This order reached Jālor[2] at the time of friendlessness and orphanage and was healing for broken hopes. The purport of the order was that he should come to Court and be reared by the Shāhinshāh. Several true men such as Bābāī Zambūr, Yādgār Ḥusain,[3] brought that new fruit of loyality to Agra in the middle of the sixth divine year, corresponding to the beginning of 969, September 1561, and submitted him to the testing eye of H.M., and exalted him by prostration on the threshold. H.M. the Shāhinshāh, in spite of evil-speakers and evil-thinkers received that child of lustrous forehead, in the lines of whose brow there were the notes of nobleness and

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[1] It seems that the body was first removed to Delhi and that it was taken to Mashhad in 985, 1577. It would be interesting to know if the tomb is still recognisable there. I may here remark that the best biography of Bairām Khān which I have seen is that contained in the Darbar Akbari, pp. 157-196. The important letter from Bairām quoted there at p. 183 comes from Khāfī Khān I, 147.

[2] A town in Jodhpūr.

[3] Blochmann, 437 and 516.

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truth, with inborn kindness, and reared him in the shadow of his own supervision. In a short time he was distinguished by the title of Mīrzā Khān. Day by day his good manners and nobility of nature revealed themselves, and he attained to lofty eminence. He was raised to the very highest rank, that of Khān-Khānān. An account of this will be given in its proper place.

In the end of this year, beginning in fortune and ending in joy, the cupola of chastity Māham Anaga, who was linked to H.M. the Shāhinshāh by real and ostensible ties, and to whose knowledge and perspicacity the bridle for opening and closing all affairs, political and financial, was, through the blessings of the sublime regard to business, entrusted at this time, formed the design of marrying[1] her elder son Bāqī Muhammad Khān. As one daughter of Bāqī

[1] Perhaps this is the marriage referred to by Badāūnī, Lowe 59, and described by him as having begun in a *mut'a* or temporary marriage. Badāūnī's prejudices led him to regard this connection as fornication (see his views about such marriages, Lowe, 212), but he does not call it adultery as the translator has done. It was this marriage of Bāqī Khān which led to the discreditable affair of Akbar's taking to himself the wife of 'Abd-ul-Wās'i. At that time Akbar was only a lad of 18 or 19. Perhaps the Fatima mentioned by Badāūnī was the mother of Khwājah M'aazzam's wife. The Shaikh Buda who is mentioned by Badāūnī as Fatima's father-in-law is probably the Shaikh Buda who is referred to by him at I, 408. He is described there as a *ṭabīb* and as living in Behār. Dr. Ranking, p. 521, has translated the word *ṭabīb* as physician, which of course is its ordinary meaning. But it also means a judge or critic, or a physician of the mind, and perhaps this is the meaning here. If not, it was probably only a patronymic. The name of the book he wrote, Irshād-i-Qāẓī, seems to show that he was a lawyer. I think too that it is nearly certain that the Shaikh Buda in question is the Shaikh Buda of the *Mīrāt-al-asrār* B. M. Sr. 216, p. 473*b*. The Shaikh Buda there described belonged to a family which had at one time been settled at Radauti in Oude; afterwards they went to Shāhābād near Delhi, and finally to Gangoh. See Jarrett III, 374, account of Shaikh 'Abdūl Qadūs; and also Badāūnī III, 50, account of Ruknu-d-dīn where Gangoh is described as near Thānesar. The Shaikh Buda of the Mīrāt-al-asrār was the son of Makhdūm Shaikh Muḥammad, grandson of Shaikh 'Aārif and great-grandson of Makhdūm Shaikh Aḥmad 'Abd-al-haq who is described at p. 473*b* of the MS. as having been a *ṭabīb*. Shaikh Buda had a son called Shaikh Pīr. The Bihār referred to by Badāūnī I, 408, as Shaikh Buda's residence, is probably one of the places

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Khān Baqlānī had been married to Adham Khān, she wished that the other daughter should be united to her elder son and that she might 133
prepare a delightful banquet in view of the holy advent (of Akbar). With this design she obtained leave from the sublime Court, and engaged herself in arranging this joy-giving festival. The marriage-feast was adjusted according to the rules of magnificent spirits, and alert and skilful attendants on the sublime threshold applied their arts to the fitting up of the premises and to the disposition of the entertainment. At the petition of this fortunate and approved servant H.M. the Shāhinshāh in his abundant grace and favour bestowed the light of his presence on that picture-gallery of delight. Every day there was a new arrangement of the festival, and all and sundry partook of excellence and joy.

Among the melancholy occurrences of this time was the appearance in H.M. the Shāhinshāh's holy person of some obstruction[1] (*ṣabra cand*) from pustules. The sincere loyalists and the superficial cognoscenti were grieved, but it was not hidden from the acute and far-sighted that the great Physician, upon whose will depend health and sickness, and of whose justice and equity, sorrow and joy are the manifestations, doth, for the purposes of prosperity and wisdom, make that servant whom he shall raise to high rank and bring to the garden of eternal joy, and make successful both in temporal and in spiritual matters, subject in the first instance to things repugnant in their nature. The design of this is to increase watchfulness, or to avert the evil eye, so that in recompense therefore he may ascend on the steps of desires and be filled with eternal joy. In accord with this wise design, the equable body of H.M. the Shāhinshāh became at this time somewhat heated, and his holy temperament declined from the centre of equability. What shall I say of how the hearts

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of that name in Oude, but it may be the town of Behār in Behār.

The phrase *banāt-al-kibr* which Mr. Lowe has translated "daughters of the nobles" probably means daughters of the saints or great shaikhs. This is why the Delhi *pirs* are represented as warning Akbar against such proceedings by causing him to be shot at. 'Abdu-l-Wās'i, whose wife Akbar took, was apparently Shaikh Buda's son.

[1] Perhaps the meaning is that the pustules remained under the skin. When they broke out relief followed. Apparently it was a case of chicken-pox.

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of the faithful bled, and how their livers melted? The shopkeeper spirits of business-men became disturbed. After some days some pimples, which were like rue[1] to the disease, came out on the surface of the skin, and Almighty God decreed, as was fitting, the preservation of that great one whom He himself had formed. In a short space of time that commotion died down, and that note of loss was erased, and there was complete health. The sick world became well, and the troubled minds of the good were refreshed. For the sake of thanksgiving for the Divine bounty, there were gifts and largesses. Want departed from the country of the poor, longing subsided in the hearts of the supplicants. The imperial servants showered gifts in proportion to their condition and loyalty, and were bestowers of joy on mankind.

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[1] *Sipand*, "Herb of grace." Badāūnī, Ranking, 476 note.

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

Conquest of Malwa.

Worship and devotion are incumbent on every class of the sons of Adam, and the worship which befits the household of sovereignty, and the thanksgiving which is prescribed for the princely dispensers of justice is that they be continually meditating the tranquillity of 134 their subjects; that they apply their royal energies to the raising up of the injured and oppressed; and that they free the heads of those distressed ones from the heavy burden of tyrants and troublers. First, let them take proper measures for appointing right-thinking, right-speaking intelligencers. If the collecting of such a band cause delay, let them, by the strength of their understanding and foresight, appoint individuals who have no mutual acquaintance, and let them by this excellent means learn the characters of high and low. Secondly, let them bring to bear that steady contemplation which has in it a divine illumination, and let them observe right reason both in their wrath and in their levity. Thirdly, let them by every method which their lofty intelligence may suggest practise extensive views and wide sagacity, and give power and influence to men of talent who have partaken of the sweet waters of sincerity, and let them increase their authority and preserve their own dignity. Let them not take microscopic views on great occasions, and let them treat every member of the tribe of the disloyal according to his deserts. Let them, after warning, inflict suitable chastisement on the seditious and intriguing who have uplifted the head of troubling and who for the sake of their own lusts regard corruptions as emendations. And as mighty princes maintain such principles within their own territories; so, too, do they in other countries exercise such administration of justice and build their world-conquests upon this foundation so that their glory and their dominions increase day by day. As these world-adorning qualities are not acquisitions, but are innate in the holy personality of the Shāhinshāh, he at this auspicious time, when he was becoming convalescent, and was opening the gate of joy for mankind, gave

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some measure of attention to the affairs of sovereignty and took to bestowing light and justice on the darkened world.

When the facts of the oppression of the people of Malwa and of the injustices of Bāz Bahādūr, of whom an abridged description has already been given, were brought to the Shāhinshāh's notice, his justice demanded that an army should be prepared and dispatched against that intoxicated, right-disregarding one, and that the classes of humanity in that country, who are a grave trust from God, should be delivered from the evils of the time. Stringent orders were issued to those charged with the administration of affairs to make ready a large army commanded by brave and loyal officers and to employ it in this lofty service. In a short space of time the administrators prepared an army in accordance with these orders. In the end of the fifth Ilāhī year, and beginning[1] of 968, Pīr Muḥammad Khān, 'Abdullah Khān, Qīyā Khān Kang, Shāh Muḥammad Khān Qandahārī, 'Aādil Khān, his son, Ṣādiq Khān, Ḥabīb Qulī Khān, Ḥaidar 'Alī Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Toqbāī, Qīyā Khān Ṣaḥib ḥasan (the beauti-
135 ful?), Mīrak Bahādūr, Samānjī Khān, Payanda Muḥammad Khān Moghal, Muḥammad Khwāja Kushtīgīr[2] (the wrestler), Mihr 'Alī Sildūz, Mīram Arghūn, Shāh Fanāī, and other sincere heroes and devoted men were appointed under the command of Adham Khān to proceed southwards and display justice and liberality and to be balm for the wounds of the oppressed ones of Malwa. If the ruler of that country should awake from his negligent slumbers and be prepared to amend his ways, he was to be made hopeful of the royal clemency and to be exalted by kissing the lofty threshold, so that he might be treated in accordance with his behaviour. If his foot was slippery from the wine of insouciance and could not convey him swiftly on the highway of obedience and service, punishment was to be brought home to him (*lit:* be placed in his bosom) so that he might be a lesson to other stiffnecked ones. The victorious troops

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[1] *Mubādī.* But there must be some mistake, for the fifth Ilāhī year ended in March, 1561, and 968 began in September, 1560, and in the next chapter we find the beginning of the sixth Ilāhī year corresponding to the 24th of the sixth month of 968. Firishta, in his account of Malwa, says the expedition took place in the end of 968. Perhaps for *mubādī* we should read *masāvī*, "equal to."

[2] Several MSS. and the Iqbālnāma have *kafgīr*.

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tightly bound the strap of courage according to the rules of service and set forth to conquer, placing their feet aright on this highway. They did not march so fast that the camp-bazaar could not keep pace with them, nor did they go so slowly that anyone could suppose they were sparing themselves.

Verse.

He's no traveller[1] who whiles goes fast and whiles goes slow.
He's a traveller who goes slowly and steadily.

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[1] *Rahrū.* Often applied in a religious sense; a pilgrim.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

BEGINNING OF THE SIXTH YEAR FROM THE SACRED ACCESSION, *viz.*, THE ILĀHĪ YEAR SHAHRIYŪR OF THE FIRST CYCLE.

At this time of smiling fortune the standard of the procession of the New Year shone forth spiritually and physically, and the flag of the new spring-morning reflected mirrorwise the countenance of dominion and fortune. After 9 hours, 59 minutes of what is commonly[1] called the night of Wednesday, but which was really Tuesday, 24 Jamāda-al-akhirī 968 of the lunar year, 10 March 1561, the great Light and Illuminator of the universe cast its rays on the glorious mansion of the Ram and came into the increasing realms of the Shāhinshāh, and the sixth year from the holy accession, *viz.*, the Ilāhī year, Shahrīyūr began. The troops of flowers displayed their effulgence, and the odours of the gardens insinuated themselves into the brain of joy.

Verse.[2]

The night-wandering winds brought back the zephyr from the stream.
The New Year clouds again unfurled the flags from the hills.
The former came swiftly like messengers of good tidings.
The latter were like jewel-laden elephants moving in line.
Hail the fragrance in which the perfumer ('Aṭṭār) has no part.
Glorious the broidery whose embroiderer is hid.

The heavenly bodies gave the good news of peace and tranquillity from the prolongation of the shade of daily-increasing

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[1] This may explain text, p. 3, six lines from foot. A.F. counts his days from midnight.

[2] The Lucknow edition has an useful note on these lines. The night wind is represented as bringing back the breezes of morning, and the clouds are described as coming from the hill-country and as resembling elephants.

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sovereignty. The movements of the spheres conveyed to time and terrene the news of the conquests of new territories.

When the victorious troops, who had girded up their loins for the conquest of Malwa, approached that country and ascertained the infatuation and arrogance of Bāz Bahādūr, who had exercised his power with highhandedness and tyranny, they drew up their ranks in proper array. Adham Khān and Pīr Muḥammad Khān were in the centre, 'Abdullah Khān and a number of others were on the right wing, Qīyā Khān Kang and others were on the left. The vanguard was commanded by Shāh Muḥammad Khān of Qandahār and Ṣādiq Khān.

From innate insouciance Bāz Bahādūr did not concern himself with public affairs. Wine, which experts have prescribed, in small quantities and at fixed times, in consideration of the arrangement and composition of their bodily elements, for certain temperaments and constitutions, was made by this man, who was immersed in bestial pleasures, a cause of increased folly, and he was continually indulging in it, without distinguishing night from day or day from night, and was continually using it. Music and melody which the wise and farsighted have employed at times of lassitude and depression, such as arise from the press of business and the burthen of humanity, as a means of lightening the mind and of cheerfulness, were regarded by this scoundrel[1] as a serious business, and he spent upon them all his precious hours—for which no exchange is possible. In the arrogance of infatuation he wrought works of inauspiciousness, and regarded not what has been said.

Verse.

Observe some secrecy in your meetings
Lest the watchman come in with sword-play.

When the army of fortune came near to Sārangpūr, which was the fool's paradise of this drunkard, he awoke in some measure from his insensate slumbers and came out from Sārangpūr, crapulous and wine-stained and took post three kos beyond it. He put his army in

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[1] A.F. describes Bāz Bahādūr as an unrivalled singer. Blochmann 612. The Iqbālnāma says the same thing and adds that he had 400 musicians in his service.

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order and prepared for battle. He gilded the centre (*qalb*)[1] with the base copper of his personality, and Selīm Khān Khaṣa-khel, the governor of Raisīn and Canderī, commanded the right wing. Adam[2] commanded the left wing. Tāj Khān Khāṣa-khel and Ṣūfī who had the vapours of audacity in their brains commanded the vanguard. The armies faced one another at the distance of two or three kos, and the braves on both sides were continually coming out and encountering. They put the observance of the rules of wariness into the charge of men of skill while they themselves displayed intrepidity in combat. Every day a troop of gallant and capable men headed by an experienced loyalist, who possessed both abundant sense and abundant courage, proceeded to the flanks of the enemy and stopped the egress and ingress of the rebels, and especially of the convoyers of grain who in the language of India are called Banjāra. They made the position of the enemy difficult. One day it was the turn of Shāh Muḥammad Khān Qandahārī, Ṣādiq Khān, Payanda Muḥammad Khān Moghal, Shāh Fanāī, Mihr 'Alī Sildūz, Samānjī Khān, and Muḥammad Khwāja Kushtīgīr. They set out after one watch of the night and losing their way they got on the other side of a body of the enemy and came near their stations. Of necessity a fight took place; and there was a fierce hand-to-hand engagement. When news of this was brought to the imperial camp, 'Abdullah Khān, Qīyā Khān Kang and a number of others galloped up and took part in the fight. Though at first Adam came out and fought like a Rustum and repulsed the victorious army, yet Ṣādiq Khān and a number of others skilfully took possession of a ravine[3] and remained
137 firm. The imperial troops came up and discomfited the enemy. A hand-to-hand fight took place between Qīyā Khān and Selīm Khān, and the former was victorious, Ṣādiq Khān and Qīyā Khān joined their forces and repulsed Bāz Bahādur who had driven off the troops in front of him.

A watch and somewhat more of the day had passed when the breeze of victory blew from the vent of fortune and the bud of

[1] A.F. puns on this word which also means matrix and substance.

[2] The Iqbālnāma calls him Bāz Bahādūr's *ṭaghāī*, i.e., mother's brother.

[3] *jarī rā girifta*. Apparently this means taking possession of a fissure in the ground. The Iqbālnāma has *darpesh* before *girafta*.

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conquest bloomed on the rosebush of hope. Owing to the Shāhinshāh's fortune and the excellent qualities of the Khedive of the age a glorious victory was gained, such as might be the embroidery of great successes. Bāz Bahādūr, wine-stained and disgraced, hastened off towards Khandesh and Barhānpūr. All his goods and chattels, his seraglio, and his singing and dancing women, who were the material of his pleasures and the decoration of his life, fell into the hands of the victors. The wretch, when he was about to face the victorious troops, had in accordance with the Indian custom placed confidential men in charge of his wives and concubines and had arranged that if they got sure tidings of his defeat they were to put all of them to the sword that they might not fall into strangers' hands. When the form of Bāz Bahādūr's defeat appeared in the mirror of results those devil-born ones acted according to the arrangement and with the water of the sword wiped out some of those fairy-framed puppets from the page of life. With the knife of injustice they erased from the world's folio the life-records of those innocents. Some were wounded and yet retained a breath of life, and for many the turn of slaughter had not come, when the victorious troops hastily marched into the city. The villains had not time to lay hands on these innocent women. The chief of them was Rūpmatī, renowned throughout the world for her beauty and charm. Bāz Bahādūr was deeply attached to her and used to pour out his heart in Hindī poems descriptive of his love. A monster who had been left in charge of her uplifted the sword of wrong and inflicted several severe wounds on her. Just then the army of fortune arrived and brought out that half-slaughtered lovely[1] one. When Bāz Bahādūr had fled Adham Khān came in all haste and excitement to Sārangpūr to seize the buried and other treasures, and the seraglio with its singers and dancers whose beauty and melody were celebrated throughout the world, and whose heart-ravishing charms were sung of in the streets and markets. He took possession of all Bāz Bahādūr's property, including his concubines and dancing girls, and sent people to search for Rūpmatī. When this strain[2] reached her ear her faithful blood

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[1] *Ān ṭāūs nīmbismil.* The Iqbāl-nāma says that she was at first at her own request conveyed to the house of her spiritual adviser, Shaikh 'Umar.

[2] A.F. ironically calls it *naghma*, *i.e.*, a soft, musical melody.

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became aglow, and from love to Bāz Bahādūr she bravely quaffed the cup of deadly poison and carried her honour to the hidden chambers of annihilation![1]

When Adham Khān had become victorious by the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh his innate infatuation increased, and the cap of his pride was set awry by the wind of arrogance, that is, by his folly and ignorance. His brain deteriorated and whatever Pīr
138 Muḥammad Khān, his disinterested preacher, said to him in the way of advice was unheeded. He personally returned thanks to God for so great a victory,[2] and performed the rites of thanksgiving (*i.e.*, the distribution of alms, etc.), to the extent of his ability. In order to gratify the imperial officers he inaugurated a great feast and made presents according to his own pleasure to all the servants of fortune's threshold who were in his company. Thereafter the whole of the conquered territory was parcelled out. Sārangpūr and some select parganas were assigned to Adham Khān who was the ostensible leader. Māndū and Ujjain were assigned to the real leader, Pīr Muḥammad Khān. Sarkār Hindīa was given to Qīyā Khān, and Mandesūr and its appurtenants to Ṣādiq Khān. 'Abdullah Khān Moghal returned to his fief of Kālpī. Ādham Khān reserved for himself all the rare and exquisite articles as well as the stores and buried treasures of that country which were the collections of ages, and many of the famous dancing girls and beauties whose loveliness and grace were bruited about in all the nine heavens, as well as many singers and musicians, and occupied himself with delights and pleasures. He set apart some elephants out of the spoils of fortune and sent them to the world-protecting Court along with the reports of the victory.

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[1] The story of Rūpmatī is told with greater detail by Firishta in his account of the rulers of Mālwa, Lucknow edition 274 of the 5th part. Blochmann, p. 429, says that both Bāz Bahādur and Rūpmatī are buried in one tomb in the middle of a tank in Ujjain. But this seems doubtful. See Dorn., History of the Afghans, p. 179.

See also for picture of Rūpmatī's palace, etc., Captain Barnes's account of Dhār, Māndū and Bom. Branch R.A.S. XXI, pp. 155, 371, 388, etc.

[2] Badaūnī was present at the victory and describes the cruelties of Pīr Muḥammad. He seems to have been in attendance on his friend Mīr Alī Sildūz. Lowe, 42.

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Among the glorious victories which made this year illustrious was that won by Khān Zamān over the Afghans. Though Alī Qulī Khān Zamān had no portion of the sweet-waters of loyalty—nay, did not understand his own loss or gain and was always regardless of the Shāhinshāh's kindness and favour and was swiftly careering in the whirlpool of error, yet as the veil over his actions had not been withdrawn, and he was giving himself out as one of the officers of eternal dominion he was, by the blessing of daily-increasing fortune successful in all his undertakings. At the time when Bairām Khān had left the scene the black-hearted and short-sighted Afghans thought they had their opportunity and exalted the son of Mubāriz Khān, commonly known as 'Adalī, and gave him the name of Sher Khān. They gathered themselves together and determined to march against Khān Zamān and abolish him. Khān Zamān was aware of their designs and set about strengthening the fort of Jaunpūr. He sent information to the neighbouring officers and, with the exception of Sikandar Khān Uzbeg, he collected them all together, *viz.*, Bahādur Khān, Ibrāhīm Khān Uzbeg, Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, Shāham Khān Jalāīr, Mīr 'Alī Akbar, Kamāl Khān Gakhar and others. As the enemy was very strong, and had nearly 20,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry, and 500 elephants, it was not judged prudent to advance and engage them. The Afghan wretches thought the respite was to their advantage and marched with a large force, and a complete equipment against Jaunpūr, and encamped beside the Gūmtī on whose bank the city is situated. On the third day they, being drunk with the wine of presumption, crossed the river with their forces **139** in battle-order. Sher Khān and Fataḥ Khān and a large body of troops proceeded towards the mosque of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī. They sent off on the right a large detachment under the command of Y'aqūb Khān, Fattū, Saiyid Sulaimān, Selīm Khān Kharwār, and Jau'har Khān towards the Lal Darwāza, and despatched Ḥasan Khān Bacgotī, and Adam the son of Fataḥ Khān with a number of vain-glorious blackguards to the left towards the *band* [1] of Shāikh Bahlūl. Khān Zamān kept his men in hand according to rules and tactics

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1 This embankment is described in the Jaunpūrnāma ed. 1899, p. 7*b*. It was N.-E. the city and was put up by Shaikh Bahlūl who is apparently the confidential friend of Humāyūn who was put to death by Hindāl.

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(*batuzuk-u-yāsāmīsh*) and made ready for battle. Brave men who had their hearts in their hands and were ready to sacrifice life for honour came forth on every side and engaged in hand-to-hand combats. Grand heroes fell upon Ḥasan Khān Bacgotī and he chose the disgrace of fleeing before the hair-splitting archers. At this moment Sher Khān came up with a body of brave men who were eager for battle and fought valiantly. He drove off the victors into the city-lanes. The black-hearted Afghans thought they had won a victory and turned off in another direction. Meanwhile Khān Zamān took the lead with a number of determined men and retrieved the defeat. He assailed the enemy in the rear with arrows and destroyed the futile success of the Afghans. By the Divine aid, which supports the eternal dominion, a great victory soon declared itself Much booty and many noted elephants fell into the hands of the imperial servants. When partizans of the glorious dominion who are not pure of heart or possessed of right dispositions can rear such victorious standards, merely from their being connected therewith, how can the extent of the victories of the sincere and loyal be reckoned up ?

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CHAPTER XXXV.

RAPID MARCH OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH TO MALWA, HIS CASTING HIS JUSTICE-DISTRIBUTING SHADOW OVER THE LAND, AND HIS RETURN TO THE CAPITAL.

Whenever the world-adorning Deity establishes the pillars of an auspicious one He totally subverts his opponents. He overthrows those who begin by showing wheat, but who sell barley,[1] together with the open and secret foes, and in order that the rule "the most important and then the next most important[2]" may be observed, he begins by trampling in the dust of contempt the openly and inwardly perverse and sends them as outcasts to the realm of annihilation. Then He despatches the inwardly worthless to the abyss of ruin and so cleanses the world of those who with vulpine trickery come in the guise of loyalists and do the work of enemies. In brief, when God the world-adorner made such a victory fall to 'Ali Qulī Khān's lot He increased the stock of his infatuation. He did not send to court **140** the spoils of this celestial victory, which was a gift of God. The world-conquering mind of the Shāhinshāh wished to visit the eastern provinces so that the Khān Zamān's infatuation might not become madness. But as he knew that the correction of Adham Khān, who after the Mālwa victory was become seditious, was the most important matter, he determined on visiting and regulating that province which was one of the glorious gifts of God. The excellent idea of the king, who in the beginning of things ever looks to the termination, and his far-sightedness which in the commencement of cases considers how they may be happily ended, demanded that he should, in the first instance, gallop the steed of intention towards Mālwa so that the actions of that evil-doer might not be irremediable. He was occupied with these thoughts when Ṣādiq Khān came to Court and told

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1 A proverbial expression for deceivers.

2 *alahamn fālahamn.* An Arabic phrase meaning that when there are many things of great importance to be done we must first take the most important of the most important.

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the real state of affairs. This confirmed His Majesty in his resolution, and the officers were ordered to make the necessary arrangements for the expedition. It was his innate kindness which inclined his heart to the amendment of Adham Khān. The desire to see that delightful country and to arrange its affairs became fixed in his far-seeing mind. He left Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān, Khwāja Jahān and a number of others in Agra and without informing the great officers and Eyes of the State he went off with a band of special attendants in an auspicious hour of the day of Sarosh 17 Ardībihisht, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 11th Sh'ābān 968, 27th April, 1561.

In passing near the fort of Rantambhūr, of which Rai Sarjan was the governor, he did not think of taking it but continued his advance. Rai Sarjan, when he heard of the approach of the victorious cavalcade, sent suitable presents by able officers and paid the homage of submission. When he halted near the fort of Gāgraun,[1] which is one of the strong forts of Mālwa, it transpired that Bāz Bahādūr had made it over to one of his confidants and that it had not yet been captured. It was also reported to His Majesty that Adham Khān intended to take it in person. One day while His Majesty was encamped there, the conquering heroes had been ordered to invest the fort (*lit.* to inhoop that bezel of strength). When the governor became aware that the Shāhinshāh was casting the shadow of conquest over the fort he, inasmuch as he was able and far-seeing, made the keys of the fort the adminicle of his safety and became exalted by kissing the ground. He was honoured by royal favours. His Majesty left Khāldīn in charge of that strong fort and went on in the end of the same day. He travelled rapidly
141 all night and in the morning, which is the time of expanding hearts, and augmenting life, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Sārangpūr. He made the long march (from Agra), in which there were so many ascents and descents, in sixteen days and planted his darkness-dispelling standards in the district of Sārangpūr on the day of Bahman 2 Khardād, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday the 27th Sh'ābān (13th May).

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[1] In the Rājputāna State of Jhalāwār. See I. G., Jarrett, II., 209 and the Rājputāna *Gazetteer* II. 208.

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One of the wonderful things was that on the same day Adham Khān had marched out from Sārangpūr with the intention of taking the fort of Gāgraun, and had advanced two or three kos. He had no knowledge of the Shāhinshāh's expedition. Though Māham Anaga had sent off swift couriers to inform him of the expedition and to enable him to make proper preparations for service, yet the rapidity of His Majesty was such as dream-messengers could not keep pace with, what then could be done by hard-riding couriers? Adham Khān had arranged his forces and was tranquilly proceeding towards Gāgraun when the world-lighting gilded balls (*kaukaba*) were seen in the distance. Although but few of the victorious troops were on that night in attendance on His Majesty's stirrup, yet throughout the whole of those plains and deserts there were, by reason of the armies of the Divine favour, such a press and aggregation of soldiers of the invisible world, and horsemen of the heavenly land, that they appeared to the eyes of his companions to be beyond count. Some of Adham Khān's soldiers, who had gone ahead of him, suddenly came upon the royal escort. When their glance fell upon His Majesty they involuntarily threw themselves from their horses and did homage. Adham Khān was amazed when he saw his men so confused and flinging themselves off their horses. "Good God, to whom are they paying such reverence?" In his astonishment he urged on his horse, and came nearer. When his eye fell on the world-illuminating beauty of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh he became confounded, and like a bewildered moth dismounted and did homage. He placed the face of servitude in the dust of supplication and was exalted by kissing the stirrup. As the rule of kindness to servants and of ignoring their faults is innate in His Majesty, he received Adham Khān with favour and dismounted there for a while in order that the latter might be re-assured and also that the other followers who had come with Adham might obtain the bliss of doing homage. Then he remounted and proceeded to Sārangpūr. By alighting at Adham Khān's quarters in that city he made them the envy of heaven's ante-chambers. Adham Khān stood on the carpet of servitude and brought forward things rare and beautiful, but as he had not comprehended the extent of His Majesty's nurturing care and kindness, and had raised his foot above his degree, the enlightened soul, which is a divine and truth-revealing chalice, did not open out towards him.

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Devotion's law is that when there is material absence there is
142 real and spiritual presence, and that due respect and reverence are still paid to one's master and that one's private wishes are forgotten in the pleasing of one's benefactor. What am I saying? Devotion is a priceless jewel. It does not deck every head, nor is imparted to every heart. Whither had calculation gone? And what had become of business considerations? What sort of dexterity is it to trick out the booth of disguise and dissimulation in the face of such fostering and kindness? Assuredly, he who out of wickedness plays the game of deceit on the board of honest men casts the dust of destruction into the cup[1] of his name and fame! When Adham Khān was making his hypocritical fawnings the acute mind of the Shāhinshāh felt no pleasure, and whatever Adham did was not approved of by the holy soul. Among other things he had produced clothes in order that His Majesty, as he had come off a dusty ride, might put on fresh attire. But as Adham's behaviour had not cleansed the fine dust on the skirt of the pure and holy soul His Majesty disdained the garments of hypocrisy. Adham Khān stumbled into the net of agitation and confusion. In the abundance of his distress he sought the aid of each one of the favoured courtiers, and displayed humiliation and self-effacement. At length His Majesty, who is a mine of gentleness and pity, took compassion on his misery, and, yielding to his own magnanimity, he favoured his servant by putting on the fresh clothes which he had brought. He also spoke pleasantly to him. As on that day his chaste ladies had remained behind and had not come with the cavalcade, His Majesty slept that night on the roof of Adham Khān's house. That evil, inauspicious wretch was lying in ambush and was waiting for his opportunity, as perhaps the glance of the holy one might fall on his harem, and so the villain might make this a pretext and slay him. His Majesty's holy mind which is a spiritual rose-garden was void of such thoughts, and as he had made a long march he indulged in a long repose. Adham Khān's ill-omened harem-house was a thing of which that wise and chaste one never thought. As the Divine protection ever watches over that spiritual and material cynosure, that black-hearted and ill-fated one had no power or pretext (for injuring him) and the

[1] Kāsa-i-sir. The cup of the head, *i.e*, the skull.

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"Avaunt" of real and spiritual sovereignty protected him in his loneliness.

Next day Māham Anaga brought the zanāna which had remained behind and arranged a great entertainment. Adham Khān was roused from the sleep of negligence by that able dame and recognised the supreme honour of the advent of the Khedive of the world. He tendered gifts and prepared a feast. He produced before His Majesty whatever had come into his hands from Bāz Bahādur's estate, whether moveable or immovable, as well as all the wives, dancing girls and courtezans. His Majesty in accordance with his general benevolence accepted them, and presented him with some of them. He stayed four days in Sārangpūr and on the day of Khardād 6 **143** Khardād, Divine month, corresponding to Saturday, 2 Ramẓān (17th May, 1561), he set out on his return to Agra. At the first stage, which was in the district of Sārangpūr and was called Patāncor, Adham Khān gave way to evil thoughts and disgraced himself for ever and ever. As Māham Anaga was dear to that appreciator of service, and connoisseur of jewels he winked at the affair and said nothing. The details are briefly as follows: As folly and blindness of heart were the confirmed qualities of Adham Khān he intrigued with his mother's servants who waited in the royal harem, and spirited away from the Shāhinshāh's enclosures two special beauties from among Bāz Bahādūr's women and who had been recently exhibited to His Majesty. He indulged in the vain thought that as everyone was at this time engrossed with preparations for departure no one would follow up this trail. From this foolish idea he elected to place such a blot on his fortune's forehead. He became marked with an eternal curse and was disgraced for ever. When this scandalous proceeding came to the royal hearing an order was given to stop the march for this day and to send off swift messengers to search for the lost ones. Able men undertook the service, and by making proper search they caught both of them and brought them back. Māham perceived that if these two women were introduced to His Majesty the veil over her acts would be raised, and her son's treachery be revealed. She therefore caused these two innocent ones to be put to death for "a severed head makes no sound." The Khedive of the age overlooked this gross outrage, as the veil was not yet removed from his world-illuminating countenance, and regarded the done as

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not done. I laud the ocean-drinking capacity which in its abundant affection and plenitude of wisdom can regard such shocking crimes as uncommitted!

From the time when the news of the arrival of the sublime cavalcade reached the officers of Mālwa everyone of them came from his fief and carried the countenance of sincerity to the princely threshold. On the day when the tents were pitched outside of Sārangpūr Pīr Muḥammad Khān, Qiyā Khān, Ḥabīb 'Alī Khān and other officers came and were exalted by doing homage. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh distinguished each of them by favours and exalted their rank. Adham Khān, Pīr Muḥammad Khān and the other Mālwa officers obtained leave after doing obeisance and went to their
144 fiefs. The royal cavalcade proceeded towards the centre of sovereignty. His Majesty went on, stage by stage, hunting and shooting, but also going on rapidly. When his crescent standards cast their rays on the territory appertaining to the fort of Narwar, a tiger[1] such as might terrify the leopard[2] of heaven came out of the forest with five cubs and on to the track by which the cavalcade was proceeding. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, who had the strength of the lion of God in his arms and the coat of mail of the Divine protection on his breast, went alone and without hesitation in front of that iron-clawed,[3] fiery-natured wild animal. When the spectators beheld this the hair on their bodies stood erect and sweat distilled from their pores. His Majesty with swift foot and alert arm attacked the brute and killed it by one stroke of his sword.

Verse.

'Gainst him whom God defends
Who is there that dares contend
If he assail a tiger or other beast of prey
He easily strips their skins from their bodies.

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[1] The variant *babarī*, a lion, is supported by several MSS. and is probably correct for the *babar* is described as an animal which fights with the leopard. See Lane's Dict. s.v.

[2] *palang-i-gardūn.* Perhaps A.F. means the constellation Leo, or he may mean that of the lynx or of the cameleopard.

[3] *Lit.* iron-haired, but the Lucknow ed. no doubt rightly explains the expression as referring to the claws.

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The wild beast, so great and terrible, fell bleeding to the dust before the strength of his arm and the might of his courage, and a shout arose on all sides. This was the first beast of prey which His Majesty personally attacked. Its cubs[1] were killed by the swords and arrows of a number of brave men who were in attendance on the sublime stirrup.

Among the excellent occurrences that happened during this journey was the designating of the Mīr Munshī Muḥammad Aṣghar by the title of Ashraf Khān.

In fine, Agra was made fortunate by His Majesty's arrival on the day of Dībādīn, 23 Khardād, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday, 19 Ramẓān, 968 (4th June, 1561), and the gates of joy were opened for mankind. This great expedition was completed in one month and seven days. The going[2] took sixteen days, four were spent in Sārangpūr, and seventeen were occupied in returning. In it the degrees of courage were fulfilled, and the stages of wisdom revealed. The dues of grace and kindness were paid, and breadth of capacity and greatness of soul were manifested.

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[1] Here again the word is *babar* in several MSS.

[2] It rather detracts from the swiftness of Akbar's march to Sārangpūr to find that Māham Anaga and the other women-folk were only a day behind him. His halt at Gāgraun may have enabled them to come up.

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

ACCOUNT OF THE STRANGE STORY AND OF THE WONDERFUL ADVENTURE WHICH HAPPENED TO HIS MAJESTY THE SHĀHINSHĀH.

The great Vicariate demands that just rulers should without ostentation or personal motives enter into affairs to the full extent of human power and should not delegate them to another. For scrutinising intellect only employs lieutenants and agents in those affairs of human concernment to which it cannot personally attend. Most
145 secular rulers confine their attention to the choice of a lieutenant and then delegate the care of mortals to others and give themselves up to pleasure. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh from his abundant wisdom, and universal benevolence derives his satisfaction—to an extent which the human capacity cannot comprehend—from the soothing of mankind and personally takes part in most matters of business. And, as one of the chief duties of sovereignty is to know the condition of the people, and as of all worldly pursuits this is the one in which corruption is most patent, for it is a pursuit which has chiefly to deal with the mean, the low and the base who are specially addicted to mischief, covetousness and lying—for how are truth, honesty and disinterestedness to be expected in low-natured subjects of inquiry when such qualities are at the present day rare in the great?—His Majesty mostly uses in this work his own sublime genius, and gives to it his special attention. And although the kingly office requires that the holy personality of sovereigns should be guarded in a thousand iron fortresses, yet the Khedive of our age relies on the Divine protection; and after asking support from godly ascetics he many times goes out in a mode which no one knows and a dress which no one recognizes and makes perambulations. He gets information about hidden matters and so arranges for the administration of human affairs. By the influence of desert-traversing knowers of God who are a note of the Divine protection, he is protected from the dangers of such journeys, as he is guarded from other perils.

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Verse.

For protection a dervish's old skirt
Is stronger than hundreds of Alexander's Walls.

Now that this preface has been set forth give ear to me with a mind unstained by the fog of capriciousness. In the town of Bahraich is the grave[1] of Sālār Mas'aūd Ghāzī who was one of the martyrs of the armies of Ghaznīn. It is a custom[2] in India for the people to make flags of various colours and convey them along with numerous presents to that place. Accordingly a large contingent starts from Agra for this rendezvous and keeps[3] awake for several nights in the neighbourhood of the city. There is a great concourse, and both the good and the bad assemble there. Abūl Faẓl, the writer of this auspicious record, one day heard from the sacred lips of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh that on one night when there was a very large assemblage of this kind near Agra he according to his excellent habit crossed[4] over to it under a special disguise. He was contemplating the various sorts of humanity when "suddenly a vagabond recognised me and said so to others. When I became aware of this I without the least delay or hesitation rolled my eyes and squinted, and so made a wonderful change in my appearance. In a sense that they could not imagine I was a spectator and was observing[5] the ways of destiny. When those good folks looked at me they, on account of the change in my appearance, could not recognise me, and said to one another, 'These are not the eyes and features of the king.' I quietly came away from them and went to my palace." In **146**

1 He was sister's son of Maḥmūd.

2 The festival is still kept up. I. G. art. Bahraich and Beale's Oriental Dictionary. M'asāūd was killed in 1034. See *Oude Gazetteer*.

3 *Aḥiyāī cand shab mīkanand.* This use of aḥiyā is not given in our Persian dictionaries but occurs in Redhouse and in Zenker, and in Dozy s.v. ḥai. From what follows it appears that the city referred to is Agra and not Bahraich.

4 *'abūr ba ānjā ittifāq uftād.* Apparently the meeting was on the other side of the Jamna and Akbar crossed over to go to it. Pilgrims going from Agra to Bahraich would naturally begin by crossing the Jamna. The Bahraich fair is held on the first Sunday in the month of Jaistha, so Akbar's adventure occurred in May, probably.

5 These words are used again by A.F. on p. 150, nine lines from foot, in speaking of Akbar's habit of contemplating the outer world.

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telling the story His Majesty imitated the disguise he had assumed, and so made our wonder the greater. In fact it was a very strange performance.

One of the blessed influences of the sublime Khedive at this time was that which occurred while he was hunting in the neighbourhood of Agra. A jackal attacked a fawn and the weak was about to be injured by the strong. The fawn's mother saw what had happened and fell into the net of perturbation. She summoned up her courage and ran to the place, and boldly assailed the jackal several times. He had a bad time, and flung himself into a pond and so made water his fortress. When the ray of His Majesty's attention was directed to this a shout arose from among the spectators. At this time, while the standards were pitched at Agra, though in appearance he inclined to various forms of sport and especially to the hunting with leopards, which is one of God's wonders, and made them the veil of his beauty, yet he constantly engaged in State affairs, in the conquering of countries, in promoting and exalting the loyal, and in casting down the evil-minded and the insincere, and in testing every one's merits, and in furthering and checking those according thereto. He did not leave untouched the smallest minutiae of business. At length the news arrived of the infatuation of the Khān Zamān, and he turned the rein of his intent towards the hunting of that country and determined to proceed thither.

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CHAPTER XXXVII.

Expedition of the Shāhinshāh to the eastern provinces, the submission of the Khān Zamān, and the return to Agra.

It is not hidden from the far-seeing, who understand the pulse of the age, and comprehend the character of the multiform world, and who contemplate its entrancing banquet, that success, victory over opponents, the collecting of able assistants, and the accumulation of the world's goods produce increases humbleness in a nature which is allied to real nobility and which is innately good and well-intentioned and is continually perusing the daily record of its actions. For such an one they are the materials of increased watchfulness and for returning thanks to his benefactor. And as he knows that fidelity and good service are the constituents of thanksgiving, he goes on developing single-heartedness. He becomes both more humble toward the Creator and more complaisant to the creature. He both augments his loyalty and service to his Master and also is from appreciation of performances more amiable towards servants. But he who has no part in humanity except the outer form, and no share in nobility except in name shows effects the contrary of all these. With a little reputation and distinction he places his real rank in the alcove of oblivion, and he, in the first place, ignores his duties towards the author of his being. Secondly, he assumes airs of grandeur and hauteur with his benefactor and master; 147
who is his quasi-God, and lets destructive thoughts pass into his mind. Thirdly, he behaves arrogantly towards his comrades and equals and conducts himself in an intoxicated fashion. Fourthly, he shows himself oppressive and tyrannical towards all mankind. The unhappy wretch thinks in his folly that he is constructing the materials of his own greatness, but the wise know that he is dressing the arena of his own ruin. The case of 'Alī Qulī Khān, commonly known by the name of Khān Zamān, is a repeated illustration of these truths. Physical courage, in which thousands of unreasoning brutes are victorious rivals, was made by him a motive for self-exaltation,

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and increased arrogance, and he ascribed to himself his success, which was a ray from the fortune of the Khedive of the Age, and so made it a cause of increased infatuation. Accordingly, a hint has already been given of his intoxicated ways.

The pride of this wicked man increased when the son of 'Adlī, who had gathered round him a number of vagaband Afghāns, had been defeated by him, and the veil over his actions was nearly altogether withdrawn. The perfect reason and great affection of the Shāhinshāh impelled him to proceed to that province on the pretext of hunting. The words which passed from his lips were, "If any portion of goodness remain in that evil nature, and he awake from the slumber of negligence and hasten to do homage I shall draw a line of forgiveness over his offences and come back, for he is a plant which we have grown, and the noblest quality of princes is the acceptance of excuses, and the forgiveness of faults, for man that is born of woman is a confection of intoxicants and restorations. If auspiciousness does not guide him, and he does not show an appreciation of the bliss of service he will be disposed of before his disease shall have become chronic, and its remedy difficult, and the inhabitants of that country will be delivered from the hands of several oppressors." In accordance with these administrative ideas the sublime cortège proceeded under the Divine aid to the eastern cities on the day of Shahrayūr 4 Amardād, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday the 4th Zī-l-Q'ada 968 (17th July, 1561). The protection of Agra was committed to M'uīnu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān[1] Farankhūdī. Mun'im Khān Khānkhānān, Khwāja Jahān and many servants of the threshold of fortune attended His Majesty. He marched stage by stage, diffusing the light of his justice; in appearance he was hunting, but inwardly he was with his God.

When the camp arrived at the territory of Kālpī, 'Abdullah Khān Uzbeg made a petition through the courtiers in waiting that the spiritual and temporal leader would cast a glance of favour on the lowly and eternally glorify by his advent the hovel of this attendant: "should His Majesty do me this honour what impropriety would there be in the Sun of fortune's cherishing a mote." That world of urbanity granted his petition and enlightened his lodging

[1] Blochmann, 434.

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by the holy light of his splendour. 'Abdullah paid the respects 148
of obedience. The whole of that day His Majesty held high festival in his house, which was situated on the banks of the Jamna, and spent the time in joy and delight. From thence he turned his rein towards Karra, which is on the Ganges. As the suburbs of that city became the place of his encampment he turned his attention to hunting in the neighbourhood. It chanced that he spent several days in that delightful land. The Khān Zamān and his brother Bahādur Khān, as the time of their rending the veil had not yet come, awoke from the slumber of negligence and proceeded to do homage. They are exalted by doing so and presented the varieties of the country by way of *peshkash*. They tendered noted elephants such as Dilsankār, Pulta, Dalīl (?), Sab-dilia and Jag-Mohan (world-fascination), every one of which was a heaven in his world, and they with shame and repentance made the dust of the threshold the collyrium of their eyes. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh in consequence of his right-founded principles treated their past evil acts as unacted and rewarded them by special favours. With his truth-interpreting tongue he said that the wondrous tree of humanity was the precious nursling of God. How unpleasant it is to uproot flowers and grasses (*ashjār-nabāti*). It may be judged[1] then what will be the result of uprooting such a tree (as man) He accepted the coin of their shame and submission as an intercessor for their acts and made the ocean of his forgiveness boil over!

At this time 'Abdu-l-Majīd Āṣaf Khān was sent off with a number of warriors towards Pannah[2] against Rajah Rām Cand. If he behaved properly, and seized and sent to court Ghāzī Khān Tanūrī and a number of broken men who had gone to that country, and if he himself bound on the girdle of obedience and good service, they were to return after having treated him in a conciliatory fashion. As it was the rainy season, the Rajah was obstinate and the holy warriors returned and went to their fiefs. After His Majesty had spent twenty days in Karra, and his mind had become tranquil about

1 The literal meaning seems to be, "it is clear what fruit will be yielded by the uprooting of such a tree." Perhaps, as the Lucknow editor says, Akbar wished to contrast flowers which will bloom again with the tree of man which will never yield fruit again.

2 Pata in text, but corrected in Errata. See Blochmann 367 and 618.

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the affairs of that country the noise of a return to the capital reverberated. The two brothers waited on the stirrup for three stages and took leave after receiving countless favours. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh traversed much territory in ten days, and on the day of Mihr 16 Shahrayūr, Divine month, corresponding to Friday, 17th Ẕī-l-ḥajja, 968 (29th August, 1561), he alighted at Agra. He completed this auspicious expedition in one month and fourteen days. He was fourteen days in going and he halted twenty days, and in returning he took ten days. When the shade of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh's glorious umbrella fell upon the metropolitan district the noble spirits went out to welcome him and to show their loyalty.
149 Everyone received favours in accordance with his merits. There was a new daily market of justice, and a new springtime for the world. Time and time's creatures gained fresh joy. The culmination of service was revealed [1] to the imperial servants in the districts and borders of the dominions. From every quarter men donned the pilgrim-garb of honour and came to kiss the threshold of fortune.

In the end of Ābān, Divine month, of this year, corresponding to the beginning of Rabī'-al-awwal 969, November 1561, Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān Ataga, who had been distinguished by the title of A'aẓim Khān, came from the Panjab and did homage. He fulfilled [2] the destined worship in the guise of serving his spiritual and temporal master. He presented splendid gifts, such as were befitting his loyalty, and was exalted by the glorious favours of the Shāhinshāh. He undertook the management of affairs, political and financial, and disposed of matters relating to the army and to the civil population according to his own sound judgment. Māham Anaga, who from her excellent services, abundant wisdom and exceeding devotion regarded herself as the substantive prime minister, was displeased at this. Mun'im Khān Khān-khānān too, who was the ostensible *vakīl* and sat on the *maṣnad* as such, was inwardly grieved at this. Where were the judiciousness, the independence of mind and the disinclination for worldly affairs which would have regarded the

[1] Apparently the meaning is that the provincial officers had an opportunity of seeing Akbar and so had the head (or perfection) of service, *Sir-i-khidmatguzārī* revealed to them.

[2] The meaning seems to be that Shamsu-d-dīn performed the obligatory duty of going on pilgrimage by appearing before Akbar.

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presence of one who took up and placed on his head the burden of the world's business as a great gift from God and as something to be thankful for, so that when the Khān A'aẓim in his straightness and loyalty undertook the service of the Shāhinshāh, Mun'im Khān and Māham Anaga should have looked upon him as a providential helper and have rendered thanks for the boon from the bottom of their hearts, instead of being so grieved and vexed? For in the antechamber of right-dealing the true principle and that which is approved by the wise is that one should hold oneself fettered to external work until another who can take charge of it makes his appearance, and the office of pleasing the master by the management of affairs shall have been entrusted to him by acts and not by words. When one is given to understand by the tongue of actions that his service has been entrusted to another and that a servant who is chief manager has arrived on the scene, it is folly to be vexed; and such conduct is to allow oneself to be overcome of his desires. Rather it is to overset oneself, and to damage oneself by one's own hand.

One of the ennobling events in the Shāhinshāh's fortune which in this year applied collyrium to the eyes of the simple-minded aspirants after auspiciousness was that Cunār, which is an impregnable fortress, came into the possession of the imperial servants. Certainly it has seldom come into the hands of princes by force of arms or by abundance of stratagem. For on account of its height and strength the hand of the external foe cannot reach it, and owing to plenty of food and water those inside are not dependent on the 150
outer world. The brief account of this event is that when 'Adilī's son became a vagrant in the wilderness of ruin the fort of Cunār, which had been his abode, came into the hands of one Fattū[1] who belonged to his clan (*khāṣa khel*). He regarded this inaccessible fort as his refuge and laboured to strengthen it. When the standards of fortune returned from the town of Karra and were set down at Agra, Khwāja 'Abdul Majīd Āṣaf Khān was appointed to take the fort. As Fattū had some proper feelings, and some good sense he perceived that the day of the Afghans' defeat had arrived, and so sent a number of people to express his submissiveness. He humbly

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1 Blochmann 502 and 531. The Iqbālnāma says he had the title of Fatah Khān Maṣnad 'Aālī.

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represented to the world-protecting court that if Shaikh[1] Muḥammad were to take him by the hand and bring him to kiss the threshold of fortune he would assuredly deliver the fort with a contented mind to the imperial servants and would bind himself to the saddle-straps of the Shāhinshāh's fortune. His petition was accepted and the Shaikh went, in accordance with a lofty command, and brought him by princely kindnesses to perform homage. The forehead of his auspiciousness was brightened by his prostrating himself at the court of the refuge of the world. His Majesty exalted him by favours and gave him the rank of an Amīr. Ḥasan 'Alī Khān Turkaman was appointed to the charge of the fortress.

Among the occurrences of this time was His Majesty the Shāhinshāh's mounting the elephant Hawāī and engaging it in a fight. The life-giving and world-adorning Creator was daily exalting his degrees of greatness by new methods and new lights and was making the spiritual and physical perfections of this sole one of unity's Court perceptible to the superficial and short-sighted. The Age's Khedive was contented with rendering thanks inwardly and continued to wear a veil over his actions. Whenever owing to a Divine decree a veil might be removed from his world-adorning beauty, His Majesty by the might of his own far-seeing meditation fashioned some other yet more beautiful and wonderful veils. He was at once a spectator of the system of Divine decrees, and an administrator of the world according to the best laws. Secretly he was testing the sincerity, the large-mindedness, and business-capabilities of men; ostensibly, he was prosecuting hunting and elephant-fights which the ignorant regard as a kind of neglect of the duties of sovereignty, but which the wise regard as the cream of practical skill. In those very amusements which led the superficial into this error there appeared certain actions which involuntarily brought such superficialists into the highway of devotion and made them travellers on the path of true knowledge. Among them is the following extraordinary occurrence. The story of this instructive affair, and of this

[1] This is Muḥammad Ghaus of Gwāliār, and he is so called in the Iqbālnāma. He was then nearly 80 years old, and he died in the following year. See Badāunī and also the very good and full account in the Darbār Akbarī, p. 775.

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opener of reason's ear is as follows. The elephant Hawāī [1] was a mighty animal and reckoned among the special elephants. In choler, passionateness, fierceness and wickedness he was a match for the world. Strong and experienced drivers who had spent a long life in riding similar elephants mounted him with difficulty, so what could they do in the way of making him fight? That royal cavalier of **151** bravery's plain and tiger-hunter of audacity's forest one day without hesitation mounted this elephant, in the very height of its ferocity, on the polo-ground which he had made for his pleasure outside of the fort of Agra, and executed wonderful manœuvres. After that he pitted him against the elephant Ran Bāgha which nearly approached him in his qualities. The loyal and the experienced who were present were in a state such as had never happened to them before.

As the courtiers who were witnesses of this dangerous scene were disturbed by its continuance and were unable to remonstrate, it all at once, occurred to them that a remedy might be found if the Ataga Khān who was the prime minister were brought, and if he by prayers and entreaties could withdraw His Majesty from this dreadful occupation, the contemplation of which turned the gall-bladder of the lion-hearted to water. When the distracted Ataga Khān arrived and saw the state of affairs he dropped from his hand the thread of endurance and bared his head. He cried and lamented like oppressed suppliants for justice. Great and small raised hands of entreaty and implored from God the safety of that sacred person which is the principle of peace and tranquillity for mankind. When His Majesty perceived the Ataga Khān's perturbation he said to him, "You must not make all this lamentation, and if you don't stop I'll at once throw myself down from the elephant." When the Ataga Khān saw that His Majesty was bent upon the business he at once obeyed and from deference outwardly composed his agitated mind. The lion-hearted Shāhinshāh calmly went on with his terrifying pursuit until the elephant Hawāī by the strength of a hidden arm, and the Divine fortune, got the victory over his opponent. Ran Bāgha let fall the strong cable of steadfastness and turned to flee. Hawāī looked neither behind nor before and disregarded heights

[1] This was the name of Hemū's elephant.

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and hollows and went like the wind in pursuit of the fugitive. His Majesty, a rock of firmness, continued to sit steadily and to watch the ways of destiny. After running a long way the elephant came to the edge of the river Jamna, and to the head of the great bridge of boats. Ran Bāgha in his confusion went on to the bridge, and Hawāi with the tiger of fortune's jungle on his back came upon the bridge behind him. Owing to the great weight of those two mountain-forms the pontoons were sometimes submerged and sometimes lifted up. The royal servants flung themselves into the water on both sides of the bridge and went on swimming until [1] the elephants had traversed the whole of the bridge and got to the other side. At this time when the spectators were looking on at the wonderful affair, the Khedive of the age in a moment restrained Hawāī who was like fire in disposition and like wind in swiftness. Ran Bāgha ran off, carrying his life. New life, too, came to the world and distraught hearts
152 were composed. Some short-thoughted, short-sighted ones imagined that perhaps there was some drunkenness in the brain of the Ruler of time and terrestrials, and that this performance was the result thereof. They immediately recoiled from this baseless idea and perceived that His Majesty was a wondrous portrayer of the arts of reason who was bringing into evidence a specimen from the wondrous inner gallery and was summoning the astray in the wilderness of ignorance to the king's highway of knowledge. He was giving eyes to the blind, and was anointing the eyes of the seeing with impearled [2] collyrium. Several times when this fortunate writer has had the privilege of private conversation with His Majesty the Shāhinshāh he has heard from his holy lips that "our knowingly and intentionally mounting on *mast*, murderous elephants when they have a moment previously brought their drivers under their feet and killed them, and when they have slain many a man, has this for its cause and motive that if I have knowingly taken a step which is displeasing to God or have knowingly made an aspiration which was not

[1] The meaning is, that when the elephants got clear of the bridge the swimmers got upon it and so crossed over. In the Clarke MS. of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South-Kensington, there is a striking picture of Akbar on the elephant Hawāī.

[2] Surma-i-jawāhir. A collyrium mixed with pearl-dust. Steingass.

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according to His pleasure, may that elephant finish us, for we cannot support the burden of life under God's displeasure." Good God, what an insight is this! and what a calculation with oneself! In fine, at all times, whether that of holy privacy, or that of engrossment in business, in time of battle, and in time of banquet, he is ever regardful of the real, guiding thread, and while he is outwardly with the creature, and inwardly with the Creator, he is at one and the same moment the arranger of the sections of the outward and inward and acts as the leader of both those great parties, and while deriving pleasure from both of those pleasant products adorns the throne both of the spiritual and the temporal universe.

Among the events was Adham Khān's arrival at Court. At the time when Agra was being made illustrious by the Shāhinshāh's presence, the idea took shape in the world-adorning mirror of his mind that the government of Malwa should be committed to Pīr Muḥammad Khān Shirwānī, and that Adham Khān should do service at Court. Orders were issued to this effect and Adham Khān obeyed them and proceeded thither, after making over Malwa to Pīr Muḥammad Khān. He travelled rapidly and soon arrived, and was the recipient of royal favours. Māham Anaga's heart, which was distressed by the separation from her honoured son, was thereby comforted, while Pīr Muḥammad Khān was relieved of the burden of a colleague, and realised his hopes, and the people generally of Malwa were freed from injustice and gained peace and tranquillity. Adham Khān too was restrained from folly and thus guarded against destruction. Furthermore the determination to improve him became fixed in the holy mind. At this time the lord of the universe in accordance with his noble ways was continually outwardly engaged in hunting while inwardly he walked with God and was employed in the capturing of souls. He laid grand foundations for every work, 153
and arranged good regulations in matters of administration. In spite of his youth which is a time when most rulers follow their inclinations without self-introspection, His Majesty made his prime years a means of acquiring Divine knowledge, and was never for a moment neglectful of this. Prosperity, enthronisation, the cherishing of friends, and the consuming of enemies, every one of which was a sense-robbing cup for former princes or rather a drinking to the lees of infatuation, became in the holy personality of His

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Majesty the Shāhinshāh a cause of increased knowledge, of augmented wisdom, of abundant prudence and watchfulness. In virtue of the Divine purposes, and the irresistible decrees of the incomparable Deity, many of the world-adorning excellencies of this spiritual and temporal prince were concealed even from his own acuteness. I have heard this many times in the days of my childhood from my honoured father when I was engaged in acquiring knowledge. He (too) was a fountain of blessings and an assemblage of spiritual and material perfections and one who spent his days in the hermitage of retirement. And I learnt this also by myself when I came to have the bliss of serving him who is the elixir of the capabilities of the masters of wisdom. By reason of this fact, to wit, that his world-illuminating spiritual beauty was hidden from himself, he would seek from others what he should have sought for in himself and which he should have brought for the use of mankind and so been a guide to those wandering in the wilderness of error. Continually he made the pain of seeking after God, which is also capable of becoming perfect health, the hem of his heart, and kept the mobility of his holy soul. Hunting, which is a bracelet on the arm of joy, was made by him a constituent of the pain of search and made him traverse alone city and country. In his abundant carefulness he sought for truth among the dust-stained denizens of the fields of irreflection—and most of the really great study it under this disguise—and consorted with every sort of wearers of patched garments such as *jogis, sanyāsīs* and *qalandars,* and other solitary sitters in the dust, and insouciant recluses. From their outward ways and conversation he got at their real natures. Similarly he inquired after the Truth from the learned, and the distinguished who were bound by the chain of science and reputation, and who trick out the petty shops of schools and colleges. He recognised the adulterateness and false metal of the impostors among these classes but infolded these things in his own wide capacity. He put the dust of concealment over those deceitful Satans and did not lay bare the reputation of those ministers of the truth. In spite of these results there was no falling-off or slackening in this world-king's quest. Rather he increased his endeavours and was more restless than ever in his search for physicians of the soul who might be guides on the path of attainment.

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Verse.

For years the heart seeks from us the cup of Jamshīd
It seeks from an alien what itself possesses.

If a commentary were to be written in this style, a separate book would be necessary so that I might depict what I have learnt from the beginning of my service. It is better then that I return 154
from this world, and proceed with my record of this hero of the age.

One night His Majesty went off to Fatḥpūr to hunt and passed near by Mandhākar which is a village on the way from Agra to Fatḥpūr. A number of Indian minstrels were singing enchanting ditties about the glories and virtues of the great Khwāja, Khwāja M'uīnu-d-dīn, may his grave be hallowed! who sleeps in Ḥazrat Ajmīr. Often had his perfections and miracles been the theme of discourse in the holy assemblies. His Majesty who was a seeker after Truth and who in his zealous quests sought for union with travellers on the road of holiness, and showed a desire for enlightenment, conceived a strong inclination to visit the Khwāja's shrine. The attraction of a pilgrimage thither seized his collar.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Brief account of Khwāja M'uīnu-d-dīn Cistī: May his grave be holy.

The Khwāja came from Sīstān, and they write him Sijzī [1] which is the Arabic for Sigzī. His honoured father who was named Khwāja Ḥasan and who was a contented husbandman died when he was in his fifteenth year. Shaikh Ibrāhīm [2] Majẕūb of Qandūz's attention was drawn to him and by the blessing of his glance the pains of inquiry seized the Khwāja's soul, and cut away outward ties. He hastened to Samarqand and Bokhāra and for a time applied himself to the acquisition of knowledge. From there he went to Khurāsān and there he grew up. In Hārūn which is a dependency of Nīshāpūr he made the acquaintance of Shaikh Oṣman Hārūnī and became his disciple. For twenty years he practised strenuous austerities in the Shaikh's company, and undertook journeys, and sojournings in strange lands. He became acquainted with many saints of the time, such as Shaikh Najmu-d-dīn Kubrī. In short, he is one of the great men of the Cistī order. He is three [3] removes from Khwāja Maudūd Cistī and nine from Ibrāhīm Adham.

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[1] Wrongly printed in text as Sinjarī. The mistake is corrected in the Errata. A.F.'s account should be compared with the Safīna-al auliyā of Dāra Shikoh, his sister Jahānārā Begam's life of the saint (B.M. MS. Or. 250), the long biography at the end of Firishta's history, the Khazīna-al-aṣfiyā, and Dorn's history of the Afghans, Part II, book 3, p. 2., and also with A.F's account in the Āīn, Jarrett III. 361.

[2] See the story in Jahānārā Begam's biography.

[3] The text says there were two persons between the saint and Maudūd, *i.e.*, he was three removes from him, and eight between him and Ibrāhīm Adham. Firishta says that Oṣmān, M'uīnu-d-dīn's teacher was disciple of Ḥājī Sharīf, who again was disciple of Khwāja Maudūd. But there is some mistake about the saint's being only eight removes from Ibrāhīm Adham. The latter died some 365 years before M'uīnu-d-dīn's birth and according to Firishta, eleven saints intervened.

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Before M'uizzu-d-dīn, the son of Sām, came from Ghaznīn to India,[1] he took leave from his Pīr and came to that country. He established himself in Ajmīr, where Rai Pithorā, the ruler of India, resided. Certainly the Khwāja was a lord of austerities and spiritual conflicts and had waged great wars with his carnal spirit. Though many miracles are related of him what miracle can be more glorious than the contest with the desires of this carnal spirit which is the father of excesses? Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn Ushī of Andijān became, in Bagdad, in the month of Rajab 522,[2] in the mosque of Imām Abū-i-laiṣ[3] of Samarkand and in the presence of Shaikh Shihābu-d-dīn Sahrawardī, of Shaikh Uḥadu-d-dīn of Kirmān and of a number of other saints, the disciple of Khwāja M'uīnu-d-dīn. Shaikh Farīd Shakrganj, who is buried in Patan,[4] is a disciple of this Quṭbu-d-dīn, and Shaikh Niẓāmu-d-dīn Auliyā, who was the 155
Pīr of Amīr Khusrū, gave his hand of discipleship to Shaikh Farīd. In short, many of the perfect masters have risen up from under the skirts of the Khwāja's[5] teaching. May God sanctify their souls!

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1 He took Delhi in 1193.

2 There is some mistake here though all the MSS. seem to have 522. M'uīnu-d-dīn was not born till 537 (1142) as A.F. himself informs us in the Āīn, and Quṭbu-d-dīn was not born till 585. In the Āīn we are told that Quṭbu-d-dīn became M'uīnu-d-dīn's disciple at the age of 18, which would give 603 as the year. In Dorn's account he is said to have been 25 when he became a disciple. Firishta says the initiation took place at Ispahan though some say it was in Ūsh and when Quṭbu-d-dīn was 20. The Khazīna-al-aṣfiyā also says on the authority of Farīd Ganjshakr that the initiation took place in Ispahan, Vol. I, 258. At p. 267 in the account of Quṭbu-d-dīn it says he was 17 years old. Probably A.F. wrote 522 for 602 by mistake, or his copyists have misread him. Ūsh is in Farghāna some miles S.E. Andijān. The Sair-al-iqṭāb, Newal Kishore's ed., p. 144, describes the initiation as taking place in Abū Laiṣ's mosque in Bagdad.

3 See D'Herbelot s.v. Abou Laith Candi.

4 This is Patan or Pīr Patan near Multan. See Beale.

5 M'uīnu-d-dīn is regarded as the proto-saint of India. Akbar presented an immense cooking-pot to his shrine which is said to be still in use. Dārā Shikoh's account of the saint is interesting as he refers to his own birth in Ajmīr and expresses a fervent hope—not to be fulfilled, alas—that his subsequent career would be blessed. His sister Jahānārā terminates his biography by an account of a visit that her father and she paid to the shrine.

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CHAPTER XXXIX.

His Majesty's visit to Ajmīr, and his marriage with Bihārī Mal's daughter.

As the Shāhinshāh's holy soul searches after knowers of the Truth and is inquisitive about reputations founded on reality, he determined on the very hunting-ground to pursue spiritual game, and though his followers urged that he should not go to remote places, and spoke of the dangers of them and the numbers of refractory persons there, he did not give heed to them, for his mind was set upon going, and only became more determined to make the expedition. On the day of Shāhriyūr 4 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 8th Jamāda-al-awwal (14th January, 1562), he set off to Ajmīr with a few attendants who belonged to the hunting-party. An order was also issued that Māham Anaga should convey the seraglio to Ajmīr by way of Mewat, and in accordance with it she hastened thither. When His Majesty reached the village of Kalavalī (?) [1] Caghatai Khān, who as an intimate courtier had means of speaking to him, represented the facts of the loyalty of Rajah Bihārī Mal who was head of the Kacwāha clan which is a distinguished tribe of Rajputs. The Rajah, he said, was eminent for wisdom and valour and had always been loyal to the sublime family and had done excellent service. He had in Delhi kissed the threshold and had conducted himself as one of those who were firmly bound to the sublime saddle-straps. For a long time he had been apprehensive on account of his bad treatment by Sharifu-d-dīn Ḥusain Mīrzā and had taken refuge in the folds of the hills. If a ray from the sun of the Shāh were to fall upon him and he were raised from the dust and so freed from the tribulations of the age, perchance his services would be approved of by the holy glance which is an elixir of auspiciousness.

[1] I have not found this place. Perhaps it is Karauli, the Caroli of Tiefenthaler I. 172.

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The brief details of the oppression that he had suffered are that when Mewāt was made Muḥammad Sharifu-d-dīn Ḥusain's fief, he wanted to take possession of the town of Amber which is in Mārwār and was the seat of Rajah Biharī Mal's ancestors. At this time Sūjā the son of Pūran Mal, the Rajah's elder brother, out of wickedness and because he wanted the chiefship for himself came and paid his respects to the Mīrzā and raised troubles. The Mīrzā led an army against Rajah Bihārī Mal and as the times were unfavourable and the Rajah had not a large force he came to terms. A fixed contribution was laid upon him, and his son Jagannāth, Raj Singh, the son of Askaran, and Kangār the son of Jagmal, who were the Rajah's brothers' sons, were taken as hostages, who in Hindi are called *ol*.[1] The Mīrza then went off to Ajmīr and Nāgor, and this year it was his fixed intention to collect troops and to extirpate the family.

When the tale of the loyalty of this old family had been communicated to His Majesty he graciously gave permission for the introduction of the Rajah. When the cavalcade reached Deosa[2] **156** most of the inhabitants fled from fear. His Majesty said, "We have no other intention than to do good to all mankind. What can be the reason of the flight of those people? Apparently these rustics of the valley of desolation have drawn an inference from the oppression they have undergone from Sharifu-d-dīn Ḥusain and so have run away." At the close of the day Jaimal the son of Rūpsī, Rajah Bihārī Mal's brother, and the headman of this district, came and was introduced by the courtiers and did homage. They represented that the son of the headman was coming into service. His Majesty said: "His coming cannot be taken into account, Rūpsī must recognise our advent as a great gift of God and himself come and kiss the threshold." Of necessity Rūpsī came in person and made the dust of fortune's threshold the antimony of the eye of auspiciousness. He was exalted by royal favours. Next day when the village

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[1] ओल See Wilson's Glossary. Perhaps the meaning is not that a tribute was laid upon the Rajah, but that a price was set upon the heads of his nephews.

[2] دیوم The Dausa of the Rajputana Gazetteer II. 156 and of the I.G. It was once the capital of the State.

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of Sāngānīr[1] was made the camping ground Caghatai Khān introduced Rajah Bihārī Mal together with many of his relations and leading men of his clan. Rajah Bhagwant Das, the Rajah's eldest son, was excepted as he had been left in charge of the families. His Majesty with his discerning glance read devotion and sincerity in the behaviour of the Rajah and his relatives. He captured his heart by kindness and exalted his rank. The Rajah from right-thinking and elevated fortune considered that he should bring himself out of the ruck of landholders and make himself one of the distinguished ones of the Court. In order to effect this purpose he thought of a special alliance, to wit that he should by means of those who had the right of entrée introduce his eldest daughter, in whose forehead shone the lights of chastity and intellect, among the attendants on the glorious pavilion. Inasmuch as graciousness is natural to His Majesty the Shāhinshāh his petition was accepted and His Majesty sent him off from this station along with Caghatai Khān in order that he might arrange for this alliance, which is the material of the eternal glory of the family, and quickly bring his daughter.

One of the dominion-increasing events of this time and which was an instance of the daily increasing distribution of justice by the Shāhinshāh, and a cause of tranquillising a crowd of the terrified inhabitants of the district, was the punishment of a leopard-keeper (*cītabān*). The brief account of this is that as the Shāhinshāh made the hunting with the *cīta* one of the veils of his world-adorning beauty and showed a strong passion for it and often indulged in it, one of the *cītabāns* waxed proud in his ignorance and forcibly took off a man's pair of shoes and appropriated them. The owner was lamenting, and accidentally his cries came to His Majesty's ears and the truth was discovered. The redresser of injustice as soon as he heard of the tyranny, ordered that the *cītabān* should be seized and brought to him. An order was issued for cutting
157 off his feet, and this was a warning to men of the world, and a lesson in wisdom to the savages[2] of the fields of heedlessness. It became known in the country and afterwards no one thought of

[1] A town in Jaipur 7 miles S.W. of the capital.

[2] This clause refers to the wild people of the country.

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running away or becoming a vagabond. Peace and tranquillity appeared in the country. When the standards were pitched at Sāmbar Sharifu-d-dīn Ḥusain Mīrza had the bliss of doing homage, and brought suitable gifts. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh demanded Jagannath, Raj Singh and Kangār, whom the Mīrzā had taken as hostages, in order that Rajah Bihārī Mal might be entirely free from apprehensions. The Mīrzā agreed to surrender them, but put off the time of doing so by subterfuges. His Majesty thought the excuses were genuine and waited in expectation of the arrival of the hostages. At this stage Adham Khān came from behind and joined the camp. From here the expedition went with all possible speed to Ajmīr and arrived at that bliss-conferring city in an auspicious hour. The visit to the illustrious shrine of his holiness the Khwāja was performed, and the persons in charge of that sacred city were the recipients of fortune. Māham Anaga brought the ladies by way of Mewāt and had the bliss of accomplishing her service. His Majesty decided that the return-journey should be quickly undertaken. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain Mīrzā, to whom the task of taking Mīrtha had been entrusted ignorantly suggested that in order to his accomplishing this work His Majesty should go thither to hunt. When he was convinced that this plan was impracticable he fell into the notion that His Majesty would remain encamped at Ajmīr for some days. But as the holy heart was bent upon returning to the capital all the officers who held *Jāgīrs* in the neighbourhood such as Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān, Shāh Budāgh Khān, his son ʻAbdu-l-Maṭlab, Kharram Khān, Muḥammad Ḥusain Shaikh, and a number more were appointed to assist the Mīrzā, and His Majesty moved towards Agra. A stringent order was issued for the production of the hostages and when the camp had been pitched at Sāmbhar the Mīrzā brought before His Majesty Jagannath, Rāj Singh, and Kangār. Rajah Bihārī Mal from the sincerity of his disposition made the arrangements for the marriage in the most admirable manner and brought his fortunate daughter to this station and placed her among the ladies of the harem. For the purpose of holding the marriage-feast the imperial cavalcade halted for a day in Sāmbhar. At the same place leave to depart was given to Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain, and His Majesty set off rapidly on his march. When

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he came near Rantanbhūr,[1] Rajah Bihārī Mal and all his children and other relatives were exalted by doing homage. Mān Singh, the son of
158 Rajah Bhagwant Das, the heir of Rajah Bihārī Mal was then exalted by the auspicious ray of His Majesty's glance, and was made a permanent servant. Rajah Bihārī Mal wished that His Majesty the Shāhinshah should honour his house by visiting it so that the promotion of his family's glory might obtain completion. As His Majesty was fixed in his intention of rejoining Agra, and was in a great hurry the fulfilment of this wish was put off to another time. The Rajah was encompassed with favours and given leave to depart. Rajah Bhagwant Singh, Mān Singh, and a number of their officers and relatives attached themselves to the stirrup of fortune and proceeded on to the capital. The long distance was accomplished in less than three days and on the day of Isfandārmaz 5, Isfandārmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 8 Jamādia-al-akhrī His Majesty arrived alone (*manfarid*) at the capital. The city received celestial exaltation by the halo of the advent, and the eyes of the spectators gained the glory of stars from the rays of his. The camp proceeded in his wake, stage by stage, and all, high and low, uttered congratulations and thanks to God for the advent. The Khedive of the age sate on the *masnad* of rule, and undertook the discharge of the intricacies of administration. As the daily-increasing fortune glorifies the state every new day confers a special blessing. Wonderful regulations were promulgated. As the principles of the rule of the Lord of the Age were good, the results appeared in the return of a time of auspiciousness. Every class obtained a career suitable to its condition, and worldly aspirants had their desires gratified.

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[1] The Lucknow ed. has Ratanpūr and Blochmann, 329 has Ratan, but Rantambhūr is probably correct as it is in Jaipur.

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CHAPTER XL.

BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTH ILĀHĪ YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, *viz.*, THE YEAR MIHR OF THE FIRST CYCLE.

This time which was the beginning of the spring[1] time of the spiritual king was the beginning of the earthly spring (Rabī'). There was a spiritual as well as a physical banquet of joy. The Great Light, the lamp of the universe, entered his house of exaltation (Aries) with a thousand blessings and felicities after the elapse of three hours and forty-nine minutes of Wednesday the 5th Rajab, 969 (11th March, 1562). The force of vegetation was set in motion, the door of abundance was opened anew before the world. The procession of King Rose (*Khasrū-i-gul*) arrived after his orbicular course and he displayed his splendour on his garden-throne. The birds of the meadow and the garden upraised the strains of Bārbad and Nagīsā[2] (Nakīsā). The vernal clouds washed and cleansed the recruits to the armies of fragrant plants.

Verse.[3]

The heart of the flower with the tongue of verdure
Gave thanks to God for spring's balminess
In the production of living forms
The stars became dyers and embroiderers
The branches were necklaces full of pearls
The buds like the musk-bags of the deer.

From the sun's bounteous entry and blissful enthronement 159
the physical and spiritual world received special prosperity, and

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1 5 Rajab was Akbar's birthday and so I suppose that ملک معنی means the spiritual king, but perhaps the words here mean spiritual country as they do at the top of the next page of the text.

2 Two musicians of Khusrū Parvez. See Mr. Browne's paper, R.A.S.J. for 1899, p. 54.

3 The note of the Lucknow ed. on these verses should be consulted.

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things outward harmonized with things inward. The youth of wisdom and wakefulness received discipline, and the year Mihr, the 7th of the Ilāhī era began. The hand of Divine power withdrew the veil from fortune's countenance. The hope of the right-seeing, right-acting members of creation's workshop is that the most high God will make the Shāhinshāh's holy personality, prosperous outwardly and inwardly for a length of time and will year by year grant him a fund of increased life and fortune so that the world may remain protected from the animosities and conflicts of a variety of rulers, and may be illuminated by the justice and equity of this unique one of horizons who is worthy of universal empire. So may the true arrangement of the links in the chain of things human and Divine be revealed, and the great religion, which consists in binding the multitudes of the inhabited world on the thread of unity, be advanced! May dominions grow and knowledge increase, concord be established, sincerity become current, the dust-stained ones of the plains of heedlessness who are throughout the world under an obscuring veil come forth into the fields of discrimination, so that aptitude have an open market and the seekers after things pure and genuine receive into their hands the coin of their desire!

One of the glorious boons of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh which shone forth in this auspicious year was the abolition of enslavement. The victorious troops which came into the wide territories of India used in their tyranny to make prisoners of the wives and children and other relatives of the people of India, and used to enjoy them or sell them. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, out of his thorough recognition of and worship of God, and from his abundant foresight and right thinking gave orders that no soldier of the victorious armies should in any part of his dominions act in this manner. Although a number of savage natures who were ignorant of the world should make their fastnesses a subject of pride and come forth to do battle, and then be defeated by virtue of the emperor's daily increasing empire, still their families must be protected from the onset of the world-conquering armies. No soldier, high or low, was to enslave them, but was to permit them to go freely to their homes and relations. It was for excellent reasons that His Majesty gave his attention to this subject, for although the binding, killing or striking the haughty and the chastising the stiff-necked are part of the

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struggle for empire—and this is a point about which both sound jurists and innovators[1] are agreed—yet it is outside of the canons of justice to regard the chastisement of women and innocent children as the chastisement of the contumacious. If the husbands have taken the path of insolence, how is it the fault of the wives, and if the fathers have chosen the road of opposition what fault have the children committed? Moreover the wives and innocent children of such factions are not munitions of war! In addition to these sound reasons there was the fact that many covetous and blind-hearted persons[2] from vain imaginings or unjust thoughts, or merely 160
out of cupidity attacked villages and estates and plundered them, and when questioned about it said a thousand things and behaved with neglect and indifference. But when final orders were passed for the abolition of this practice, no tribe was afterwards oppressed by wicked persons on suspicion of sedition. As the purposes of the Shāhinshah were entirely right and just, the blissful result ensued that the wild and rebellious inhabitants of portions of India placed the ring of devotion in the ear of obedience, and became the materials of world-empire. Both was religion set in order, for its essence is the distribution of justice, and things temporal were regulated, for their perfection lies in the obedience of mankind.

One of the glorious events was the capture of the fortress of Mīrtha[3] by the imperial troops. God be praised the Almighty has given to the occupier of the throne of the Caliphate such excellencies that they cannot be contained within the mould of thought or come within the measure of judgment. A fortunate one who is sustained by a real relationship (to Akbar), *i.e.*, a genuine sincerity, accomplishes in the most perfect manner whatever he undertakes, and succeeds with ease in enterprises which yield with difficulty to the rulers of the world. Do you not perceive that when the outwardly selected who have no share in the blissful abode of loyalty, undertake enterprises the Almighty God hath regard to this outward

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[1] Text نوایین *nauāyīn*, but the true reading seems to be نوامیس *nawamīs* the plural of *nāmūs*.

[2] A.F. was probably thinking of such expeditions as those of Ḥusain Tukriah which are admiringly described by his friend Badayūnī.

[3] Mirta. In Jodhpūr R.G. II, 261, and Tod's Rajistan.

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relationship to his elect one, and makes them successful? The case of Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain Mīrzā's capturing the fort of Mīrtha, which occurred in the beginning of this auspicious year, is a proof of this. The particulars of this delightful event are as follows: It has already been recorded that when His Majesty the Shāhinshāh was returning from holy Ajmīr he sent Muḥammad Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain to take this fort and to make the conquest of the territory. A number of great officers were sent with him as auxiliaries. At that time Mīrtha was in the possession of Rai Māldeo who was one of the most powerful of Indian rajahs. He made over the fort to Jagmal,[1] who was one of his leading men, and left with him Deo Dās a Rajput who was famed for his valour with a chosen body of 500 Rajputs to assist Jagmal, and guard the fort. When the royal standards left the blessed country of Ajmīr and spread their glorious shade over Agra, Muḥammad Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain who had recently had the bliss of kissing the stirrup and who was buttressed by the eternal fortune of the Shāhinshāh, led, accompanied by other officers, an army thither and set before his genius the task of conquering
161 that country. When the army of victory arrived at the town the soldiers travel-stained as they were and with their swift coursers all in a sweat donned the armour of endeavour and upreared the flag of daring and without hesitation advanced to the foot of the fortress. The garrison crept into the fort of fear and did not venture to come out. Meanwhile four champion horsemen of the army, advanced the foot of boldness and discharged some arrows against the gate of the fortress. Suddenly the Rajputs became restless under the discharge of arrows and came out on the walls. They made the battlement their shields and discharged confusedly bricks, stones, arrows and bullets, and also boiling pitch. Two of the horsemen obtained martyrdom and the other two came back wounded. Muḥammad Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain and the other officers saw wisdom in proceeding slowly and so they established themselves in the city of Mīrtha and put stations here and there. They applied thought and deliberation to the business of taking the fort, and cautiously invested it. They erected batteries according to proper rules, and drove mines on various sides of the fort. The

[1] Called by Niẓāmu-d-dīn Jaimal.

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garrison opposed them and every day there were hot engagements. Occasionally, they watched their opportunity and made sallies, and after showing their valour again withdrew themselves. At length, a mine, which had been carried up to under the tower was filled with gunpowder and set fire to. The tower fell to pieces like cotton when it is carded and a great breach was made. The heroes of fortune's army got an open road for battle and rushed on. The Rajputs washed their hands of life and made a hot resistance. There was a great shock of battle, and all day long there was a brisk market of war. Both sides gave proof of courage. The holy warriors quaffed the goblet of martyrdom and gained eternal life, and many of the foe drank the bloody water of death and became intoxicated by the cup of destruction. When the veil of night intervened, every one went back to his battery and during the night the enemy repaired the breach. But a fort which has been opened by the might of fortune cannot be closed again by the craft of rebels. Soon the garrison were in straits and the fort became their jail. Though a number came down and begged for an asylum, and tried to get out, yet Muḥammad Sharafu-d-dīn did not consent. After much coming and going, and consultation of the officers it was agreed that they should come out after leaving behind all their property. As accepting the petitions of supplicants is a part of the rules of conquest the heroes of the victorious army withdrew in accordance with the stipulations. Next day Jagmal came out and carried off half his life. Deo Dās from ill-fatedness and a darkened mind set his mind upon dying and perversely set fire to his property. Like a snake curled up and emerging from an inner fire he came out of the fort, and audaciously came in front of the army with 4 or 500 horse. The Rajputs such as Jaimal and Lonkaran, who were among **162** the victorious soldiers and had an old quarrel with the garrison, said to Muḥammad Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain that these men had broken the compact and had burnt their goods. The agreement was that they should come out after leaving their goods. As their part of the compact did not stand good it was far from foresight to let such evil-minded, wicked men escape when they had been conquered. Muḥammad Sharafu-d-dīn approved of this view and drew up his forces. He himself was in the centre. Shāh Budāgh Khān, his son 'Abdu-l-Maṭlab and Muḥammad Ḥusain Shaikh were on the left wing,

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and Jaimal, Lonkaran, Sūja and other Rajputs were on the right. They followed after Deo Dās. When he became aware of the advance of the victorious army he out of utter daring turned his rein and fell upon the centre. A great fight took place which bore on its face a mark of the story of Rustam, or rather it was one which rolled up those old pages and placed them in the alcove of oblivion. The end was that Deo Dās fell from his horse and was assailed by a number who cut him to pieces. The victorious troops returned with success and glory. Some said that Deo Dās came out of this battle, wounded; and some ten or twelve years afterwards a person appeared in a jogi's dress and assumed this name. Some acknowledged him, and many rejected him. He lived for a while and then was killed in some adventure. In short, the other Rajputs escaped half-dead from that battle-field, and the fortress of Mīrtha together with all its territory came into the possession of the imperial servants, and was included among the dominions.

Verse.

Heaven's eye ne'er saw nor shall see during its existence
Such victories as the Shāh Jahān achieved
Every victory whose result is fixed by heaven
Is when looked at, the preamble to others.

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CHAPTER XLI.

THE BATTLE OF PARONKH[1] WHICH HIS MAJESTY THE SHAHINSHAH PERSONALLY CONDUCTED.

The Almighty inflicts punishment on every evil-doer at certain times and occasions in accordance with His supreme wisdom. The wise become acquainted in some measure with this mystery and increase their wisdom. The foolish fall into the briny desert of error and having their heads turned by vain imaginings become more foolish. It is like the effect of world-illuminating day which to the sound eye is a cause of increased vision. First, it produces recognition of the various Divine favours. Secondly, it inflames the spirit of thanksgiving and makes this more active and more searching. To owl-like natures which have defective vision it is a cause of increased blindness, and makes them ignoble and obscure. Night, which is day's defect, helps the vision of low, mean, owl-like natures and keeps them under the screen of imperfect sight. In brief, the 163
inhabitants of the hamlets of the town of Sakīt,[2] which is about thirty kos from Agra, had not their equals for refractoriness and ingratitude. Especially eight villages of that pargana, which were known by the name of Athgarha[3] were for insolence, robbery, manslaughter, boldness and turbulence such that the eye of the world had not seen their like. For they were both ruffians[4] and occupiers

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1 On the Isan in the Mainpūrī district 9 kos S. of Sakīt. Proceedings, A.S.B. for 1874, p. 104.

2 In the Etah district S.-E. Agra. It used to be in the Kanauj Sarkār, Jarrett II. 183. It was notorious for its robbers down to recent times.

3 Called by Blochmann Athgāh, 324 note. In his index spelt Athgarh. The text has Athkanīh اتهكنيح. See Proceedings l.c. Most MSS. seem to have Kīra, and so has the Iqbālnāma, but at least one MS. has Athkhīra, and as khīra means hamlet in Hindustani, this is probably the true reading. "The ruins of the Paroukh fort situated in the midst of a *khera* (*i.e.*, a mound) are still visible."

4 Apparently A. F. puns on the double meaning of *qalb* which signifies inversion and adulterate, and also is used to mean a rough or inaccessible place.

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of rough places, and they lived by audacity which the ignorant call manliness. The officers of the quarter were continually complaining of their wickedness. At last the Shāhinshāh went towards that village for the sake of hunting. At that time the pargana was in the fief of Khwāja Ibrāhīm Badakhshī.[1] A brāhman of the name of Hāpa obtained an interview through the huntsmen and represented the oppression practised by those stubborn ones, stating they had killed his innocent son and plundered his property. The spiritual and temporal king, who made hunting a means of inquiring into such matters, became indignant on hearing the victim's complaint and announced that he would next morning proceed there and chastise the evil-doers. At dawn he went off to hunt, attended by a few men, and sent off a party ahead. He reached the village at morning. Those who had gone on ahead came and reported that the rebels had heard of the Shāhinshāh's coming and had fled. The flame of majestic justice rose higher, and an order was given that the jeopardisers of their lives should follow them up to whatever defiles the recalcitrants had gone, and that he himself was coming on in reliance upon God. His Majesty proceeded to do so and put his horse at the gallop. On the way Qarātāq[2] the chief huntsman came and reported that he followed the fugitives, had killed one who resisted and had bound another and brought him. As he had not orders to proceed further he had turned back.
164 His Majesty urged on his horse the faster, and after 1½ watches of the day had passed he arrived at another village which was called Paronkh. The scouts reported that the men of the other village had fled and taken refuge here. When His Majesty approached this village, one of the inhabitants came out and paid his respects and denied that the recalcitrants had come there. His Majesty in his magnanimity sent again someone to guide those lost ones into the right path. As the life-cup of those who were drunken from the goblet of contumacy was full, and the wheel of retribution for their offences for so many years had revolved they fortified their

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[1] Blochmann 435. For inscription on a mosque built by him at Sakīt in April 1563, see Proceedings, A.S.B. l.c., p. 105.

[2] Blochmann 516. Qarāṭāq appears in Bāyazīd's list 77*a* as the slave of one Ibrāhīm.

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village and stood prepared for turbulence and war. It is a fixed rule that the number of horse and foot which accompany His Majesty on hunting parties should not exceed one thousand men. On that night when the order had been passed for pursuing the fugitives the heroes and riskers of their lives had dispersed in all directions. Nearly two hundred men waited on the royal stirrup, and two hundred elephants had also followed and come up. The number of the rebels was more than four thousand. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh indicated to the brave sacrificers of their lives that they should gain the victory, spiritually and physically. A hot engagement followed, but as the enemy was numerous and the loyalists waiting on the royal stirrup possessed but a small share of his good fortune, the work did not advance. Suddenly his holy glance perceived that a number of his men had on account of the strong wind, and of the fire which had arisen in different sides of the village, taken shelter under the trees and were looking out for a safe corner. The royal wrath blazed forth. Though it was a case for showing severity to those men he from his innate graciousness winked at their misconduct and advanced in person on the elephant Dilsankār. As there was much fire in front of the village, and it was hard for the elephant to go forward they took the mountain-form round by the back of the village.

His Majesty told me the story with his own holy lips in this fashion: "When the elephant had been driven into the narrow places of the village I saw a yellow cuirass appearing on a roof. Dastam Khān had such a cuirass and I thought it was his. I urged on the elephant and got near the roof. Meanwhile there was a rain of sticks and stones and arrows. The Divine protection (which is the Shāhinshāh's coat of mail and which ever watches over him) became more and more marked. When I got close up I saw that the mail-clad man was Muqbil Khān,[1] and that he had gone up and was wrestling with one of the stiff-necked ones, and trying to throw him off the roof. A number of unruly spirits had run to help, and to finish Muqbil Khān." Just then His Majesty the Shāhinshāh pushed on the

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1 Blochmann 408. Bayāzīd calls him Maqbūl Khān and describes him as a *chela* of Akbar. Mem. 143*a*. See a reference to him in Badāyūnī, Lowe 122.

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elephant and at the same time he called to the men to get up on the roof. Banda 'Alī,[1] the qūrbegī of Mun'im Khān and elder brother of Sulṭān 'Alī Khāldār, ran up on the roof.—The wretches fled. The opponent was quickly disposed of. At this time the elephant's fore-foot went into a grain-pit and Jujhār Khān Faujdār who was on the elephant and behind His Majesty fell on the top of the latter. His Majesty by his divine strength brought the elephant out of that abyss and tried to get on to the house where the rebels had fortified themselves. At this time none of the attendants was present except
165 Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Rajah Badicand.[2] As His Majesty suffered from thirst Rajah Bhagwant Dās served him with his own supply. By chance in the same lane where his Majesty the Shāhinshāh was advancing towards victory, a Hindu drew his sword and struck with it. The blow fell upon the iron ring which is placed on elephants' tusks for strength and for show. The clash made sparks fly out, and the elephant in a rage doubled up the swordsman and trod him under foot. Just then a boy of fifteen, in his agitation flung himself from a roof on to the elephant. Jujhar Khān wanted to kill him, but His Majesty in his mercifulness did not permit him to do so. When they came near the house they saw that the special *faujdārs*[3] had come and were standing in astonishment at the amount of the work. His Majesty advanced and drove the elephant against the gate. A Rajput was shooting arrows. Seven hit the Shāhinshāh's shield. He used to say that five went through and through the shield to the extent of three and five fingers and that two stopped in the shield without traversing it. The Divine protection was another shield which protected him. 'Alāwal Khān faujdār did not recognise His Majesty and called out from a distance, commending him and saying: "Who are you, that I may praise you to His Majesty." His Majesty showed[4] him his face and made that lucky one utter thanksgivings. At this time Tātār Khān[5] cried out "My king,

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[1] Blochmann 499.

[2] Blochmann 404. He was Rajah of Nagarkot.

[3] Superintendents of elephants, Blochmann 126.

[4] *Rūī khudrā az niqāb barāwarda* and B. renders this "lifted his visor," and adds "politely thanked" 'Atāwal for his good intentions.

[5] He was a native of Khurāsān and his proper name was Khwāja Ṭāhir Muḥammad.

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where are you going in this rain of arrows." Jujhār Khān rebuked him, saying "What time is this for crying out and mentioning names?" At last His Majesty the Shāhinshāh broke down the wall and entered the dwelling. Three or four other elephants joined in this work and a large number of the audacious rebels were killed. Many shut themselves up in the house. In accordance with orders the roof of the house was broken and fire flung in. The breath of these ill-fated ones was converted into smoke. Nearly a thousand of them were sent to the abode of annihilation by the fire of the Divine anger. There was less than a watch of day remaining when this pious work was completed. The eyes of a great many rebels and sedition-mongers were opened.[1]

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[1] An account of Sakīt and a free translation of this chapter by Mr. Blochmann appears in the Proceedings A.S.B l.c. Local tradition gives another account of the cause of the attack, but is evidently wrong as Fatḥpūr Sikrī was not built then. But possibly the legend is only wrong as regards the place whence the crown-jewels were stolen.

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CHAPTER XLII.

The appointment of 'Abdullah Khān Uzbeg to the territory of Malwa.

When the Almighty Creator wills that the world-adorning beauty of one of His elect should be impressed on the minds of mankind, He gives him daily-increasing dominion and also provides in His universal mercy that the generality of mankind who have neither far-reaching views nor far-seeing eyes may be brought into the right way and for this purpose He causes disaffection to arise in parts of the imperial domains, and then grants that this be composed by the elect one's excellent arrangements. Of necessity mankind do not assign such a result to use and wont, and acknowledge the wondrous wisdom and farsightedness. There was a fresh illustration of these remarks in the drowning of Pīr Muḥammad Khān, in Bāz Bahādur's regaining his sway, and in the second settlement of the province of Malwa. The account of this fortunate (the resettlement) event is as follows. When Adham Khān came to Agra in accordance with the Shāhinshāh's directions, the imperial messengers brought the news that Bāz Bahādur had come to the neighbourhood of Āwās[1] and was collecting troops. Pīr Muḥammad Khān, who was daring to rashness and whose courage surpassed his judgment prepared a force and went off there. Bāz Bahādur made little account of Pīr Muḥammad and came out to meet him, and gave battle. After a short struggle he was defeated and abundant booty fell into the hands of the conquerors. Pīr Muḥammad Khān went on from there to take Bījagarh.[2] 'Itimād Khān a servant of Bāz Bahādūr was in command there and he exerted himself to strengthen the fort. As it is in itself a paragon for loftiness and solidity the

[1] I have not found this place unless it is Awān which is mentioned in the Aīn as in Sarkār Bījāgarh.

[2] Now in ruins. See I. G. This of course is not the Bijāgarh of Warren Hastings' time.

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siege drew out to a long period. The exploit-loving heroes such as Jai Dīwāna, Yār 'Alī Bilūc, Dāīm Kokaltāsh, Maulānā Muḥtasham, Mulk Muḥammad and Mīrzā Āfāq displayed acts of valour and made assaults upon the gate. One day Muḥammad Mīr Kātib made a strong attack and was the subject of universal commendation. At last one morning very early Khusrū Shāh, the head of Pīr Muḥammad's servants fixed scaling-ladders and got above the fort. Two hundred other heroes advanced at the true dawn. As the blackness of their overthrow had arrived, the garrison were negligent and asleep. The morning breeze of victory had begun to blow, when the enemy took to fighting. A battle took place and the heroes fought well. When the garrison got into difficulties they cried out for quarter and dispersed. At this time 'Itimād Khān was coming forward with one companion and crying out for quarter and asking to be taken to Pīr Muḥammad Khān. An arrow reached him and he went to non-existence. When 'Itimād Khān's companion saw this he drew his sword, and after fighting as long as he could he manfully died. A large number became the harvest of the sword. The leavings of the sword obtained quarter and brought out their lives from the whirlpool. An immense booty fell into the hands of the imperial servants. Pīr Muḥammad Khān waited there some days to put the fort in order and then went on towards Sulṭānpūr. After a short contest it was included within the imperial domains. From thence he returned to Bījāgarh. There he learned that Bāz Bahādur had taken refuge with Mīrān Mubārik Shāh, the ruler of Khandesh, and that Mīrān was adding his troops to Bāz Bahādūr's. Pīr Muḥammad Khān put the superfluous baggage of the army into **167** the fort and took one thousand brave men with him and made a rapid march so that he might suddenly come to Āsīr and Burhānpūr and dispose of the collected enemy. He crossed the Narbada and marched forty kos in one night. Within two kos of Āsīr there was a fort, and in it there were war-elephants. The little fort was quickly taken possession of, and the elephants were made part of the booty. Mīrān had sent a force from Āsīr to defend the little fort. Pīr Muḥammad Khān had taken the fortlet, and was proceeding towards Burhānpūr, which is in Khāndes and is the residence of the ruler, when suddenly the dust of the enemy's army was seen in the distance. Pīr Muḥammad Khān detached Khusrū Shāh and

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Yār Ālī Biluc to dispose of the enemy. They soon dispersed the foe and put many to the sword and then returned. Next morning they reached Burhānpūr and committed much plundering there. An abundant supply of goods and money fell into the hands of each man. Mīrān remained in the fort of Āsir, and Pīr Muḥammad Khān judged it advisable to return.

Meanwhile news came that Bāz Bahādur had approached with the army of Khāndes which he had taken with him with the intention of attacking Bījāgarh. When he came there he learnt that Pīr Muḥammad Khān had moved swiftly with a small force and had gone to attack Āsīr and Burhānpūr. He was much disturbed and went off to that province. Just at the time when the men were loaded with booty and were returning, and a number of them had got separated, the news came that Bāz Bahādur was close at hand. Pīr Muḥammad Khan took counsel with men of experience. Most of them agreed that it was not a proper time to fight, for they had made great exertions[1] and gained victories and every one was laden with booty. The proper thing was to avoid fighting and to cross the Narbada. They could recruit themselves at Handia and collect fresh men and then set to work. As his fate had arrived Pir Muḥammad Khān did not listen to the honest words of the men of experience, and set his heart upon fighting. His comrades did not support him, and after a little fighting did not stand firm. Yār Ālī Biluc seized Pīr Muḥammad Khān's rein and forced him from the field as there was no use in staying longer. When they came to the bank of the Narbada it was near evening. Though his companions said that the enemy was far off, and that they should remain that night where they were, yet as the inevitable moment had arrived, the messengers of death made him restless and induced him to swim his horse across the Narbada. The bridle of reflection fell from his hand, and the reasonable words of the right thinking found no place in his reason's ear. Mounted as he was, he flung himself with confusion into the swellings of the Narbada (*b'arba dar āb Narbada*).

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[1] *qaṭra-i-aẓīm karda āīm*. Lit. we have made great drops, *i.e.* spilt much. See for illustrations of phrase, Vullers and the Bihār-i-'Ajam.

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It chanced that a string of mules[1] was then crossing rapidly. They came near the horse and kicked it on the side. Pīr Muḥam- 168
mad's horse, as well as his sense, departed from their place. He fell from his horse into the water, and his comrades who were close by, did not in their wickedness exert themselves to draw him out of that whirlpool of destruction. He was drowned and went to the ocean of annihilation, either as a retribution for the oppression which he had committed in this expedition, or for his conduct in Tardī Beg Khān's battle, or for some other deed known to the knower of secrets.[2] By heaven's decree so loyal, able, and gallant a man underwent such a fate.

Verse.

Where destiny is powerful
The stronger is all the weaker
When the day of darkness shows its face
Two world-seeing eyes make a gloom.

Thus in spite of his power and greatness, he strayed away from deliberation and with his own feet fell into the whirlpool of destruction. Qīyā Khān Kang, Shāh Muḥammad Qilātī, Ḥabīb 'Alī Khān, and a number of other officers who had fiefs in the province gave up heart and went off to the world-protecting court. Each of them received punishment suitable to his deserts, and Bāz Bahādūr became possessed of Malwa. The world-conquering fortune of the Shāhinshāh saw that the proper course was to appoint a high officer who should possess excellent sense as well as abundant courage, and perfect energy together with judicial calm. Therefore

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1 *b'asp-i-ao-pahlū zad, pahlū zadan* is figuratively used for "to contend with," and perhaps this is all that is meant here. The text has *astar*, mule, but the variant, ushtar, camel, is supported by many MSS.

2 A.F. could not be expected to suggest that Pīr Muhammad's death was due to his having plotted against Bairām. But the author of the Darbār Akbarī remarks how all Bairām's opponents—Shamsu-d-dīn, Māham Anaga, Adham Khān and Pīr Muhammad perished within a year after Bairām's fall. The Rauẓat-aṭ Ṭāhirīn states that Pīr Muḥammad's real name was Maulānā Jalālu-din, that he was a Shaikhzāda of Shirwān, and that he came to Qandahār in 957.

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'Abdullah Khān Uzbeg, who was ranked among the magnanimous riskers of their lives, and who had been formerly in that country, and was familiar with its nature, was nominated for the conquest of Malwa. The order was given that he should have the power of life[1] and death.

Khwāja M'uīnu-d-dīn Aḥmad Farankhūdī, who was distinguished among the viziers of the *dīwān-i-bīyūtāt* for his rectitude and ability, was raised to the rank of a Khān and sent with him in order that he might regulate the province and might inquire into the position of the jāgīrdars and define the exchequer-lands. A large number of persons were sent with him for this important work. The order was given that after the military had cleared that delightful province of the weeds and rubbish of enemies, 'Abdullah Khān should remain there and devote himself to ruling the country, and that M'uīn Khān should hearten the peasantry, the farmers and the other inhabitants, both high and low, by the influence of the Shāhinshāh's graciousness. He was to remedy the absenteeism which might have occurred on account of the marchings and counter-marchings of the troops, and with the help of the officers and other royal servants who had been appointed for this service he was to allot the fiefs according to the rules of eternal dominion. After finishing this work he was to return to court. In accordance with this order 'Abdullah Khān, attended by high officers, and with a suitable force, set his face in the beginning of this year for the conquest of Malwa.
169 When Bāz Bahādur became aware of this expedition, he abandoned firmness and found that the power of resistance was not within his capacity. Before the standards of fortune's army could cast the shade of peace and tranquillity over those lands, he left Malwa and his ambitions and fled to a place of safety.

The dread onset of the Shāhinshah's fortune, and the majestic might of his armies and the promptitude of his expeditions are not (mere) loud noises such as that great princes should not be disturbed or terrified by them. What wonder then at the flinching of rulers like Bāz Bahādur. Without the sword's becoming a thunderbolt of evil or the arrow's pouring a rain of calamity, the victorious army entered Malwa. A number of brave men, out of foresight, pursued

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[1] I think this is what is meant by the phrase *amūr-i-sīāsat ú dār u gīr.*

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Bāz Bahādur and put to death many of his soldiers. He threw himself into the tree-clad defiles and spent his days in vagabondism. For some time he took shelter with Rānā Udai Singh. When the fame of the Shāhinshāh's clemency was spread about, he at last by good guidance left the abode of alienation and came to the restful abode of the sublime threshold, and was exalted by royal favours. This will be recorded in its proper place. In short, the country of Malwa came again into the possession of the imperial servants. 'Abdullah Khān in accordance with orders went to the city of Mandū, which was the capital of the princes of Malwa, and settled himself on the pillow of rule. The cities, towns, and villages were distributed among the officers according to their rank. The imperial servants went to Ujjain, Sārangpūr and other fiefs and opened out the trappings (*raḥl*) of repose. M'uīn Khān after putting the country in order and alloting the fiefs proceeded to court. He hurried along the highway of loyalty and enjoyed the bliss of service. He was the recipient of power and fame.

Among the occurrences was that Rajah Ganesh, the Zamindar of Nandūn[1]—a Panjab territory in the hill-country between the Bīāh and Sutlej—had the folly to attack Jān Muḥammad[2] Bahasūdī, the jāgīrdar of pargana Bīrka in that neighbourhood. As he was fundamentally bad, he had not the happiness of success. On the contrary he lost his honour and his estates by this affair. All his goods were plundered, and his wife, who was famed for her beauty, fell into the hands of the plunderers. As she had ornaments and jewels no trace of her could be found, and probably some narrow-eyed reprobates coveted her property and killed her as if, forsooth,[3] the incomparable Deity had sent them this provision as a recompense for the conduct of the invader. When the news came to the officers of the Panjāb, the Khān Kilān, Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān and a number of others went against him and inflicted suitable punishment. He became a vagabond, and then by the interposition of 170

1 Jarrett II. 317.

2 This officer took part in the war in Bengal against the Afghans, and is several times mentioned by Bayāzīd, p. 134b. Behāsūd is a village in Afghanistan.

3 *u hamānā.* I presume that A.F is writing ironically and representing what might be supposed to be the murderers' excuses to themselves. *Ayindā* means a guest, but it may here mean an invader.

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Rajah Todar Mal he presented himself at court and was favourably received. His career ended in good service.

One of the events was the arrival of the ambassador of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī the ruler of Persia. It is an old custom that powerful potentates should, for the sake of gathering spiritual and temporal blessings and for accomplishing spiritual and temporal objects, seek to associate with fortunate princes, and that if owing to a God-given destiny, a connection has already been established, they exert themselves to strengthen the pillars thereof and finish off the thread of their own fortune with this wondrous ornament. Accordingly the noble Shāh Ṭahmāsp, whose justice made glad the heart of Persia, sent, in accordance with the choice connection which had prevailed from former times between the sublime family (Akbar's) and the dynasty sprung from holiness, his cousin Saiyid Beg, the son of M'aṣūm[1] Beg, who (*i.e.*, the father) held the office of prime minister (*vakīl*), to convey condolences for the unavoidable event of His Majesty Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī and to congratulate the Shāhinshāh on his accession. He also sent presents such as fiery Arab-coursers, and swift steeds from 'Irāq and Turkey, delicate cloths, and wonderful curiosities. When the ambassadors came near the capital, His Majesty ordered that several distinguished officers should go out to welcome him and should conduct him to a suitable residence. He also sent fourteen lacs of *dāms*, which are equal to seven hundred Persian tomans, together with other things for his maintenance. After some days, and when he was rested after the fatigues of the journey, he obtained an audience and the privilege of making *kornish* and was honoured by kissing the carpet. After communicating the Shāh's prayers for his prosperity, he presented with the two hands of respect and laid upon the edge of the throne a letter which from commencement to conclusion was decked with the writings of love and sincerity. He also properly arranged the presents and laid them before His Majesty. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh made most kind and gracious inquiries after the Shāh's health, and distinguished the ambassador by countless favours.

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[1] Jauhar, Stewart 75, speaks of Humāyūn's having been betrothed while in Persia to a daughter of M'aṣūm Beg and who was Ṭahmāsp's niece. If she was this ambassador's sister she would be Ṭahmāsp's cousin.

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CHAPTER XLIII.

Copy of the letter[1] of the illustrious Shāh.

Verse.

A greeting like the favours of the glorious God,
A greeting like the qualities of the prophet Muḥammad,
A greeting radiant with the light of truth,
A greeting fragrant with the otto of constancy,
A greeting like rain dropping on the rose
And trickling from thence to the leaves of the hyacinth,
Grief-dispelling like the rose of the garden, 171
Joy-increasing like the faces of friends;—
Its fragrance equable like the gardens of paradise
Resting the soul and soothing the heart.

This gift of a greeting which out of perfect sincerity renews the bond of hereditary love and affection, and this present of

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1 This letter is wanting in the Lucknow edition and in most MSS. It is undoubtedly genuine, but I doubt if A.F. inserted it in his history. If he had, he would surely have prefaced it by some such remark as, "Here follows an exact copy," as in the other instances where he copies letters, and we should also have found it in most MSS. Badāūnī refers to it, and says he will hereafter give a copy, but apparently he never did. It appears in the two collections of letters MSS. B.M. Add. 7688, pp. 115*b* 116*a* and Or. 3482, p. 109*a*. I have compared these copies with the one in the text, and found some verbal differences. The letter is written in a very high-flown style, and is difficult to translate. The only points of interest in it are its indications of good feeling on Ṭahmāsp's part, and the reference to Bairam whose disgrace and death Ṭahmāsp was either ignorant of, or chose to ignore. A note to text states that in their MSS. the second line of the verses has Alm'uyīd "The Helper" instead of Muḥammad. B.M. MS. Add. 7688 transposes the 7th and 8th lines and has "Sadness-smiting like the face of friends" (cf. Proverbs xxvii. 17), and "Mirth-increasing like the roses of the garden."

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congratulations and benedictions, which in their utter truth and transparency have made our mutual ties and our affinities of love and fondness to be renowned throughout the world, are dedicated and presented from the country of love and singleness, along with caravans of rejoicings and longings, to the exalted one, who is the asylum of sovereignty and glory, repository of vicegerency and of the administration of justice, flower of the garden of sulṭanhood and success, luminous lamp of the sublime dynasty of Timur Khān, pearl of fortune's and dominion's casket, royal pearl of greatness's and glory's mansion, fresh fruit of glory and dignity's garden, goodly tree of the garden of the desires of just princes, adorner of the throne of sulṭanship and kingship, exhibitor of the endless mysteries of God, a Khāqān the grantor and attainer of desires, glorious monarch of an illustrious house.

Quatrain.

Star of a happy Sign, light of a fortunate Ascendant,
Enthroned grantor and attainer of desires,
Spite of the long reigns of princes, none hath reached
What he hath attained to in early youth.

The aided with glorious aids from God,—glory of sulṭanhood, magnificence, honour, justice, vicegerency, love, sway and exaltation—Abū-l-fatḥ Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Pādshāh, placed by God on the hereditary throne of sovereignty with all honour and dignity, unsurpassed adherent of God's Word and extirpator of polytheists. Verily the relations of concord and amity which existed between ourselves and His Majesty the pardoned king—May the Almighty place him in the highest Paradise! are fixed and certified, and the marks thereof are visible to mankind. At this time, the notes of victory and fortune, and the news of the success and glory of that grantor and grantee of desires which have been brought to our hearing by messengers from that country are the cause of varied upliftings of our hearts. As a consequence of thorough sympathy and companionship our desire increases that that asylum of sovereignty and glory may acquire the constituents of success and joy; and our firm hope is that his radiances may extend higher and higher each

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day, and cast light upon all mankind. Nor shall it be concealed from the mirror of his enlightened heart, that from the date when a covenant of love and friendship and of concord and brotherhood was made between ourselves and the deceased monarch, our loving heart was continually directed towards the exaltation of the glory of that great prince, and that we employed our utmost energies in advancing his position and dignity in every respect. Accordingly this has been manifest to mankind. To speak without arrogance, as the feeling of brotherhood and princely honour demand, we have respected in our heart the brotherly relations which existed between us and the deceased asylum of brotherhood, and have discharged the duties thereof according to our abilities and leisure in conformity with the principle that deeds are impledged to opportunities. But in accordance with the decree of the all-powerful King—may His 172
power be glorified—and the designs of mortals cannot be arranged or carried out without His Will, nor is the arrangement of the world's workshop possible or conceivable without His orders—the aforesaid pardoned monarch conveyed the garnishing of eternity from the strait of the perishable world to the ample mansions of immortality, and so wishes and longings have remained under the veil of concealment. Subsequently, when by the favour of God—may His glorious name be praised,—the lamp of the eyes of the partizans of the lofty lineage, or rather of the commonalty, and the spirits[1] of the lovers and friends of that grand family have been brightened by the emerging light of that quintessence of sulṭanhood and sovereignty, and the throne of the sulṭanate and of success has been ennobled by the aureole (*farz*) of that honoured son (Akbar), we testify by the honour of God—and He is a sufficient Witness—that from that day in accordance with our ardent, hereditary love we have always felt drawn towards that light of the eyes of the Caliphate and have held firmly to those ancient bonds of brotherhood. And it has always been the fixed thought of our hearts that we

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1 بالعموم بهمت احباب. I think there is a misreading here. The copies in the two letter-books omit the word بهمت *bahimmat* and Add. 7688 has چراغ دیدهٔ اهل اُمید و داعیان سلسلهٔ بل عموم احبا و دوستان that is, he (Akbar) was the light of the eyes of the waiters upon and bedesmen of the dynasty, nay of all the lovers and friends thereof.

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should send one of our officers to that fortunate region in order that he might convey our regrets for the king clothed with forgiveness and our congratulations and our blessings to the auspicious and felicitous one for his sway and sovereignty. By chance, various hindrances have occurred, one after the other, which have caused delay in the execution of this project. When the hindrances had been removed, the keenness of the desire showed itself and we had been for some days engaged in sending an officer when the dignified and auspicious Shāh[1] Ghāzī Sulṭān, the envoy of the asylum of justice and control, workshop of rule, glory of great officers, and grand governors, splendour of justice, dominion and fortune, the faithful Bairām Khān, arrived at the world-protecting court. He communicated the Khān's representations of sincerity and respect, and renewed on behalf of the light of the eyes of the Caliphate and sitter on the kingly throne the pillars of hereditary affection and conveyed his sentiments of sincerity and friendship. During the time that he stayed with us he was honoured by being present at several assemblages and was the recipient of various favours. So much so was this that we out of respect to your dignity raised him to the lofty rank of an Amir and Sulṭan, and then suffered him to depart after bestowing on him royal favours and presents. We now send as our ambassador Saiyid Beg, the successor of Saiyids and rulers, son of M'aṣūm Beg Ṣafavī, the repository of *saiyidship* and fortune, laboratory of orders, prop of dominion, &c., &c., Mīr Dīwān, and who on account of his lineage[2] is distinguished among our great officers and intimates, in order that he may convey our condolences for the late king, and our congratulations on the accession of the asylum of sovereignty, and may consolidate the foundations of hereditary love and friendship so that henceforth the revolutionary hand of time may not reach the edge thereof, nor fear of rift or rupture enter the heart's core of any creature. We expect
173 that so long as the reservoir of *saiyidship* abides then you will look graciously upon him and show him a little favour. Do not detain him long, but permit him to depart and to return to this country.

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[1] Probably the Shāh Ghāzī Khān of Blochmann 443.

[2] The other copies have ba ḥisab u nasab, "both by ability and lineage."

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And ever moisten the gardens of old love and affection with the cloud-droppings of fragrant words, and hereafter do not neglect to send messages and letters and to announce events, conditions, &c., as the relationship of love demands.

Verse.[1]

O God, grant that this nursling of fortune's garden,
This shining light of an auspicious Sign,
May enjoy life and vigour
And be firmly seated on felicity's throne;
May his heart's desires be fulfilled for cycles,
May his station be on the summit of success,
May the desires of throne and fortune coincide,
May he prosper in his fortune and his throne.

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[1] This verse does not occur in Add. 7688, and apparently is not part of the letter.

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CHAPTER XLIV.

The punishment of Adham Khān by the justice of the Shāhinshāh.

When the world-adorning Deity wills the bestowal of greatness on an unique one and exalts him to the high office of sovereignty He, in the first place, gives him far-seeing reason to be ever his unvarnished counsellor. After that He bestows on him wide forbearance so that he may bear the brunt of so many of the world's disagreeables and that he may, by the help thereof, refrain from dropping the thread of deliberation when he beholds such evils. Then he gives him the priceless jewel of justice, so that he can place the familiar friend and the stranger in the same balance and can comprehend the affairs of creation's workshop (the world) without being weighted by personal considerations, and can establish a school of instruction within his holy soul. Many sages who have made no error in testing knowledge have yet at the time for action become timid owing to the want of a wide understanding and let go the reins of carefulness, and so have fallen off in the arena of examination. When knowledge and endurance are suitably developed the marks of justice are evolved, without anxiety or delay, from the just temperament. Thanks be to God! These glorious excellencies and splendid qualities are innate and constitutional in His Majesty the Shāhinshāh and spring from the plenteous house of Divine wisdom, uncontaminated by outward teaching or the decoration of human instruction. But that knower of the Creator's secrets keeps himself, for his own designs and reasons, under the veil of concealment, and spends his life in the garb of obscurity. Nor is he content with ever so many veils, but is always fashioning others in order that acute observers cannot penetrate them. But the Divine decree is paramount, and when God wills that mankind should become acquainted with his intrinsic beauty, what avails the screen? Of necessity his face must be unveiled and his beauty adorn the world so that those who are afar off from fortune's neighbourhood may reach the

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palace of devotion and have the chief seats in the court of 174
acknowledgment.[1] What happened in Agra, the capital, is an example of the majesty and extensiveness of the justice of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh.

The account of this affair is that Adham Khān, the younger son of the cupola of chastity Māham Anaga, had neither understanding nor good conditions. He was intoxicated by youth and prosperity and was continually envious of Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad the Ataga Khān. Mun'im Khān, the Khan-Khānān, also suffered much from this malady and used to throw out dark hints such as the generality could not comprehend and instigate Adham Khān to strife and intrigue. At length on the day of Isfandiyār 5 Khurdād, Divine month, corresponding to Saturday, 12 Ramzān, 969, 16th May, 1562, when the equability of Ardibihisht was still prevailing, an extraordinary occurrence, which was far from equability, took place. On a court-day (*rūz-i-dīwān*) Mun'im Khān, Ataga Khān, Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān and other magnates were sitting in the royal hall and transacting public business, when Adham Khān suddenly entered in a riotous manner and attended by others more riotous than himself. The members of the assembly rose up to do him honour and the Ataga Khān rose half-up. Immediately upon entering Adham Khān put his hand to his dagger and went towards the Ataga Khān. Then he angrily signed to his servant Khūsham Uzbeg and the other desperadoes who had come with their loins girt up for strife saying: "Why do you stand still?" The wicked Khūsham drew his dagger and inflicted a dangerous wound on the breast of that chief-sitter on the pillow of auspiciousness. The Ataga Khān was thoroughly amazed and ran towards the door of the hall. Immediately thereon Khudā Bardī came and struck him twice with a sword. That great man was martyred in the court-yard[2] (*ṣaḥn*) of

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[1] A.F. means that owing to God's having revealed the greatness of Akbar, persons living at a distance have been able to become distinguished loyalists; *qabūl*, which I have rendered acknowledgment, may also mean acceptance.

[2] The T. Alfī 607*b* says Shamsu-d-dīn ran and fell on a heap of lime (*ahak*) which had been collected for building purposes, and that when Akbar saw the body, it was lying on the lime. This would help to make it visible.

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the hall of audience. A loud cry arose in the palace on account of this outrage, and general horror was exhibited in that glorious abode. That doomed one in spite of his past audacity presumptuously advanced towards the sacred harem—to which may there be no access for the wicked—with evil intentions. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh had gone to sleep in the auspicious palace, but his fortune was awake. That black-fated one went up, sword in hand from the hall to the terrace (*ṣuffa*) which went round the palace (*qaṣr*) on all four sides, and was of the height of a man and a half. He tried to go inside, but Ni'amat the eunuch, who was standing near the entrance (*darbār*), immediately shut the door and bolted it. And though the presumptuous one, who was hastening to his death, spoke roughly to Ni'amat and bade him open the door, the latter did not do so. Those standing by the threshold had not the grace to inflict the punishment of his deed on that presumptuous and furious one at the beginning of his doings when he assailed the Ataga Khān. And
175 what shall I say of their dumbfoundedness and cowardice when after forming such vain thoughts he tried to enter behind the curtains of fortune! Why did they not shed his blood? Why did they not level him with ignominy's dust? If they had not courage for that, why did they not make a general rush and surround him? Even then, how can I suppose that among those present in the palace there was no one who was loyal? Apparently there was a design in the perfunctoriness of those people, *viz.*, that the perfect courage and justice of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh might be impressed on the minds of great and small, of the wise and the foolish!

In short, His Majesty was awakened by the dreadful clamour and called for an explanation. As none of the women (*pardagīān, lit*: veiled ones) knew of the affair he put his head outside of the palace-wall and asked what was the matter. Rafīq[1] *Ṣāḥib-i-cār mansab* who was one of the old servants of the palace mentioned the

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[1] Rafīq is probably the valet mentioned in Jauhar, 110, in whose presence Akbar, then a boy of 13, consented to undress and bathe. It appears from Bayāzīd, see his list 75*a*, that Rafīq was a house-born servant of Akbar's great-aunt Khānzāda Begam. The expression *ṣāḥib cār mansab*, "owner of four offices," may mean that he had served four generations.

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facts. When His Majesty heard the horrible tale he was amazed and made further inquiries. Rafīq pointed to the blood-stained corpse and repeated his statement. When His Majesty the Shāhinshāh saw the body he became nobly indignant. From a Divine inspiration he did not come[1] out by the door where that demented wretch was standing and meditating evil, but by another way. As he was coming out, a servant of the seraglio put into his hands, without his asking for it, the special[2] scimetar. His Majesty took the scimetar and went on. When he had passed over one side of the terrace and had turned into another he saw that villain, and there issued from his holy lips the words "Son of a[3] fool why have you killed our Ataga? That presumptuous wretch hastened to seize His Majesty's hands and to say "Inquire and deign not deliberate! There has been (only) a little[4] inquiry" (talāsh). What reproach shall I make about the spectators of this convicted liar! No amount of reproach or contempt will fit their case!

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[1] Bayāzīd 105*a* says Akbar wrapped his *lungī* round his loins and came out. He saw the body and asked whose it was (it must have been dark then) and Rafīq told him.

[2] There were thirty shamsher khāṣa, and one was sent daily (the text says monthly) to the harem, the old one being returned. Blochmann 109.

[3] *Bacha-i-lāda. Lāda* means also a bitch, and Blochmann has so translated it. See also Elliot VI. 26 where the whole account is translated. A note to my MS. of the Iqbālnāma suggests that *lāda* was a nickname of Adham's father. Bayāzīd says Akbar called Adham *gāndū*, i.e., catamite. His words are p. 105*b*. *Ḥazrat ba zabān Hindustānī farmūdand ke ai kāndu* (i.e., *gāndū*) *cara Atkah mārā kashtī*. See Bahar-Ajam s.v.

[4] This is a difficult passage, and Professor Dowson has disposed of it by simply omitting it. Some light is afforded by the gloss of the author of the Iqbālnāma. He makes Adham beg Akbar to investigate as to who was the person who really killed Shamsu-d-dīn. (It will be remembered that Adham did not himself strike him, Perhaps he wanted to take advantage of this, and it is curious that we are nowhere told what became of the actual murderers Khūsham Uzbeg and Khudā Bardī. Then the author of the Iqbālnāma gives the reflection of A.F. on the pusillanimity of the spectators who allowed Adham to approach Akbar and to make false excuses to him. The words "there was a little inquiry *andakī talāsh shud* present a difficulty. I have taken them as part of Adham's

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At last His Majesty the Shāhinshāh withdrew his hands from his own sword and freed them from the grasp of that wicked one, and stretched out his arm to take Adham Khān's sword. Just then that outcast for all eternity withdrew his hand from His Majesty and turned it to his own sword. His Majesty withdrew his hand therefrom and struck him such a blow on the face with his fist that that wicked monster turned a summersault[1] and fell down insensible. Farhat[2] Khān and Sangrām Ḥūsnāk had the good fortune to be present. His Majesty angrily said to them, "Why do you stand gaping there? Bind this madman." They two and a number of others obeyed the order and bound him. The righteous order was given that the fellow who had outstepped[3] his place should be flung headlong from the top of the terrace. Those shortsighted men out of consideration (for Adham), than which inconsideration would have
176 been a thousand times better, did not throw him down properly, and he remained half-alive. The order was given to bring him up again, and this time they dragged him up by the hair and in accordance with orders flung him headlong so that his neck was broken, and his brains destroyed. In this way that blood-thirsty profligate underwent retribution for his actions. The fist of the Divine athlete of the world had made such a mark that those who did not know the facts thought that it was a mace-wound. Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān and Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, who were there, fled from

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speech. It is possible that *talāsh* is the Mongol word *tālāsh* and means, "There was a little scrimmage (or confusion)." The word *ḥirāfat* in the phrase *Nāẓirān-i-ḥirāfat daryafat rā* has no meaning here, and I have taken the word to be *khurāfat* for which there is the support of one or two MSS. *Daryāfta* I have taken along with this and rendered it "convicted." For *khurāfat* see Lane s.v. See Darbār Akbari, p. 753.

[1] The Iqbalnāma has "he turned over like a pigeon."

[2] Blochmann 440, Bayāzīd calls him Mihtar Sakhaī and says that Humāyūn gave him the title of Farhād Khān.

[3] Apparently Akbar's idea in having Adham Khān thrown over the terrace was to carry out the Muḥammadan principle of retaliation. Adham had stepped up to a place where he had no business to be, and so his punishment was the being thrust back again. Aurangzīb inflicted a similar punishment on his daughter's lover. The T. Alfī says the terrace or verandah (*aiwān*) was 12 yards high.

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before His Majesty's wrath, and disappeared. When Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān, the eldest son of the Ataga Khān, heard of the fate of his honoured father, he armed himself and his clan and lay in wait for Adham Khān and Māham Anaga. He did not know that the spiritual and temporal Khedive had executed justice, and had not had regard to Māham Anaga's position, but had in the judgment-hall of sovereign wrath inflicted condign punishment on the murderer who was taken in the fact.

When the truth about the sublime justice of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh—which was higher than human nature—became impressed upon men's minds they were greatly supported. Oppressors hid themselves in the night of contempt while the oppressed had a daily market of joy. A lamp of knowledge was placed on the path of the ignorant so that they confessed the spiritual and temporal greatness of the lord of the terrene and of terrestrials and were guided to the highway of devotion. The Ataga clan was still watching for Adham Khān and the other relatives of Māham Anaga. They thought that the rumour (of Adham's death) was false and were waiting to take vengeance. But as it was bruited abroad, they represented through some courtiers that when such justice had been done, the body of the blackhearted villain might be shown to them so that their minds might be set at rest and a balm be applied to their wounded feelings. His Majesty approved of their request, and Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaznavī went as their delegate and saw the body. The agitation of this loyal clan subsided, and they expressed thousands upon thousands of praises and thanksgivings. Mankind was at once delivered from the disturbance of makebates and reposed in security. In truth, if the rejoicing of celestials for this great act of justice could be added to the panegyrics of mortals a little of the dues of gratitude might be paid. What power then have the atoms of the human race to give thanks for it? It was at once a great punishment whereby the visible world was refreshed, and also a public lesson by whose blessing the dark tenement of hearts was irradiated by the light of sincerity and devotion. It was at once a sight-giving medicine for the thoroughly blind over whose 177
eyes there was a film, and a collyrium of illumination for the blear-eyed—at once the foot of research for the lame ones of loyalty's land, and a staff of zeal for the slow-footed ones on the path of devotion—

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at once an iron fortress for the army of the lost of heart, and a wakeful watchman for the family of impatience!

In fine, His Majesty retired into the harem after performing such an act of justice. Māham Anaga, who was lying in bed ill in her own house, came to hear that Adham Khān had committed so great an act of violence, and that His Majesty had imprisoned him. Maternal love raised her up and brought[1] her to visit His Majesty in order that she might perhaps procure her son's release. When His Majesty saw her, he said: "Adham Khān killed our Ataga, we have inflicted retaliation upon him." That wise one of the age meekly said: "You did well," but she was not certain that her son had undergone capital punishment. Just then Bībī[2] Najība Begam, the mother of Dastam Khān, came from Adham Khān's house and told Māham Anaga what had happened. She asked how they had killed him and the reply was, "There is the mark of the blow of a mace on the face: I don't know anything more." But that mark was from His Majesty the Shāhinshah's fist and had been made by divinely-aided power at the beginning of the occurrence. When Māham Anaga knew for certain that her son had been put to death, she by virtue of her wisdom preserved her respect for His Majesty and did not complain or lament, but she became inwardly wounded by a thousand fatal blows. The colour left her face, and she wanted to visit the body. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh in regard to her long service spoke comforting words to her and consoled her somewhat, but did not allow her to go there in order that she might not behold her son in such a condition. In accordance with orders the two bodies were sent to Delhi that day. He addressed lofty monitions and heart-affecting exhortations to that wise old woman and permitted her to go to her son's house next day. That wise mourner went and expressed her resignation, and submitted to the Divine decree. Then she came to her own house and sat in grief and indulged in lamenting and weeping. The illness from

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[1] Bayāzīd says Akbar went to her house and told her what had occurred.

[2] There is the variant Takht Begam, and Bayāzīd has Tukhta or Tukhtā Begī as the name of Dastam Khān's mother. Probably the word is Tokhta. See Vambèry Hist. of Bokhara 179 note. It would seem from Tokhta's statement that by this time the body had been carried to Adham Khān's house.

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which she was suffering grew worse, and the pillars of health were shaken. Forty days after this occurrence, *viz.*, in Tīr, Divine month, corresponding to Shawwāl she went to the sacred abode of non-existence. His Majesty's loving heart was much affected by the fate of this cupola of chastity, and he expressed great sorrow. The body also was sent with much respect to Delhi, and His Majesty personally escorted it for some paces. All the state officers and the great ones of the sublime family paid the dues of respect and regret. In accordance with orders a lofty[1] building was erected over the tombs of Māham Anaga and Adham Khān. Similar mourning was made for the Ataga Khān. The hearts of his brethren and children were soothed, and the wounds of the whole clan were healed. H.M. devoted great attention to the educating of this faithful band and 178
to the furthering of their advancement.

Verse.

If you grieve thus for any one
Many will be inclined to die.

On the day after the catastrophe of the Khān A'azim and Adham Khān His Majesty heard of the flight of Mun'im Khān and Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān. He made allowance for their irreflection and shortsightedness, and sent off Āshraf Khān with comforting words to them so that he might set their minds at rest and bring them back to court. By the bounty of the Shāhinshah's favour the sweat of their shame was changed into the face-drops (*ābrū*) of angels.

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[1] This is the building at Delhi known as the *Bhūl-bhulyān* and described and figured in Saiyid Aḥmad's Aṣār-i-ṣanādīd, p. 80. It is now used as a dāk bungalow. Saiyid Aḥmad also has an account and illustration of Shamsu-d-dīn's tomb in Delhi, p. 44, l. c.

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CHAPTER XLV.

THE PROMOTION OF I'TIMĀD'[1] KHĀN AND THE CONSIGNMENT TO HIM OF THE MANAGEMENT OF THE CROWN-LANDS.

From the time when, in accordance with the decree of Divine wisdom, this catastrophe occurred, H.M. the Shāhinshāh perceived the spirit of the age and the nature of mankind and gave his attention to the affairs of State. In consequence the terrene and the terrestrials entered on a new phase. Though the daily market of those who had been pushed forward by their self-conceit fell flat, yet sincere inquirers who on account of the injustice of the great were in the corner of contempt, took to coming forward in consequence of the Shāhinshāh's brilliant perspicacity. An instance of this is the reputation obtained by the eunuch I'timād Khān. The account of his great advancement is as follows: The officers in their ignorance, fatuity or dishonesty attended to the enrichment of their own households and collected treasure for their own purposes, while neglecting to collect the Shāhinshāh's revenues. Still less did they try to increase those. H.M. the Shāhinshāh, either because he was wearing a veil, or because he had no listener at hand, said nothing about this, and did not prescribe any regulations on the subject. Though the household[2] officers had to endure losses and hardships, H.M. put off the solution of their difficulties till another season and contemplated with open brow and a cheerful mind the spectacle of the methods of destiny. At this time when a stone fell on the glass of great men's reputations, and some prudent and seviceable men came

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[1] Blochmann 13 and 428, Badāūnī, Lowe 63, and the Maaṣir I. 88.

[2] Bayāzīd 102*a* tells how when all the grandees were in the hall of audience in attendance on Māham Anaga, Akbar had a pressing want for Rs. 18, and sent an eunuch for the money. Khwāja Jahān professed to be unable to supply the coin, and Māham got over the difficulty by sending Takhta Begī to her Turki waiting-woman to fetch what was wanted.

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forward, Khwāja Phūl[1] Malik, an eunuch, became on account of his abilities the object of the Shāhinshāh's favourable glance. He had on account of his integrity been distinguished during the rule of Salīm Khān, the son of Sher Khān the Afghan, by the title of Muḥammad Khān, and before this affair (that of Adham Khān) he had been enrolled among the imperial servants, and had done good service. He came to understand the holy disposition of the Shāhinshāh, and represented in a proper manner his views about the collection and augmentation of the revenues. H.M. recognised his value and gave him encouragement. He conferred upon him the title of I'timād Khān and made over to him all the royal revenues, which were in the hands of embezzlers. He by excellent management carried into effect all that the Shāhinshāh had meditated with regard to the collection of the revenues. This work began in the middle of this year. The arms of unrighteous robbers were shortened, and black-hearted self-pleasers went aside and placed their feet in the skirt of retirement. The clean-hearted and devisers of good things came forward, and the revenues, which are the foundation of sovereignty, and the basis of dominion, and the source of military strength, were put upon a footing which was worthy of the dominion which is linked with eternity. What wondrous rules and regulations, each of them fit to be a code for mankind's prosperity, came forth daily from the Lord of the Age! A few out of the many, to wit, those which occurred to the holy intellect with regard to financial matters, were carried into effect by I'timād Khān. What wonderful things there were which did not become manifest! How could the most important of all concerns be brought forward? If (other) similar recipients of orders had comprehended the Shāhinshāh's ideas and endeavoured to carry them out, in a short time the surface of the inhabited world would have come into the possession of the royal servants. But the world is in the contemplation of the Shāhinshāh's genius an extremely contemptible affair. He does not deem it worthy of his complete attention, and always keeps his soul attached to the pleasing of God. If the recipients of his *firmāns* possessed one thousandth part of his intellect this petty business which the superficial regard as so momentous would be disposed of with a little attention. Apparently

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[1] Text Bahlūl, but the variant Phūl is preferable.

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there are considerations of the Divine designs involved in this state of things (the non-conquest of the whole world).

One of the occurrences was the flight of Mun'im Khān, and his arrest and reconveyance to court. There are two strange things in man's constitution. One is his passions which have neither eyes nor discernment. The other is far-seeing reason which understands business. Most men are, from irreflection, overcome of wrong notions, and depose reason which is the regulator of right-thinking, and obey their passions. And so by one act of carelessness a man does to himself what his enemies could not effect by hundreds of tricks. The absurd conduct of Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khānān is an instance of this. In spite of the royal favours and of his attainment to lofty state, among which were his being summoned from Kabul and receiving the title of Khān-Khānān, his obtaining the post of *vakīl*, and full powers, he did not comprehend this graciousness. He left them all out of sight, and guided only by the fear that he was suspected of having kindled the flames in the matter of the Khān Ā'aẓim and
180 Adham Khān, he could not find it in his head to remain steady. Accordingly he had fled on that very day. Although his motive (for instigating Adham Khān) was that he in his ignorance had believed that after this affair the binding and loosing of the transactions of the sublime family, and the control of all matters political and financial would be in his hands without association with anybody else, yet this idea did not take shape. Melancholy took possession of him, and he formed the improper resolution of leaving the world-protecting court which is the native country of the auspicious ones of the seven climes, and of going to that abode of pleasure—Kabul, where his son Ghanī Khān was governor, and of there enjoying himself. Accordingly in Mirdād, Divine month, he left the capital and took the road by the base of the hills. Muḥammad Qāsim Mīr Baḥr accompanied him. When H.M. heard of this, he did not take it seriously, and said that Mun'im Khān had not gone anywhere and would soon come back. Though busybodies hinted, or openly said that his property should be confiscated, he out of magnanimity refused to accept suggestions of slanderers. He said, if it be granted that Mun'im Khān has gone to Kabul, that too is our territory, and he is still a servant of our court. Fear, and not disloyalty has led him to this. If he does not come we shall send his property after him.

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No one must meddle with his household. By fate it happened that after traversing for six days hills and deserts the fugitives came to the pargana of Sarūt[1] which was in the fief of Mīr Muḥammad Munshī. Qāsīm 'Alī Sīstānī, Mīr Munshī's servant, was the Shiqdār of that pargana. He heard that two king's officers were passing through and that they appeared to be alarmed. He with the aid of some of the villagers blocked their road and arrested them, willing or unwilling. Saiyid Muḥammad Bārha, who on account of his good services was one of the great officers and had a fief in that neighbourhood, heard of this event and brought Mun'im Khān to his own house. He recognised his opportunity, and treated him with gentleness and respect, and conveyed him honourably and in his own company to the Shāhinshāh. H.M., contrary to the expectations of petty worldlings and to the wishes of the ill-intentioned, of whom the age is never free, treated him with boundless favours and gave him the office of *vakīl* and the title of Khān-Khānān. His troubled soul was comforted and the strife-mongers retired to a corner. Mankind received another soothment. Why should not this be so? He placed on the head of one on whom men expected the sword of punishment to fall, a crown of government.

Among the occurrences was the coming of Tān Sen[2] to the holy 181
court. The brief account of this is as follows. Inasmuch as the holy personality of H.M. the Shāhinshah is a congeries of degrees, spiritual and temporal, and a collection of divine and terrestrial excellences, so that when matters are discussed the master of each science imagines that the holy personality has devoted his whole attention to his particular subject, and that all his intellect has been expended on it, the knowledge which H.M. has of the niceties of music, as of other sciences, is, whether of the melodies of Persia, or the various songs of India, both as regards theory and execution unique for all time. As the fame of Tān Sen, who was the foremost of the age among the kalāwants[3] of Gwāliār came to the royal hearing,

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1 In Sarkār Saharanpur, Jarrett II. 291. The T. Alfi says, 680*a*, that Mun'im left Agra by crossing the Jamna, and that he broke down the bridge behind him.

2 Blochmann 406 and 6125. There is also information about Tān Sen in the Archaeological Report on Gwāliār. See also Badāūnī II, Lowe 345.

3 A Hindi word meaning "belonging to a noble family," but applied specially to musicians.

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and it was reported that he meditated going into retirement and that he was spending his days in attendance on Rām[1] Cand the Rajah of Pannah,[2] H.M. ordered that he should be enrolled among the court-musicians. Jalāl Khān[3] Qūrcī, who was a favourite servant, was sent with a gracious order to the Rajah for the purpose of bringing Tān Sen. The Rajah received the royal message and recognised the sending of the envoy as an honour, and sent back with him suitable presents of elephants of fame and valuable jewels, and he also gave Tān Sen suitable instruments and made him the cheek-mole of his gifts. In this year Tān Sen did homage and received exaltation. H.M. the Shāhinshāh was pleased and poured[4] gifts of money into the lap of his hopes. His cap of honour was exalted above all others. As he had an upright nature and an acceptable disposition he was cherished by a long service and association with H.M., and great developments were made by him in music and in compositions.[5]

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1 Blochmann 406.

2 Blochmann 425 n. 2. I. G. XI, 48. It is in Bandalkhand, Central India.

3 Blochmann, 475.

4 The Iqbālnāma says Akbar gave Tān Sen at his first assembly a *kror* of dams equal to two lakhs of rupis or 6,000 Persian *tomans*. He adds that several thousands of his compositions are still extant, and that many of them are named after Akbar.

5 *Mazāmīn bastan.*

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CHAPTER XLVI.

BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH, *viz.*, THE YEAR ĀBĀN OF THE FIRST CYCLE.

At this time, when the ever-vernal mind of H.M. the Shāhinishāh was occupying itself with the delights of melody, and was giving joy to the lovers of this art, the song of the coming of the new year rose high and delightsome. Pleasure expressed itself thus by pantomime.

Verse.

'Tis the time when the garden breathes of joy
A hundred songsters strike on the ear of spring
From the fire of the rose kindled by the morning breeze
Blood is made to boil in the veins of the garden-birds.

Composite natures proceeded to develope by the life-cherishing bounty of the earth, the strains of the birds of the garden insinuated themselves into the ears of the flowers. Time's cup-bearers poured 182
chargers of joy into the lips of the age, the half-intoxicated nightingales began to beat with their beaks the chords of pleasure.

Verse.

On every branch the birds made an organ
The rose bush was elevated by melody
Owing to that sense-ravishing melody
The musician silenced his own music.

After nine hours and thirty-eight minutes of Thursday, 15th Rajab 970, 10th March 1563, the sun entered his mansion of exaltation, and the Divine year Ābān, which is the 8th from the accession, began, and the terrene and terrestrials received new joy. In the beginning of this year Khwāja[1] 'Abdu-l-Majīd Āṣafkhān obtained a victory over Rajah Rām Cand and Ghāzī Khān Tannūrī, and the

[1] Blochmann, 366.

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country of Pannah was conquered. The account of this excellent affair is that Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Majīd, who on account of his abilities had been distinguished by the title of Āṣaf Khān and had been promoted from the pen to the sword and taken his place among those who join the sword to the pen, and are masters both of peace and war (*lit.* drum and learning) had obtained as his fief the ample domains of Sarkār Kara. He by his skill and exertions was about to take possession of Pannah which was a country near his own. At first he sent messages of good advice to Rām Cand, who was among the famous Rajahs of India and whose forefathers had ruled over that country for generations. Āṣaf Khān bade him doff his cap of pride, and place the ring of submission in his ear, and come into the list of tributaries. He also told him to send to court Ghāzī Khān Tannūri who had trodden the path of rebellion and had taken refuge with him. Rām Cand, whose forehead had not yet been irradiated by the light of auspiciousness, turned a deaf ear to these advices, and the mention of obedience and submission increased his pride and arrogance. In his illfatedness he made ready for war. Āṣaf Khān was supported by the prestige of the royal dynasty and marched against him with a proper equipment. The Rajah came out with Ghāzī Khān Tannnūrī and a large force of Rājputs and Afghans. The brave men on both sides washed their hands of their lives and fought a great battle.

Verse.

183 The brave fought with bow and arrow
All strove with spear and sword
The world was full of diamond-pointed darts
The wind was from dust and blood vermilion-scattering.

After a great contest Āṣaf Khān was victorious and Ghāzī Khān Tannūrī and many other leaders were put to the sword. Rajah Rām Cand was defeated and took refuge in the fort of Bāndhū[1] which was the strongest fort in that country. Immense spoil fell into the hands

[1] Elliot IV. 462, n. 2. This note says that there is a great confusion about the country of Bhata, and that Bāndhū is Bandrīgarh (not in the I. G. under that name). It also refers to the Supp. Glossary II. 164. There we are told that the Sarkar is that entered in the Āīn, text I. 430 under the name of Bhatghorā, Jarrett II. 166.

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of the victors. At this time, at the intercession of famous Rajahs[1] who had obtained favour by long service, an order was issued that Rajah Rām Cand had put the ring of servitude in his ear, and had done homage; he was now included among the servants of the threshold, and his territories were not to be interfered with. In consequence of these orders Āṣaf Khān returned to his fief.

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[1] Possibly Bīrbal, who had been in the Rajah's service, was an intercessor.

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CHAPTER XLVII.

Appointment of Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān to Kabul and what followed thereon.

As the Shāhinshāh's world-adorning mind was always directed towards the management of Kabul and was inquisitive about the affairs thereof, he now heard that Faẓīl[1] Beg, the brother of Mun'im Khān, had joined with Amīr Bābūs, Shāh Walī Atka, 'Ali Muḥammad Asp, Sēonj Sīdhī Māhī, Khwājah Khāṣ Malik and a number of others in reporting to the cupola of chastity, Māh Cūcak Begam the mother of Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the immoderate conduct of Ghanī Khān, and had used all their endeavours to remove him from Kabul, the abode of pleasure. He therefore appointed Mun'im Khān to be the guardian of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm and sent him to Kābul. The details of this are as follows: Though Faẓīl Beg's eyes were deprived of sight, yet in chicanery and strife-mongering his whole body was an eye. He was always disturbed and dissatisfied about his nephew's rule, and in truth Ghanī Khān, Mun'im Khān's son, was without discretion or good sense. In addition to this, the intoxication of authority had cast him down from the pillar of moderation. Evil companionship, the worst ill of humanity, was dragging him down, with the lasso of ruin, from the height of auspiciousness to the depth of misery. At last that faction made the noble lady, the Begam, one of their party. In the beginning of Shahriyūr, Divine month, of the seventh year, Ghanī Khān had gone towards Zama,[2] to visit the melon-fields. They strengthened the city and shut the gate of the citadel against him. He equipped a force and came over against the Delhi gate and halted on the ridge of the Sīāh Sang. But he could
184 not effect his object. He sent Pahlwān 'Idī Kotwāl on an embassy, thinking that perhaps he might by craft and stratagem effect

[1] Bāyazīd and Niẓām-u-d-dīn have Faẓāīl.

[2] qu. Zaimūnī W. of Kabul. See text I. 322.

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something. The persons above named replied that Ghani Khān had not been appointed to the government by H.M. the Shāhinshāh, and that the people had been brought into straits by his tyranny and immoderation. The proper thing now for him was to go off in safety. If he wanted to have again the government of this country he should go to Court and have his conduct tested, and should bring an order from the Diwān of the Caliphate, so that it might be acted upon. During these parleys his men took to deserting him. When he had halted there a long time and had perceived that he would not be able to enter the city and that he was nearly being captured, he, by the advice of Hamza 'Arab and Mīr Maghīṣu-d-dīn of Nīshāpūr, went towards Jalālabād. All his property in the city was plundered. The cause of the courage of the Kabulīs in this matter was the affair of Tūlak Khān Qūcīn.

The brief account of this is that Ghanī Khān, in whom youthful presumption and intoxication were added to innate wickedness, thought that his advantage consisted in others' loss. He behaved with quarrelsomeness and levity and did not pay respect to men's position. His manners were bad, and insolent. One of his actions was the arresting without cause Tūlak Khān Qūcīn, who was famous for his valour and an intimate courtier of H.M. Jahānbāni Jinnat Āshiyānī. He put him and a number of his relatives into confinement.

Verse.

Not everyone who does evil does you evil
Certes he does that evil to himself.

At length some prudent persons interposed and released him. After this affront Tūlaq Khān went to the village of Māmā Khātūn which was his fief. There he wrapped the foot of courage in the skirt of patience and sought for an opportunity of revenge. Meanwhile a caravan was coming from Balkh. Ghanī Khān heard of its arrival at Cārīkārān and went out with a few men to meet it and to make a choice of the goods, giving out that he was going to visit Khwāja Sihyārān, which is an enchanting spot. There he inaugurated a drunken feast and played the melody of self-indulgence. When Tūlak Khān, who was, in season and out of season, meditating

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revenge, heard of his expedition, he recognised the advantage of the opportunity and hurried after him with a number of his kinsfolk and servants. At midnight he came upon Ghanī Khān, who had given away his sense to wine and his body to slumber, and caught his prey. He arrested him and Shagūn the son of Qarāca Khān and put them into confinement. He also emptied his wrathful heart by reproaches. Thinking that as he had the governor as his prisoner he might also seize the city, he turned back from there, and having won over the militia of Kabul he halted at Khwājah Rivāsh which is within two kos of Kabul. Faẓīl Beg and Abu-l-fatḥ, his son,
185 and Ghanī Khān's men prepared for war. Tūlak Khān perceived that his enterprise would not succeed, and that he would not get hold of the city. He contented himself with a portion of his object and proposed peace and a division of territory. Faẓīl Beg considered this proposal advantageous on account of his wish to release his brother's son, and sent the chief man of the city to Tūlak. He made over to him the territory from M'amūra-i-pai-Minar to the limits of Ẓuḥāk and Bāmīān, which was about a fifth of Kabul. In this way he extinguished the flames of disturbance and rescued Ghanī Khān from his clutches.

Verse.

O Sage,[1] consider the work of fate
You will at last get the result of your actions
Your safety consists in not injuring anyone
There is a brisk market of recompense for well-doing.

Ghanī Khān did not make Kabul an abode of kindness but left the register of the treaty and agreements in the niche of forgetfulness. He proceeded against Tūlak with all his forces. Tūlak did not see it advisable to remain in Kabul and went off with his relations and men to the world-protecting court, and took the high road to India. Ghanī Khān followed him with a large force. As Tūlak Khān had not power to resist he took to flight. Near the village of Zhāla, which is a ford of the Ghorband[2] river, the Kabul army came

[1] Ḥakīm. Perhaps the lines are an extract from Ḥakīm Sanāī's poems.

[2] Apparently Tūlak must have retreated. The Iqbālnāma says Ghanī came up with Tūlaq at Tirāla which is a ford of the Ghorband river.

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up with him, and a battle ensued. At last Tūlak Khān with his son Isfandiyār and a few of his kinsmen and servants manfully made their way through so large a force. Bābāi Qūcīn, Maskīn Qūcīn and others of his servants were killed. Ghanī Khān returned from there successful and came to Kabul. There he spread out the carpet of tyrrany and self-glorification, and lengthened the arm of oppression over the citizens. And though he knew the disorganised state of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm's affairs he paid no attention to them. The Mīrzā's men and the rest of the people of Kābul were distressed by this, and joined with Faẓīl Beg and his son Abu-l-fatḥ to suppress him. By chance at this time the melon-fields of the village of Mamūra were in perfection, and a desire to visit the melon-fields took possession of him. He forgot what has been said—

Verse.

Eat[1] the melons, what business have you with their beds.

As the time of his downfall had arrived, he went off to visit the melon-fields and stayed the night there. Abu-l-fatḥ Beg and other known men of the city took the opportunity and brought in M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm over the Iron Gate, and beat drums, and blew trumpets. A great uproar arose of high and low. Ghanī Khān on getting the news came in a confused state and with the few men who were with him towards the city. When he arrived there he saw that the chess-board had been arranged after a new fashion and that the gates of concord were closed, while those of hostility were open, and that he could not advance. Should he come nearer it was 186
probable that his companions, who had their families in the city, would leave him alone, or rather would seize him and take him along with them. In an astonished and distracted state of mind he pitched his tent on the side of the Sīāh Sang and halted there. The garrison fired guns at him, and as fate would have it a ball struck the tent. When Ghanī Khān saw this he got terrified and went[2] off to

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[1] This is a proverb. See Roebuck, Section I., p. 15, No. 100.

[2] Badāūnī, Lowe, 54, says that Ghanī Khān met with no success in India on account of his unfilial conduct, and that he went to Jaunpūr and died there. The Maaṣir I. 645 says he went to 'Aādil Shāh of Bījāpūr and died shortly afterwards. Bāyāzīd also speaks of his having gone to Bījāpūr.

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India with a hundred brands of disgrace and with the uprooting of thousands of longings for his home and family and the government of Kābul. After Ghanī Khān had departed, the cupola of chastity, the noble lady Māh Cūcak Begam, undertook the affairs of Kābul and appointed Faẓīl Beg as the Vakīl of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm. As he was blind, his son Abu-l-fatḥ managed affairs as his father's Naib, and as the latter had neither magnanimity nor far-reaching reason he did not attend to justice in distributing the fiefs, and the disposal of business, and conducted himself foolishly. The worst of all was that he took the select fiefs for himself and his friends, and alloted inferior ones for the Mīrzā's household, and practised extraordinary oppressions on his own account. Among these things was his giving Ghaznīn to M. Khiẓr Khān who was one of the chiefs of the Hazāras, and his arresting Bābūs Beg and making him over to his charge. He also took all the other property of Bābūs and squandered it. Whoever does not possess sound reason, by the light of which he can direct his actions, nor a seeing eye whereby he may be warned by observing the conduct of others, nor right-thinking companionship, whose words he may follow, will assuredly receive in this world of retribution due punishment. Accordingly, when two months of this state of affairs had passed, the Mīrzā's honoured mother and the old servants could not endure the oppression and bound up the loins of revolt. A number of them, such as Walī Atka, 'Alī Muḥammad Asp, Mīram, a relation of Shāh Walī, M'aṣūm Kabulī, Sīyūndūk, 'Īdī Sarmast and many others conspired against Faẓīl Beg's son, and waited for an opportunity. One night they called him out of his house for this purpose and had a drinking party in a tent which they had erected in the courtyard of the Cahal Sitūn (forty pillars) Diwān-khāna. The cups circulated, and the drinking of bumpers went on from evening till night. Meanwhile Abū-l-fatḥ several times prepared to leave. The members of the party prevented him by drunken flatteries from going out. This[1] doomed drunkard was unaware that it was the last day of his fortune. When time had come to the end of night and sleep had overpowered him, the party which had conspired to shed his blood drew their swords

[1] *bekhabar az sang-andāzī-i-daurān.* Sang-andāzī is a phrase meaning the last day of anything. See Vullers, s. v.

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and entered the tent. They slew him and Mīram Bahādur a relative of Shāh Walī, cut off his head and placed it on a spear. His body was flung down from the citadel, and there was a great uproar in Kābul. When Faẕīl Beg heard of the fate of Abu-l-fatḥ he was 187
dismayed, and having with the aid of Muḥammad Sanjār, the son of Khiẓr Khān Hazāra, and whose son Sikandar was Faẓīl's son-in-law, collected his goods, he wished to go to the encampments of the Hazāras. He set out with this intention, but some of the Mīrzā's servants hearing of it went after him. They caught him and brought him to the fort and put him to death. After that Shāh Walī Atka became the general manager of Kabul. In his folly he took to himself the title of 'Aādil Shāh and gave Ḥaidar Qāsim Kohbar the post of Khān-Khānān, and to Khwājah Khāṣ Malik, the eunuch, the title of Ikhlāṣ Khān. In his presumption and folly he assigned titles which kings give to their friends. By his own efforts he arranged for his destruction. In a short time the Begam suspected him of aiming at rebellion and sent him to the abode of annihilation. She assumed the management of the affairs of Kabul and for considerations of propriety chose as the Mīrzā's Vakīl, Ḥaidar Qāsim Kohbar, whose ancestors had been officers under H.M. Getī Sitānī Firdūs Makānī, and H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī. We have made a long digression for the purpose of animating our discourse.

In fine, when the news of the expulsion of Ghanī Khān and of the confused state of affairs in Kabul was brought to the sublime court, it occurred to the acute and farseeing mind of H.M. the Shāhinshāh that Mun'im Khān was very anxious to be in Kābul. He resolved to appoint him the guardian of M. Ḥakīm and to send him to Kābul in order that he might both avenge his own son, and also ameliorate the condition of the Kabulīs, and also that he might better appreciate the favour and clemency of the Shāhinshāh. In accordance with this wise decision Mun'im Khān, who had been sent against the Rajah[1] of the Meos, was recalled from Etawah and dispatched on this

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[1] The text has *Rajah-i-mazkūr* the Rajah aforesaid, but no Rajah has yet been mentioned, for it cannot be Rajah Rām Cand against whom Āṣof Khān had gone. Bāyāzīd, whom A. F. is copying here, says, p. 106*a*, that when he was in charge of Ḥisār Firūza, he received in 970 an order from Mun'im Khān that as the latter had been deputed to proceed against

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important service. Many officers, such as Muḥammad Qulī[1] Khān Birlās, Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān Atka Begī, Shāh Ḥusain Khān Nikadarī, Ḥasan Khān, the brother of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmed Khān, Taīmur[2] Khān Ikka and a number of brave and distinguished men were also appointed. As Mun'im Khān did not appreciate what a blessing H.M. was, and did not comprehend the extent of his favours, and did not properly know the Kābulīs, he regarded this appointment as a great gain and went[3] off to Kabul in all haste as soon as he got leave. He marched rapidly and arrived at Jalālābād. He did not make such halts that the auxiliary forces could join him, nor was there any sign of Muḥammad Qulī Khān Birlas who was governor of Multān and had a large force. When the Begam heard of the coming of Mun'im Khān she took counsel with the Kābul officers and decided that the soldiers and Aimāqs should be collected and that they should take the Mīrzā with them and go forth to meet Mun'im

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Rajah Mastū مستو Bāyāzīd was to collect the forces of the place and join him. Accordingly Bāyāzīd came to Agra with his troops and they marched against the Rajah aforesaid (mazkūr). When they got to Etawah Mun'im Khān received a firmān from Akbar, telling him of his son's flight, etc., and telling him to make what arrangements he could for the expedition against the Rajah, but to return himself to Agra in order that he might go to Kabul. As soon as Mun'im got this order he returned to Court, after deputing Shāh Qulī Khān Naranjī and others against Rajah Mastū. (Mastū, however, I think, can only be a copyist's error for Meo. The Meos were a turbulent tribe in Etawah. See I. G.'s. v., and the note on Etawah by Mr. Hume in App. C. to Elliot's Supp. Glossary I. 331. In the index to the Akbarnāma the entry for p. 187 is Rajah-i-Etawah and not Rajah *mazkūr!*) Possibly the word is not mazkūr, but Maz or Baz Kuar.

[1] Bayāzīd has Qulīj.

[2] Bayāzīd adds that Taimūr had formerly been a servant of Bairām Khān.

[3] Bayāzīd describes how Mun'im after leaving Agra came to Sikandra, and how Akbar and a number of nobles came there and bade him goodbye. Akbar specially told Bayāzīd to write reports to him from Kabul, and also gave him a horse and a dress of honour. Then Akbar went off to Gwālīār to hunt, and Mun'im went on to Kabul. Muhammad Qulīj (qulī is written above it) and the other auxiliary officers went off to their fiefs to collect their forces, with the understanding that they were to join Mun'im at Nīlāb or Peshawar. Mun'im went by the Khaibar. His auxiliaries never joined him.

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Khān so that they might make war in the Lamghānāt. If they were victorious nothing could be better, and if they were defeated they could join the Mahmand and Khalīl tribes, and from there could 188
go and wait upon H.M. the Shāhinshāh, and submit themselves to his protection. Otherwise the Khān-Khānān would by various punishments take vengeance for his brother, his son and his nephew.

When Mun'im Khan arrived at Deh-Ghulāmān[1] there came news that 'Idī Sarmast had come to Jalālābad and was fortifying it. Taimur Īkka and Khwājah Kilān and a force were sent there against 'Idī. He made the fort strong and came out to fight. Next day the Khān-Khānān marched to besiege Jalālābād. Meanwhile the news arrived that M. Ḥakīm and the army of Kābul had come. Jabār[2] Bardī Beg, who had been an officer of H.M. Firdūs Makānī, and had become a dervish, and who was travelling with the army, was sent to the Mīrzā in order that, perhaps, the affair might be settled without a battle. If this could not be done, it was decided that the battle should take place next day, as the star was in front.[3] Taimur Ikka

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[1] Bāyazīd, p. 108, gives Yasāwal as another name of this village.

[2] Bayazīd, p. 108*b*, says that Jabar Bardī had lived in Badakhshān after becoming a dervish, and that he had gone to India to offer his condolences for the death of Humāyūn, and was now returning home with the army. He was sent off to treat with M. Ḥakīm from near Cār Bāgh, *i.e.*, Bāgh Ṣafā. It seems to me that there is a confusion between the Bāgh-i-Wafā and the Bāgh-i-Ṣafā. Bābar, 141 and 291, makes them apparently two distinct gardens, and in this he is followed by Abul Faẓl. But if they were distinct they were near one another, for Adīnapur and Jalālābād were not far apart. Bayāzīd calls the Cār Bāgh garden the Bāgh-i-Ṣafā, but the description of it seems to agree with Bābar's account of the Bāgh-i-Wafā. There was a hill (*balandī*) in both.

[3] Bayāzīd says, p. 108*a*, that when he was in his quarters at Deh-Ghulāmān, and a number of people were discussing the affairs of Kabul and the coming of M. Ḥakīm, they took an omen from Ḥāfiẓ, and that the verse which came up was this first line of an ode—

Sitāra-i-bad rakhshīd u māh majlis *shud*—"The evil star was shining and there was the moon of the assembly." See Rozenzweig's Ḥafiẓ, p. 628, ode 127. The star referred to in the text is, I presume, the constellation of the Eight Stars, *i.e.*, I believe, Virgo. Hammer Purgstall has a note on this constellation in his translation of the Mohīt of Sidi 'Ali, J.A.S.B. VI. 807 and 808 note.

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came from the vanguard and reported that the enemy were few in number and that they should not postpone fighting till to-morrow, for perhaps the enemy would go off in the night, and the affair would be protracted. The Khān-Khānan from his own eagerness, and the instigation of Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān, both of whom loved Kabul and were proud of their courage, took the course of engaging. Meanwhile Khwājah Kilān, who commanded the vanguard, was killed. M. Ḥasan, who was on the left[1] wing, did not move from his place, and the Qāqshāls and others, who were on the right wing, also did not do their duty. Abu-l-M'aālī[2] *topcī*, to whom the Kabulis had given the title of Rumī Khān, had arranged fireworks (grenades?) all round his horse, and a ball (*tīr*) from them struck Calma Ḥisārī and killed him. As men had lost[3] heart on account of the death of Khwājah Kilān, they flung way their reins and did not keep their feet firm in the stirrup. The battle took place near Cārbagh[4] by the shrine (*muqām*) of Khwāgah Rustam. As a retribution for his failure to appreciate the favours which had been shown to him, and in punishment of his presumption, which is the worst of human faults, defeat fell upon Mun'im Khān. A number showed faithlessness and joined the Kabulīs. All Mun'im Khān's baggage was plundered. Bāyazīd Beg,[5]

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[1] According to Bayāzīd, Ḥasan was on the right wing, and the Qāqshāls on the left. He says they went off to the rear towards Jalālābād. The battle was fought near Cār-Bāgh which is marked on the map as several miles above Jalālābād and on the other side of the Kabul river.

[2] Bayāzīd describes him as a slave of Shah Ni'amatullah, the son-in-law of Ism'aīl Bardī (Shāh Ism'aīl I?) and says he had come to Kabul as a merchant and was skilled in making fireworks. The Khān-Khānan had taken notice of him before his departure for India and had left him with his son Ghanī Khān. Bayāzīd explains the passage about Ab-ul-Maalī's having fireworks round his horse. His words are, "he had arranged combustible materials round his horse (*dargird-i-aspkhud*) so that when the horse galloped they caught fire and went off against the enemy. One arrow (*tīr*, perhaps here a bullet) struck the horse of Calma Ḥisārī. The latter dismounted and was killed.

[3] We have here again the phrase *dil baī dāda būdand.*

[4] Bayāzīd, p. 109, says that previous to the battle he had been told to select a spot for a camp, and that he chose one between the stream of Khwāja Rustam, which is a shrine (*mizār*) and the stream (*jūī*) of Cārbāgh.

[5] Here A. F. for the first time quotes Bayazīd by name. The

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who was one of Mun'im Khān's confidential followers, states that he had thirty lakhs of rupees with him in specie and goods, and that they were carried off. If the enemy had not been engaged with the spoil Mun'im Khān himself would have been seized.

Mun'im Khān came [1] with loss of everything to Bikrām (Peshawar), and stayed there for some days, seeking what he should do. At last he sent Yarī Tawācī [2] with a petition to Court and represented that he had not the face to come to the sublime threshold. He hoped 189 that he would be allowed to go to Mecca, in order that he might in that holy land cleanse himself of his offences and then come and kiss the threshold. As by his evil star he had not understood the amount of the king's graciousness he had seen what he had seen. If the king was not disposed to be so gracious to him as to give him leave, he hoped that a fief in the Panjāb might be granted to him for some time, as he was without any property, that so he might acquire something and then come and present himself. When he had sent off the petition he could not remain [3] in Bikrām. He went off from there to the Indus. Then from fear of his enemies he crossed the Indus and came into the country of the Ghakkars where he had repose. He stayed for some days in that country, and Sulṭan Adam behaved with humanity to him. The Khān-Khānān was in a distracted state, and could neither travel nor settle down. He spent his days in a confused manner. When H.M. the Shāhinshāh heard of his condition he, contrary to the ideas of superficial worldlings, sent gracious

passage will be found in the Memoirs 108*b*. He says he did not remove the chests for fear of alarming the womenfolk. He had thought, apparently, of burying them, or of making them over to friendly Afghans.

1 There is a description of the flight in Bayāzīd. They reached that night Deh-Ghulāmān which had been their halting-place on the forward march. They then went on by the Khaibar and Ālī Masjid. They reached the latter place at one *pur* of the day and were joined by Shāh Hāsham the brother of Abū-l-M'aālī. At three *purs* of the day they arrived at Bikram, *i.e.*, Peshawar.

2 Bayāzīd calls him Yārī Tuwācī-bāshī, and says Mun'im sent him three or four days after his arrival at Peshawar. At p. 113*b* he calls him Yārī Sulṭān.

3 Bāyazīd says he took refuge for a time in the fort of Peshawar but eventually, on Byazīd's advice, went off to Nīlāb. Thereafter he crossed the river and went to Sultānpūr, and was kindly received by Sultān Adam.

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orders and by weighty admonition and by acts of clemency relieved him from his distress. In reply to his petition he said, with reference to the fief in the Panjab, that he had not taken away his former fiefs which were not inferior to Panjab fiefs, such as Ḥīṣār Fīrūza, Sarkār Etawah, Khairābād, Shāhpūr, Kalānūr, Jālandhar, Andari,[1] etc. If there was to be no expedition against the Ghakkars, there was no necessity for his being in Lahore. He should now come to Court as soon as he had received this order. When Munʿim Khān became aware of the royal favour he proceeded to Court. Accordingly he arrived there in the middle of the eighth year of the Divine Era, and in the end of 970. The Shāhinshāh's favours overwhelmed (*maghmūr*) him in the sea of graciousness, and made him luxuriant (*māmūr*) on the continent of kindnesses. The dust of shame and the mist of melancholy were wiped from his countenance, and he received special, royal favours. Munʿim Khān came to know the perfect qualities of the Shāhīnshāh, and the black thoughts of going to Kābul departed from his heart. He became of one head and one mind and girded up the loins of zeal for the service of the Shāhinshāh. The holy heart of the Shāhinshāh wished Munʿim Khān to be with him, while he from ignorance and unthankfulness did not respond. At last he understood his own good, and with a hundred supplications became devotedly attached to the threshold of fortune. The auspicious star of his fortune rose higher day by day, and he attained to high positions.

One of the occurrences was that the joyous heart of H.M. the Shāhinshāh turned towards hunting, and he went to the neighbourhood of Mathura with a select party. The hunting was successful. One day that tiger-hunter hunted seven tigers. Five were levelled with the dust by arrow and bullet, and one that repository of cour-
190 age caught alive and so was the subject of a thousand wonderings. The other was caught by the united efforts of a number of *bahādurs*. In the same hunt he joined worship with pleasure and became a distributor of justice. It was[2] brought to his notice that for a long

[1] There was an Andari or Indrī in the Sarkār of Saharanpūr, Jarrett II. 291, but perhaps Andari-Karnāl is meant. See Badauni, II. 71.

[2] This passage is partially translated in Elliot, VI. 29.

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time it was the custom in India for the rulers to take sums from the people who came to sacred spots to worship, proportionate to their rank and wealth. This (worship) was called Karma.[1] The Shāhinshāh in his wisdom and tolerance remitted all these taxes which amounted to *crores*. He looked upon such grasping of property as blameable and issued orders forbidding the levy thereof throughout his dominions. In former times, from the unworthiness of some, and from cupidity and bigotry, men showed such an evil desire towards the worshippers of God. H.M. often said that although the folly of a sect might be clear, yet as they had no conviction that they were on the wrong path, to demand money from them, and to put a stumbling-block in the way of what they had made a means of approach to the sublime threshold of Unity and considered as the worship of the Creator, was disapproved by the discriminating intellect and was a mark of not doing the will of God.

When he had turned away his mind from hunting he resolved to make the journey of eighteen[2] *kos* on foot, and to arrive in one day at the capital. He and some select attendants put the foot of courage on the road, Yūsaf Muḥammad Khān Kokaltash, Mīrzā Koka, Saif Khān, Shuja'at Khān, Mir 'Alī Akbar,[3] Ḥakīm-al-Mulk, Dastam Khān, Shimāl Khān, Maṭlab Khān and others being of the party. But among these, none except Mīr 'Alī Akbar, Ḥakīm-al-mulk,[4] and Shimāl Khān were able to keep pace with him.

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[1] Karmī in text, but the word is the Sanskrit *karma* or *karman*, a religious act or the acquiring of merit.

[2] The distance from Mathura to Agra is about thirty miles, and apparently the hunting-ground must have been beyond Mathura, for A. F., text 11, p. 200, speaks of that city as being 15 or 16 *kos* from Agra.

[3] Blochmann, 382.

[4] A physician from Gilān on the Caspian. Blochmann 542 and Badaūni III. 161, who gives him a good character. He went to Mecca in 988 or 989 and died there. His name was Shamsu-d-dīn.

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CHAPTER XLVIII.

Conquest of the country of the Gakhars owing to the valour of the imperial troops.

As the lower and elemental world is regulated by the beneficence of the holy and heavenly world (and the proof of this wondrous fact is that the political and financial administration of great princes is bound up with rectitude of intention, and correct thinking which are ancillary to the heavenly world), so every asylum of fortune who is not carried out of his sphere by external pomp and material grandeur, and who exercises himself in the cultivation of hearts and addresses his genius to the soothment of high and low, and who always from innate auspiciousness carries into effect his designs as far as possible, and who recognises that he is the watchman for humanity, has his actions advanced and made successful by God, and day by day the marks of his increasing greatness display themselves to everyone, whilst his opponents are troubled even by their own friends, and after passing through various distresses are cast down into the
191 abyss of annihilation. On the other hand, if the internal nature of anyone, which is a sample of the kingdom of heaven, is corrupted by the evil thoughts of lust and sensuality, the result will be the opposite of the above. The lamp of his dominion will, like burning grass, endure for but a short time, and the sapling of his fortune will soon fail like the shade of a tree. Though the wise of heart need not such prefaces, yet as the object of this book of Divine praise is to guide the generality, it does have recourse to past times and to far-away places in order to apply a salve to the eyes of the dim-visioned and the short-sighted, of whom the world, for various purposes, is always full. The sublime actions of the Khedive of the age are (for them) a written apologue.

To resume, there was in this blessed year a cause of increased discernment to the perceptive, of seeing to the short-sighted, *viz.*, the conquest of the country of the Gakhars. Their country is between the Indus and the Beas, in the folds of the mountains, and

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among hillocks and caverns. Though in former times the rulers of India had attempted with large armies and abundant equipment to establish tranquillity there, they had not succeeded, inasmuch as they had no skill beyond that of outward show, and as they had not a good intention. The knot was not untied by their efforts, as has already been related. Now that the world had received grace and ornament from the excellent intention and pure acts of H.M. the Shāhishāh, and that the celestials and terrestrials had gained spiritual and temporal welfare from his existence, this great undertaking, which had not been effected by former rulers of India, was admirably carried out by the fortune of the Shāhinshāh. The country came into the possession of the imperial servants. The account of this great boon is that as the Gakhar clan was always boasting of its loyalty and singleness of heart, that mine of clemency and liberality (Akbar) cast nought but eyes of favour upon their country. Though with reference to the courtesies of service it is most proper that the great men of the land should, if they cannot always be in attendance, occasionally obtain the auspiciousness of kissing the threshold, Sulṭān Adam and the headman of the country who had been encompassed by the Shāhinshāh's favours, did not at all perform these duties. However, H.M. preserved the recollection of the small[1] service which Sulṭān Adam had performed, and so passed over such offences. When afterwards the throne of world-sway was adorned by the radiance of H.M. the Shāhinshāh, Kamāl Khān in accordance with the former services and devotion of his family which were graven on his heart, brought the countenance of supplication to the lofty court, and by kissing the threshold gave a new foundation to the pillars of hereditary devotion, and showed himself to be an adherent of the victorious stirrup. The ray of favour fell upon him, and he received appro- 192
priate fiefs. At the time of the struggle between the Khān Zamān and the son of 'Adlī, he held fiefs in the Sirkār of Lucknow and in parganas Hanswah[2] and Fatḥpūr,[2] etc. Also, in accordance with orders, he brought a considerable force with him and took part in the service. He distinguished himself in that man-testing war, and when his merits were reported by truth-tellers to H.M., more favour

1 The delivering up of M. Kāmrān.

2 In the province of Allahabad, Jarrett II. 168.

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was shown to him and he became the object of increased confidence. Accordingly H.M. was pleased to say, "Kamāl Khān has done his duty, now is the time for us to show him favour, whatever desire he may have shall be gratified." At this auspicious time Kamāl Khān represented through H.M.'s intimates that the Shāhinshāh had shown him favour above his deserts. It was his hope now in consequence of his affection for his native country that he might obtain from the royal grace the possession of his father's territories. For since misfortunes came upon him, and he was imprisoned by Salīm Khān, his ancestral lands had been in the possession of his uncle Adam. From this uncle (*'am*) he had suffered a thousand vexations (*gham*).

The brief account of this affair is that Sulṭān Sārang waged brave war with Sher Khān, but at last he and his son Kamāl Khān were made prisoners. Sārang was put[1] to death and Kamāl Khān was imprisoned in Gwāliār fort. But in spite of such disaster their country could not be conquered and the clan was governed by Sulṭān Adam, the brother of Sulṭān Sārang. When Sher Khān died and Salīm Khān's turn arrived, he too made great efforts to take the country, but was unsuccessful. One of the wonderful things was that Salīm Khān ordered that all the prisoners in Gwāliār fort should be put to death, and that for this purpose a pit should be dug under the prison and filled with gunpowder and set on fire. There was an explosion, the building was destroyed and the prisoners were blown to pieces; Kamāl Khān was inside, but fate sheltered him from this calamity. In the corner where he was, not a breath of the fire reached him. When Salīm Khān heard of this Divine protection he took an oath (of fidelity) from him and released him. From that time Sulṭān Ādam, his uncle, was in full possession of the country while Kamāl Khān passed his days in frustration. At last, in the beginning of H.M. the Shāhinshāh's reign, he bound himself to the saddle-straps of eternal dominion and trod the path of devotion.

When he had represented his misfortunes and had begged for his old native land, a world-obeyed order was issued from the ascension-point of justice that the country of the Gakhars which Sulṭān
193 Sārang had held, and which was now possessed by Sulṭān Adam, should be divided into two portions, and that Sulṭān Adam should

[1] The Ṭabaqāt says that he was flayed alive.

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have one of them and Kamāl Khān the other. Orders to this effect were issued to the Khān Kilan Mīr[1] Muḥammad Khān, and to Mahdī Qāsim Khān, Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān, Sharīf Khān, Jān Muḥammad Khān Bahsūdī, Rajah Kapūr Deo, and Rajah Rām Cand who (all?) held fiefs in the Panjab. If Sulṭān Adam did not submit to these orders, the army was to march from the Panjab against his territory and punish him for his contumacy so that all savage rustics might receive warning. When Kamāl Khān obtained the highest point of his hopes he left the sublime threshold and came to the Panjab. The great officers communicated to Sulṭān Adam H.M.'s commands. He and his son Lashkarī, who managed all his father's affairs, turned away their heads from obedience to the world-adorning order, and proffered excuses which were worse than their offence. They would not agree to descend even a little from their borrowed sovereignty or to Kamāl Khān's obtaining his inheritance. The officers out of precaution reported the state of the case to the Court. Again an order of justice inscribed with the majestic sign-manual (*ṭughrā*) came directing that though Adam had at the outset broken the bond of obedience, yet as he was the subject of royal favours he would be allowed to keep the half of his territory if he made over the other half to his brother's son. If he still remained recalcitrant they were to chastise him and confirm Kamāl Khān in the whole of the territory. As his refractoriness had been shown, the army marched and entered the Gakhar territory. Adam stuck to his folly and prepared to resist. A great battle took place in the vicinity of the town of Hīlān.[2] As courage and activity are implanted in the nature of the Gakhars, there was fighting and carnage, but as the imperial armies are always aided by God, the flashing of the victorious swords scoured the rust of the oppressors' battlefield, and those wild beast-like savages traversed the desert of defeat. By the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh, a victory which might fittingly be the embroidery of great victories was won, and Sulṭān Adam was

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1 The text has a conjunction after Kilān, but this is a mistake and contrary to the variants. Mīr Muḥd. and the Khān Kilān are one and the same person. He was Shamsu-d-dīn's elder brother and a poet, Blochmann 322, and Badāūnī III. 287.

2 I have not found this place. The Iqbālnāma has Sīlan.

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made prisoner. His son Lashkarī fled and went to the hill-country of Kashmīr. For some time he was a vagabond, and then he too was captured. The whole country of the Gakhars, which none of the rulers of India had conquered,[1] was by sublime inspiration subdued by a few of the imperial servants. In accordance with the sacred order the great officers gave the whole of the Gakhar country to
194 Kamāl Khān, and confirmed him therein. They returned after making over Sulṭān Adam and his son to him. Because Kamāl Khān was firm and constant in his obedience to the sublime court he obtained a fortune which had not even entered into his dreams. He sent Lashkarī to a place from which there is no coming back, and he imprisoned Sulṭān Adam and kept him under surveillance to the end of his days. If they had submitted their necks to the royal commands, which are always visitations from heaven, they would not have been caught by these misfortunes. And if they had been contented with half of the territory, they would not have been afflicted with the loss of the whole. By their disgraceful disobedience to the royal orders, which are a mirror of the Divine orders, they gave up to destruction their lives, their estates and their homes.[2]

Among the occurrences was the coming from Kāshghar of Khwāja M'uīn,[3] son of Khwāja Khāwind Maḥmūd, and his kissing the Shāhinshāh's carpet. God be praised! Owing to the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh, just as the conquest of countries, the cultivation of lands, the safety of the roads, the lowering of prices were manifested year by year, month by month, week by week, and day by day, so did crowds of people—Turks, Tājiks, soldiers, merchants, mullās, dervishes and others come from the seven climes and rub the forehead of supplication on the world's threshold, and obtain success spiritual and temporal. Among these there came from the bounds of Kāshghar the essence of saints, Khwāja M'uīn. He was the

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[1] See in Elliot V. 178 *et seq.* Niẓāmu-d-dīn's account of the conquest of the Gakhar country. It closely resembles A. F.'s narrative, and it looks as if both were derived from one source.

[2] One does not see why Akbar need have interfered with his father's friend and helper Sulṭān Adam, especially as Adam was, according to the A. N. II. 23, Sārang's elder brother.

[3] See his biography in the Maaṣir III. 232, where it forms part of the biography of Sharafu-d-din. M'uīn died in Cambay on his way to Mecca.

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son of Khwāja Khawind Maḥmūd, who was the son of Khwāja 'Abdullah who is known as the Khwājajān [1]-Khwāja, and who was the direct son of the repository of direction Nāsiru-d-dīn Khwāja Ubaidullah.[2] Khwāja Khāwind [3] Maḥmūd was distinguished among his brothers and the rest of the family for excellences and for purity of morals. In the time of his youth, after the acquisition of the ordinary sciences, he set down his feet on the path of exile and travelled over 'Irāq and Khurāsān and came to Shīrāz. After acquiring medical sciences in the school of the learned of the age, Maulānā Jalālu-d-dīn Dawwānī,[4] he went to Samarqand, and then at the time of the disturbances in Transoxiana he went to Turkistān and Moghulistān. At the time of the rising of the sun of the fortune of H.M. Getī Setānī Firdūs Makānī (Bābar) he came from Turfān [5] to Kāshghar. From there he came to Agra in order to participate in that monarch's assemblies, and here he was highly honoured, and given the chief seat at the meetings. At the time of the expulsion from India he came to Kabul and stayed there. He had two sons. One was Khwāja Qāsim, and the other was Khwāja M'uīn. The latter went to Kāshghar in the lifetime of his honoured father, and was there treated with respect. 'Abdu-r-Rashīd Khān, the son of Sulṭān S'aīd Khān, presented the Khwāja with rūdkhāna-i sang-i yashab,[6] commonly known as sang-i-yashm

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[1] See Khazāna-al-Aṣfiyā, I. 597 and I. 582, for life of his father.

[2] This is the famous Khwāja Aḥrār of Samarqand.

[3] See his biography in the T.R., 395, etc. He is sometimes called Khwāja Nūra. He is also mentioned by Bābar. He was a son by the first wife of his father.

[4] Dawwān is a district in Persia, Kazārūn. Jarrett III. 422, and n. 1.

[5] In Eastern Turkistan, or Uighuristan T. R., 112. See also Yarkand Mission Report, p. 49. It is the easternmost part of Kāshghar.

[6] Blochmann 322 has Rūdkhāna-i-nasheb. *Rūdkhāna* means a river-bed, and according to the T. Alfī B.M. MS., Or. 465, p. 609*b*, what M'uīn got was the produce of the river, *viz.*, the jade or jasper. The passage in the T. Alfī seems to be the source of A. F.'s account of M'uīn, and is so curious that it deserves to be translated here. After mentioning that Khwāja Khāwind died in Kabul and that his son M'uīn went off to Kāshghar during the father's lifetime, it says, Or. 465, 609*b*: "He was highly honoured by 'Abdullah Khān, and the produce of the river-bed (*hāṣil-i-rūdkhāna*) where *sang-i-pusht* is produced (I take sang-i-pusht, which also occurred in the MS. of the Akbarnāma used by M. Quatremère, see Notes et Extraits, XIV. I, 476, note, quoted

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(the river of jasper or jade). When the Khwāja heard that the reputation of his son, Sharfu-d-dīn Ḥusain, had risen very high, he this
195 year made the intention of pilgrimage (*ḥaj*) a means of visiting the (*k'aaba*) of the sacred threshold (Akbar's court) and proceeded towards India. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain hastened from his fief of Nāgor

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by Vullers s.v. yashm, to be a mistake for *sang-i-yashb*), was made over to him. As the Khwājazāda was well acquainted with the science of living ('ilm-i-m'aāsh) he kept such a grip of the *sang-i-pusht* that no one without the Khwāja's leave could see the stone even in his dreams, and if it was found among the merchants' loads, they were ruined (*tabbār-i-a'ām mīraft.* I am not sure of the reading or the translation). In accordance with the Khwāja's orders, traders conveyed the *sang-i-pusht* to China and to other places where there was a demand for it, and brought back cloths and other goods. In this way the Khwāja collected much property and did not spend a single *dīnār.* Mīrzā Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain, his son, came to India on account of his father's excessive stinginess and kissed the threshold. By the exertions of Adham Khān and his mother, Sharafu-d-din obtained much influence, and gradually he was advanced to the government of Nāgor. He also conquered Mīrtha. When he heard of his father's coming from Turkistan, he went to Lahore to meet him."

Blochmann's nasheb seems to be a mistake for yashb, which is what the Maaṣir has. The chief authority on the stone jashb or yashm appears to be Abul Remusat, see his Researches appended to his history of Khotan, Paris, 1820. In a note to p. 231 he gives the etymology of jade from the Spanish ijada, which has been ascribed to Max Müller. One of the supposed properties of yashm was that it was a protection against lightning. There is also an account of yashb or jasper in the Mines de l' Orient, VI. 138. The Rūdkhāna-i-sang-i-yashb or yashm is probably the Karākash Valley described by Stoliczka, p. 464 of the Report of the Yarkand Mission. There are two rivers,—one the Ourangkāsh, and the other the Karākāsh,—and they are so called because one yields white jade, and the other black jade. They flow northwards from Khotan and join the Tārim river. Dr. Stoliczka was informed that there was another rich locality for jade south of Khotan, and that most of the jade there was said to be obtained from boulders in the river-bed. (qu. the rūdkhāna of A. F. ?)

The Maaṣir's account of Khwāja M'uīn, which occurs in Vol. III. 232, and is part of the biography of his son Sharafu-d-dīn, is very full and gives some particulars which are not in A.F. Like the T. Alfī, 609*b*, it represents M'uīn as having been received by 'Abdulla Khān. The Maaṣir adds that he left Kashghar in the time of Abu-l-khair. M'uīn went off to Mecca after his son's flight, but died at Cambay, and his body was lost when the ship Fataḥī foundered.

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to meet him, and went with him to court. When the latter came near the territory of Agra many officers went, in accordance with an intimation from H.M., to meet him, and when he came near the city, H.M., the Shāhinshāh went to meet him. By this act of respect he made the Khwāja for ever glorious. He brought him with all honour to the capital, and gave him honourable quarters, and treated him with favours such as kings show to dervishes. The Khwāja presented rare merchandize from Khita (China) and Kāshghar. For a long time father and son were encompassed with favours.

One of the warning occurrences was the absconding of M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain from the Court. It is an old custom for the divinely great and for acute rulers to attach to themselves the hearts of dervishes and of the sons of dervishes. And they have exhibited this tendency, which is both an intoxicant which destroys men, and also a refreshing wine, sometimes out of regard to the ancestors of such men, and sometimes as a means of testing their real nature. If the matter be looked into with the eye of justice, it will be evident to the prudent and awakened-hearted, that the favour shown by the Shāhinshāh to this father and son exhibited both those motives. Accordingly, the concomitants of H.M.'s fortune withdrew in a short time the veil from the face of M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain's actions, and his real worthlessness and unsubstantiality became manifest to mankind. When God, the world-protector, wills to cleanse the site of the eternal dominion from the evil and black-hearted, and to deck it with the sincere and loyal, a state of things spontaneously arises which could not be produced by a thousand plannings. The hypocrites depart from the threshold of fortune by the efforts of their own feet, and fall into destruction. Such was the evilly-ending case of M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain, who by influence of the man-throwing wine of the world did not remain firm of foot, but left his place, and into whose head there entered thoughts of madness and melancholy. On 23rd Mihr, Divine Month, October 1562, he out of suspicions and from internal wickedness, to which his nature was prone, fled from the holy threshold, which is the refuge of the great of the seven climes, and hastened to Ajmīr and Nāgor which were his *jāghīrs*. Several found the chron ogramof this event to be shash *Ṣafr* (970= 5th October, 1562).

When this disgraceful event was reported to H.M., he expressed

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complete surprise and amazement. Though he inquired the reason of it from his Sharafu-d-dīn's confidants and companions, nothing appeared except internal wickedness and an injured brain. He frequently
196 remarked that he had had the intention of educating him, but that his narrow capacity could not stand this, and that he had quickly gone off, and that in this way his real nature had been tested. Thereafter H.M. the Shāhinshāh determined that one of his trusty servants should be appointed to the province of Nāgor, lest the infatuated son of a Khwājah should, at the instigation of flatterers, stir up strife there, and should alienate the hearts of the inhabitants. As to raise the position of the loyal is to exalt the standards of dominion, and to cast down the faction of the ingrates and the strife-mongers is to preserve the general public, who are a trust from God, and also to leave the black-hearted a lamp of guidance for the highway, H.M. the Shāhinshāh exalted Ḥusain Qulī Beg, the son of Walī Beg Ẕū-al-qadir, who was an honoured servant and distinguished for acuteness and serviceable qualities, to the rank of Khān, and made over to him the *jāgīr* of M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain; and having given him valuable instructions, he sent him to Nāgor, which was the Mīrzā's seat and refuge. A number of loyalists such as Ismʿaīl Qulī Khān, the brother of Ḥusain Qulī, Muḥumad Ṣādiq Khān, Muḥummad Qulī Toqbāī, Mīrak Bahādūr and others were appointed to assist him. H.M. observed that forgetfulness and mistakes were constituents of humanity, and that if the Mīrzā should awake from his sleep of negligence, and be ashamed of his conduct, he was to be treated with royal favours and brought back to Court. But if he were minded to be ungrateful, and to have evil intentions, he was to be punished so that his treatment might be a warning to others. Ḥusain Qulī Khān sent his family to the fort of Hājīpūr[1] and prepared for this important service, and proceeded towards Nāgor. When the fortune-helped army arrived, the Mīrzā had not time to arrange the strife which he meditated. Of necessity he made over the fort of Ajmīr to Tarkhān Dīwāna, who was one of his trusted servants, and went off to Jalaur, which he had brought into his possession, and there waited for his opportunity. The imperial forces approached Ajmīr and besieged the fort, in order that they might

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[1] Probably Hājīpūr Ṣārīyāna in the Bet Jalandhar Doāb, Jarrett II. 316.

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make the way clear for a further advance. Tarkhān Dīwāna acted wisely, and having made a treaty he was enlisted in the royal army. Ḥusain Qulī Khān made over the fort to trusty men, and marched onwards. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain Mīrzā, who had turned his back on faith and fortune, could not resolve upon standing his ground, and left the imperial domains. The country was cleared from his mist, and the fort of Mīrtha, which was the strongest in the territory, and which Jaimal held with the approval of the Mīrzā also fell into the hands of Ḥusain Qulī Khān. In accordance with H.M.'s orders it was made over to Jagmal.

When the minds of the imperial servants were at rest about the 197
business of M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain, they addressed themselves to the taking of the fort of Jodhpūr, which was the strongest fort in that country. Let it not be concealed that this fort was the capital of Rai Māldeo, who was one of the great Rajahs of India, both in rank and position, and for the number of his servants, and the extent of his territories. When he departed from the fortress of life, his younger son Candar Sen succeeded him and held this fort. The officers went to besiege it, and Rām Rai, the elder son of Rai Māldeo, came and joined the army of fortune, and after that he was exalted by saluting the sublime threshold, which is the kissing-spot of the exalted ones of the horizons. M'uīnu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān Farankhūdī and Moẓaffār Moghol and a number of others were sent to assist Ḥusain Qulī Khān. By the Divine aid the fort was soon conquered.

One of the occurrences was the promotion of Khwāja Moẓaffar 'Alī Tarbatī [1] to the rank of Khān, and the bestowal on him of the

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[1] Blochmann 348. It is stated there that Tarbat is the name of a tribe in Khurāsān. There is also a town of that name which is likewise called Tarbat-i-Ḥaidar. There is an account of Moẓaffar's introduction to Akbar in Bayāzīd, 99*a*. There we are told that he was released from confinement at the instance of Afzal Khān, who represented to Bayāzīd that he and Moẓaffar came from the same part of the country. Bayāzīd mentioned the matter to Mun'im Khān. Ḥusain Qulī, Baīrām's sister's son, objected to Moẓaffar's release, saying that he was an informer (*cughul*), and a scoundrel, and that he had, when in Bairām Khān's service, done much harm to the servants of God (Masalmans). But nothing is said by Bayāzīd about any proposition to put him to death. Afterwards Māham Anaga represented Moẓaffar's case to Akbar. Akbar approved of Mun'im's having

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robe of the Viziership. The details of this are, that when the affairs of the Sultanate were put in order by the auspicious fortune, admirable attention, etc., of H.M. the Shāhīnshah, and the most important matters had been arranged, in spite of the perfect understanding of the spirit of the age, and the aggregation of qualities temporal and spiritual, and the unflagging engagement in external and internal matters, and the unnecessariness of Vizier or *vakīl*, yet, for the sake of maintaining the screen and of following the custom of predecessors, which is the eye-salve of the commonalty, and also for the sake of farsightedness and of abundant caution, the world-conquering mind determined that the *masnad* of dīwanship should be graced by the presence of a man who was loyal, fond of service, and acquainted with business, so that the holy personality might remain under the veil of inattention, which is the best means of testing men, and that political and financial affairs and the details of speech and action might be conducted in the best method, and that the gardens of the imperial domains might be watered by the tricklings from his efficacious pen. For this purpose the attention of H.M. the Shāhinshāh was drawn in the beginning of this year to Khwājah Moẓaffar Ālī of Tarbat, and he was exalted by being appointed to this service. The cushion of the dīwan was adorned by him, and he received the title of Mozaffar Khān. He returned thanks for this great favour, and displayed his abilities in the execution of his duties. He managed in a proper manner the operations of the Treasury, which is the capital stock of sovereignty, the improvement of the condition of the peasantry, and the control of the army (according to what was hidden in the breast of H.M.). From his good service in the affairs of the Viziership, he rose to be an Amīr. He had abundant courage as well as intelligence, and was master both of the sword and the pen. The Khwājah was a servant of Bairām Khān. At the time of the latter's alienation, Dervash Uzbeg arrested the
198 Khwājah and sent him to the Court. Though short-sighted men urged that he should be put to death, H.M., who is a judge of the

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consulted Ḥusain Qulī about the matter, and told him that he might take Moẓaffar into his service, adding that he had heard he could write *tughra*.

Badāūnī, Lowe 64, says, Moẓaffar was made a Khān in 971, and that the chronogram was ẓālim (oppressor).

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coin of humanity, perceived the Khwājah's aptitude for business, and granted him his life. For some time he was collector of the pargana Parsarūr,[1] and from his success therein he was made *dīwān-i-bīyūtāt*. Thereafter he was raised to the lofty office above mentioned. I laud the discrimination of the farseeing mineralogist who brings out rubies and cornelians from among dust, and makes them the ornaments of dominion's throne.

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[1] In Sīālkot. Jarrett II. 320. It is the Parsūr of the I. G.

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CHAPTER XLIX.

The second coming of Shāh Abu-al-M'aālī, and his strife-mongering, and his wandering in the desert of downfall.

As the world-adorning Deity willed that the outward glory and inward majesty of the Lord of the Age should be impressed on high and low, and the standards of his daily-increasing dominion should be raised up to the heavens so that both his outward development might have a happy completion, and also that the astray in the wilderness of error might be guided to the highway of auspiciousness, it was inevitable that the ill-wishers of his power should first of all be brought into the abyss of destruction. And as the adorner of the tiara of sovereignty was constituted a mine of urbanity and gentleness and took pleasure in tasting the sweets of forgiveness, it was decreed by omnipotence that the evilly-inclined towards God-given dominion should by their own action cast themselves into the whirlpool of ruin. An instance of this strange mystery, which only the wise can perceive, is afforded by the miserable end of Shāh Abū-al-M'aālī, who neither understood his own position, nor the extent of the royal forgiveness. He had neither a loyal heart nor a practical understanding.

It has been told in previous narrations how this wicked and evil-thoughted one had repeatedly committed improper acts, and how he had, owing to the innate clemency of the Shāhinshāh, been saved from death, and been encompassed by favours. In order[1] to his own amendment and for the general welfare he had been sent to holy Mecca. At this time he gathered up from the excellent places —where he ought to have acquired graces—the sparks of wickedness into the harvest of his actions; and having become a receptacle of

[1] The T. Alfī says, p. 610*a*, that Abu-l-M'aālī was confined in Delhi, but managed to escape owing to the negligence of Shihāb Khān's men. He was recaptured, and then Akbar pardoned him and allowed him to go to Mecca.

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sins he returned with evil designs to the imperial domains which were lighted up by the rays of the Shāhinshāh's justice. Full of evil thoughts and intentions of strife he delayed not in Gujrat but went on towards Agra and Delhi. When he came to Jalaur[1] he joined M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain, who was ruined in realm, and religion, and went yet more rapidly towards destruction, and indulged yet more in vain and rebellious imaginings. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain Mīrzā also made a compact with him that he would furnish him with three hundred proper men (*khūb-i-khud*) from among his private followers such as Yār 'Alī Balūc and Mīr 'Alī Kūlābī who would stir up strife in the provinces (Wilāyat).[2] He also promised that if things made progress here (*i.e.*, in India) he would join him in person. Should matters not succeed here he would himself come to Kābul. **199** He regarded that country as an asylum for himself and would seek his opportunity.

Shāh Abū-l-M'aālī from his innate folly and the instigation of Sharafu-d-dīn Mīrzā, proceeded towards Ḥājīpūr where were the families of Ḥusain Qulī Khān and of the other officers. When he came to the environs of Hājīpūr he was unable to gain possession of it because Aḥmad Beg and Iskandar Beg, the relatives of Ḥusain Quli Khān, had in accordance with orders from the Court come there from the rear. The brainless and ill-fated youth turned towards Nārnaul when he despaired of getting Ḥājīpūr. At this time Nārnaul had been removed from the exchequer-lands and been conferred on Shuja'āt Khān, and his son Qawīm Khān was governor of it. Mīr[3] Gesū, the exchequer aāmil, was then purposing to convey to court a part of the royal revenue, and on account of a disagreement between the past and present agents (*gumāshtagān*) precautions had been neglected, and carelessness prevailed. One morning, when the officers were in the slumber of security, that ingrate arrived with a set

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1 Cf. Bayāzīd 117*a*. It is there said that he joined Sharafu-d-dīn in Sirohī.

2 Wilayat is generally used for some foreign country such as Persia or Afghanistan, but here it evidently refers to provinces, perhaps outlying provinces of India. The word is also used in this sense in the T. Alfī.

3 Bayāzīd 117*a* calls him Syed Maḥmūd Gesū darāz, and says he was Dārogha-i-Khālṣa.

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of vagabonds. Qawīm did not behave bravely and chose the disgrace of flight; nor did Mīr Gesu obtain the bliss of shedding his blood, and was made a prisoner. A portion of the coin fell into the hands of those wretched forgers, and the city was plundered. When Ḥusain Qulī Khān heard of the arrival of the presumptuous villain he hastily despatched Ṣādiq Khān and Ismʿaīl Qulī Khān[1] with a body of troops lest injury should befall his belongings in Ḥājīpūr. When those troops got to the confines of Ḥājīpūr they found that the ill-fated wretch had hastened off to Nārnaul. They went off there, and Aḥmad Beg and Iskandar Beg hearing of their approach came and joined them. When they were within twelve *kos* of Nārnaul they fell in with Khānzāda Muḥammad, commonly called Shāh-i-laundān,[2] who had left his jagīr and was proceeding to join his brother. In this way a prey fell into the possession of the imperial servants.

When Shāh Abū-l-mʿaālī heard of the arrival of the troops he fled from Nārnaul. Zeal urged the brave men to push on all the faster. When they came to Daharsū two camels loaded with silver which were being marched in the villain's rear fell into the hands of Ismʿaīl Qulī Khān and Aḥmed Beg's men. The avaricious soldiers (*qalaqcīān*) quarreled over this, and the dispute went so far that there was controversy about it among the leaders. As they had marched far that day they halted at Daharsū. Aḥmad Beg and Iskandar Beg were vexed by the sudden quarrel and marched on further, and encamped. At dawn they pushed on without waiting for Ṣādiq Khān and Ismāīl Qulī Khān. Some Badakhshīs and all the
200 men of Transoxiana chose the ignominy of disloyalty and resolved to mutiny. A faithless man named Dānā Qulī deserted, and hastening onwards joined Abū-l-Mʿaālī and told him the state of affairs. The latter halted in a wood and waited his opportunity. As soon as those brave and loyal men arrived, he emerged from his ambush and attacked them. The mutineers joined him according to the agreement and drew their swords against their own leaders. Aḥmad Beg and Iskandar Beg fought bravely and disposed of many of the rebels.

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[1] The T. Alfī calls him Ḥusain Qulī's own brother.

[2] Apparently the expression means a king of the vagabonds. But *laund* or *lavand* is also used to mean a sailor, and is said to be a corruption of Levantine. Jarrett III. 375.

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They themselves drank off the cup of martyrdom and earned an everlasting good name. Shāh Abū-l-M'aālī fled before the arrival of the victorious army. When he came to pargana Jhanjhūn [1] the Shiqdar of the place shut the gates of the fort and prepared for battle. He devoted himself on the path of loyalty.[2] Abu-l-M'aālī went from there to Ḥiṣar Fīrūza. Bayāzīd Beg, a servant of Mun'im Khān, took measures for defending the fort, and that mad dog being discomfited there also, went off towards Kābul. At this time H.M. the Shāhinshāh was enjoying the sport of hunting at Mathurā [3] which is 15 or 16 *kos* from Agra. When he heard of Shāh Abu-l-M'aālī's arrival and of his evil acts he at once ordered that a number of loyal officers such as Shāh Budāgh Khān, Tātār Khān, and Rūmī Khān should follow him and not stop till they had caught him, so that they might lay the dust of sedition and give tranquillity to the people.

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[1] Apparently Jhunjhūn is Jaipūr. Cf. Bayāzīd 117*b*. It is also called Fatḥpūr Jahnjhūn and is included in the Āīn in Sarkār Nāgor. Jarrett II. 277.

[2] Bayāzīd says Abū-l-M'aālī took the fort on the same day and put the Shikdār to death. He has a long account of his own success in dealing with Abū-l-M'aālī.

[3] The T. Alfī has Mewāt.

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CHAPTER L.

MARCH OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S CORTÉGE TO DELHI, AND THE CASTING THE SHADE OF THE UMBRELLA OF AUSPICIOUSNESS OVER THAT CITY: THE ENTRY OF A THORN INTO THE ROSE-LEAF ELEMENTS OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH AND OF ITS CHANGING INTO AN ERA OF AUSPICIOUSNESS, AND OF HIS PROXIMITY TO THE DIVINE PROTECTION.

As in all his ways, the peace of the world, and the repose of mortals are kept in view by the inspired soul of H.M. the Shāhinshāh, and his true intent in miscellaneous matters, such as hunting, etc., is to acquaint himself with the condition of the people without the intermediary of interested persons and hypocrites, and to take proper measures for the protection of mankind he, upon hearing of Shāh Abu-l-m'aālī's commotion, proceeded towards Delhi on the day of Āsmān, the 27th Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Saturday 23 Jamādā-
201 al-awala. On the day of Mārisfand the 29th Dai, corresponding to 25 Jamāda-al-awala, 8 January, 1564, that city was illumined by the advent of the Shāhinshāh. Abū-l-m'aālī could not, on account of the glory of the Shāhinshah, and the sublime dynasty, abide longer in India, and carried the burden of destruction to Kābul. Sedition which had awoke with bleared eyes went into a profound slumber, and mankind stretched their hands to heaven in supplication for the permanency of daily-increasing dominion. As the squint-eyed world lies in wait and searches for opportunities for promoting the cause of the wicked, wounds are continually being inflicted on the good and pure, but they are preserved by the Divine protection from the calamity thereof, and acquire eternal felicity in spite of the ill-intentioned. The Divine decree too has issued that whenever unstinted joys and lofty blessings are to be bestowed on anyone, he is in the first place to be made the recipient of griefs and pains, so that he may the better render thanks for his favours and that such sorrow may be the (evil-averting) rue for his world-adorning beauty. An instance of this occurred when the cortége of H.M. Shāhinshāh after arriving

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in Delhi had proceeded on the day of Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 28 Jamāda-al-awal, to visit the shrine of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d-dīn auliyā. May his grave be holy! He was returning[1] from there to his dwelling, and when he reached the cross-ways (*cahārsū*) one of the death-destined ingrates was standing near Māham[2] Anaga's Madrasa. When H.M. had gone on beyond him, the latter discharged an arrow against that *qibla* of the world. It struck H.M.'s right shoulder and penetrated about the length of a span. A cry rose from heaven and earth, and devoted followers fell upon that wretch. They wished to examine him and not to kill him at once, but H.M. indicated that he should be speedily put to death lest a number of loyalists should fall under suspicion. In an instant they cut him to pieces. Though the hearts of the loyal and the minds of the superficial men of the world were perplexed as to the remedy, that spiritual and temporal king preserved his composure and comforted the faithful. He bade his followers extract the arrow. I have heard from the glorious tongue (Akbar's) that at first he thought someone had unwittingly thrown a fragment of a stone from a roof. 202
In spite of such a wound he remained as before on his horse and proceeded to his palace. As the Divine protection and the prayers of the saints were guarding him, the wound was not serious, nor was lesion great. Skilful leeches who possessed *Jesus'* breath attended to the plastering and curing of it. Especially Khiẓr[3] Khwājah Khān and Ḥakīm 'Ain-al-malk joined together in treating the fresh wound and healing it by dry bandaging (*khushk-band*). Every day they administered a fresh *fatīla*.[4] In the course of a week a cicatrice formed, and there was perfect restoration to health.

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1 The T. Alfī says he was returning from hunting.

2 In Syed Aḥmad's Asār-i-ṣanādīd mention is made, p. 47, of a mosque and madrasra known as Māham Begam's. The building had been destroyed, but Syed Aḥmad gives the inscription. It ends in the chronogram *Khair-al-munāzil* which yields the date 969=1561-62. Māham Begam is doubtless Māham Anaga, for the inscription speaks of the exertions made in building the structure by Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad, *i.e.* M. Anaga's friend and relative.

3 The T. Alfī says Khiẓr Khwājah was able to render assistance on account of his great experience in war and wounds. This is the last mention of Gulbadan's husband.

4 Fatīla means a wick, and also a suppository or clyster, but I do not

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One of the strange things was the story of the king's dog. It was a bitch and called Mahuwa (beloved ?). It was in the palace at the time of leaving Agra. It showed signs of distress and sadness from the day of this horrible occurrence, and before the news came it had refrained from eating and drinking and remained so for seven days. Such loyalty and fidelity did it show! Whoever glories in the adorning-beauty of this chosen one will not regard this occurrence as wonderful. Above all, what is astonishing when it is the case of a dog, whose species is famed all over the world for fidelity.

Though H.M. the Shāhinshāh from his farsightedness and reticence did not give time for the examination of the circumstances of that evildoer, yet so much was ascertained as that this presumptuous iron-hearted one was a slave of Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain Mīrzā's father, and that his name was Qatlaq Faulād. That rebel (Sharafu-d-dīn) had sent him from Jalaur with evil designs to be a companion of Shāh Abū-l-mʿaālī. When the latter fled from India and went towards Kābul he sent this inauspicious one upon this business. In order to his own destruction he (Faulād) placed the arrow of strife on the bow of fate and prepared the materials of eternal ignominy and did not perceive how impossible it is for evil thoughts of wretches to enter the protected sanctuary of him who is befriended by God. On the contrary, whatever evil thought they have entertained recoils upon themselves in ruin and destruction. How does it come to them? It comes by leaving to them no trace of honour or reputation, and no particle of life, or fame, or home. Accordingly, just observers who critically examine the record of the flawless sovereignty of this holy lord, well know the condition of the opponents of this God-given dominion. (They know) how they become the subjects of a thousand-fold calamities, and go down to the abyss of destruction. If I reckoned them up one by one, a separate book would be necessary. However, everywhere in this noble record there has been reference made to the condition of those blind-hearted ones, and to the retribution of their deeds.

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think it can mean the latter here. Perhaps it signifies a twisted or rolled bandage. There is a plant used in medicine called the fatīla-r-rahbān (monks' match), and perhaps this may be what is meant here. See Not. et Ex., XXVI, p. 21.

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When H.M. was perfectly recovered he proceeded on 11 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 6 Jamāda-al-akhira, 21 January, 1564, to Agra the capital. He made the journey by slow marches. Although the wound had been cicatrised, and quite cured, yet out of consideration for the fact that the wound was yet recent, and that he could not endure the motion of a horse, he made most of the journey in a litter (*sūkāsan*), which is the boat of dry land. When the shadow of his light-nourishing umbrella cast its rays on **203** the territory of Agra, mankind received fresh life and hastened to the acme of devotion, and had the bliss of going forth to welcome him. They scattered gifts among his followers, and offered thanksgivings for the Divine boon of his safety. H.M. on the 20th Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 15 Jamādā-al-akhira, alighted at the palace. He busied himself in the administration of justice, and made fitting regulations for the founding of empire and the cherishing of subjects. The talented of the seven climes at the auspicious glance of the Shāhinshāh emerged from their retirements and took part in active life and became constituents of increasing dominion. The evil received their punishment and hastened to the hiding of annihilation. The world was cleansed of the rubbish of the immoderate and enjoyed the equability of spring.

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CHAPTER LI.

BEGINNING OF THE NINTH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR ĀẒAR OF THE FIRST CYCLE.

Nearly about the time when the rose-garden of the world put on fresh leaves and became melodious from the arrival of the Shāhinshāh at the capital, and the holy disposition became equable, and turned towards the development of the springtime of justice, the spring of joy came and conveyed the news of H.M.'s convalescence. After the lapse of three hours and twenty-seven minutes of the night of Saturday, 27 Rajab, 971, 11th March, 1564, the world-warming sun passed into Aries, its house of exaltation, and freshened the universe.

Verse.

The time gave colour and fragrance to spring,
It put a nosegay into the hand of desire,
The rose made the spring of the amorous,
The brain of lovers was heated,
The air became humid like the brain of the wise,
The time became like the temper of the strong of heart.
Pearls dropped from the clouds
Like as the brain of the sage drops wisdom.

One of the great gifts which H.M. the Shāhinshāh made at the beginning of this year was the remission of the *Jizya* throughout India. Who can estimate the amount thereof? As the far-seeing glance of the Shāhinshāh looked to the administration of the world, he paid great attention to the issuing of this edict, which might be regarded as the foundation of the arrangement of mankind. In spite of the disapproval of statesmen, and of the great revenue, and of much chatter on the part of the ignorant, this sublime decree was
204 issued. By this grand gift, thousands of leading-reins and lassoes were made for the stiff-necked ones of the age. When this tax was imposed in former times by those who held outward sway, the reason

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for it was that they on account of heart-rooted enmity were girded up for the contempt and destruction of opposite factions, but for political purposes and for their own advantage, they fixed a sum of money as an equivalent therefor, and gave it the name of *jiziya*.[1] Thus they both gained their object and also derived a profit. At the present day, when owing to the blessing of the abundant good-will and graciousness of the lord of the age, those who belong to other religions have, like those of one mind and one religion, bound up the waist of devotion and service, and exert themselves for the advancement of the dominion, how should those dissenters, whose separation is founded merely on habit and imitation, and whose zeal and devotion are the real things, be classed with that old faction which cherished mortal enmity, and be the subjects of contempt and slaughter? Moreover the prime cause of levying the tax in old times was the neediness of the rulers and their assistants. At this day, when there are thousands of treasures in the store-chambers of the world-wide administration, and when every one of the servants of the threshold of fortune is rich and prosperous, why should a just and discriminating mind apply itself to collecting this tax? And why should it from imaginary advantage advance on the path of definite dissension?

One of the excellent occurrences was the punishment of Abu-l-M'aālī. The account of this instructive occurrence is that, when Abu-l-M'aālī went with evil intentions to Kābul, and when the army which had gone in pursuit of him and to drive him out of the dominions, returned after traversing the Panjāb, that inauspicious wretch sent a petition from Sind, full of his relationship to H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī, to Māh Cūcak Begam, the mother of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who was all-powerful in Kabul; and he added to it an account of his own forlorn condition, and embroidered it with this verse:—

Verse.

We have not come to this door in search of honour and glory ;
We've come here for protection 'gainst the hand of fate.

When Māh Cūcak Begam had made herself acquainted with the

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1 From the root *jazī*, to render satisfaction. It was the equivalent or contribution in return for not being put to death.

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contents of this letter, she took counsel with her confidential advisers. These short-sighted and self-interested men represented to the Begam, that Shāh Abū-l-M'aālī was sprung from the great Sayyids of Termiz, and that the rulers of Moghulistan and the princes of Kāshghar had
205 formed alliances with those families. As he had sought protection from the sublime family, it was proper to treat him with all kindness, and to exalt him so that he should be seen to be a favourite and of great distinction, and to give him in marriage her daughter—the sister of Muḥammad Ḥakīm—so that he might look upon this family as his own; and might make it illustrious, and might do it good, and convert it from dissension into harmony. The simple-minded Begam was led by the deceitful words of these men to entertain wrong ideas, and replied[1] to Shāh Abu-l-M'aālī's letter in soothing language, and brought him to Kabul with all honour. Without making inquiry at the court of H.M. the Shāhinshāh, she of her own notion gave Abū-l-M'aālī her daughter Fakhru-n-Nisā Begam in marriage and joined that scion of the family of realm and religion to this evil-minded man. The fruit of this was soon gathered, for in a short space of time the Begam lost her life in consequence of this union.

The details of this are as follows: When Abū-l-M'aālī, who always displayed lack of wisdom and narrowness of thought, as well as other bad qualities, became the master in that household, he could not contain his emotions. His evil nature too was worsened by the companionship of instigators. He made no account of the Begam and her officers, nor followed her weighty counsels. Nor did his actions show the fragrance of gratitude and devotion. At this time, various strife-mongers such as Shagūn, the son of Qarāca Khān, and Shādmān—who both had old spites against the Begam—joined Abū-l-M'aālī. They represented to him that so long as the Begam was in life, he would not be secure in office, and that he would soon be put to death like Faẓīl Beg, his son Abu-l-fatḥ and Shāh Walī Atka. The proper thing was for him to act boldly and take the initiative, and to bring up M. Muḥammad Hakīm, who was still young, in accordance with his views. In this way all the Kābulīs

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[1] The T. Alfī gives the verse she sent in reply. She told Abū-l-M'aālī that the house was his own. The verses are also given in Badāūnī, Lowe, 56.

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would place the head of obedience on the line of submission to him. That evil-minded one who did not think of his latter end gave ear to their wicked counsels, and took steps to carry out their evil plans. He did not retain possession of the key of reason but lost it in the abyss of ignorance. He gave to the wind of rebellion (*'aqūq*) the harvest of the rights (ḥaqūq) of the family. He spurned the recent favours of the Begam, and lay in wait to commit murder—the worst of crimes!

In fine, he made that wretch Shagūn and that scum of Transoxiana, who was styled the Qāẓīzāda, his friends and proceeded to the Begam's residence. Abu-l-M'aālī entered the house by one way, and the two wretches by another. There were a number of women in the house, and by mistake they shed the blood of an innocent lady. When it appeared that they had blundered, and that it was not the Begam, they went looking for her and joined Abul-l-M'aālī. They endeavoured to effect their object, and when the Begam became aware of the facts, she shut the door of her room in the face of the tyrants. Abū-l-M'aālī broke the door with the help of the two villains, and entered and put[1] the Begam to death. By this wickedness he hoisted the flag of oppression. This instructive catastrophe occurred in the middle of Farwardīn, Divine month, corresponding to the middle of Sh'abān (971), April, 1564. After shedding the blood of the Begam, he hastened in search of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm. He took him out from among young boys[2] and brought him into the diwānkhāna by the side of himself. The men of the Mīrzā's household attended on him (Abū-l-M'aālī) willingly or unwillingly. Next day he put to death Ḥaidar Qāsim Kohbar, whose family had filled great offices under the dynasty from generation to generation, and who at that time held the office of the Mīrzā's Vakil, and carried on the administration of the country; and also Khwājah Khāṣ Mulk and several others. He also imprisoned Ḥaidar's brother, Muḥammad Qāsim. Tardī Muḥammad Maidānī, Bāqī Qāqshāl, Ḥasan Khān, and Maḥasan Khān,[3] brother of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, and a number of the

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1 It appears from the T. Alfī that he stabbed her.

2 The T. Alfī says he was playing with other boys.

3 It appears from the T. Alfī 613*a*, that both these men were brothers of Shihābu-d-dīn.

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Begam's servants joined together to kill Abū-l-M'aālī. 'Īdī Sarmast, who was one of them, gave information to Abū-l-M'aālī and the latter armed himself and his adherents and prepared for battle. Those ambitious ones took the right-hand road to the fort, while Abū-l-M'aālī advanced from another side. A number were killed on both sides, but Abū-l-M'aālī's party was victorious and drove the other faction out of the fort. When night let fall her curtain, every one went off in a different direction. The Qāqshāls hastened to Ghorband, the Maidānīs went to Maidān, while Ḥasan Khān and Maḥasan Khān went towards Jalālābād. Muḥammad Qāsim, the brother of Ḥaidar Qāsim, and who was in prison, made his escape and went off to Badakhshān. He informed M. Sulaiman of the tragedy of Kabul and of the wickedness of Abū-l-M'aālī, and urged him to come to Kabul. M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, in spite of his tender years, was horrified at the catastrophe of his mother; and by the advice of well-wishers secretly sent messengers to M. Sulaimān in quest of relief, and to incite him to come.

M. Sulaimān on hearing of what had happened, girt up the loins of intent and prepared to march to that abode of pleasure which was always the object of his ambition. He collected the army of Badkh-
207 shān and marched to Kabul, accompanied by Ḥaram Begam. Abu-l-M'aālī was agitated by the news of M. Sulaimān's purpose. He collected his troops, and, as in his folly he regarded M. Muḥammad Ḥakim as being on his side, and as one of his titles (*dast-āwez*) he made arrangements for his accompanying the army. He took the initiative and marched out of Kabul before M. Sulaimān could get there, and arriving at the river of Ghorband took possession of the head of the bridge. From the other side M. Sulaimān came rapidly with the Badakhshān forces to the bridge, and both sides drew up in line. Just then a body of troops from Kūlāb were seen on the right, and Abū-l-M'aālī sent off a number of Kabūlīs to oppose them. After the two forces had engaged, news was brought to Abū-l-M'aālī that the Kabulies had been defeated. He thereupon placed M. Muḥammed Ḥakīm in the centre of the troops facing M. Sulaimān, and went off to assist his defeated men. Upon this opportunity M. Muḥammed Ḥakīm's men seized his horse's rein and drove him to the river, and in haste brought him to M. Sulaimān. The whole Kabul army became disorganised after this event and dispersed. When Abū-l-M'aāli came

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back and learnt the state of affairs, he got utterly confused, and gave up fighting and accepted defeat. The Badakhshānians pursued him and came up with him at Cārīkārān. They seized him and brought him before M. Sulaimān, who came rejoicing to Kabul along with M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm. Two days afterwards he sent that tyrant in chains to the Mīrzā, who ordered him to be strangled. This was done on the day of Ormazd, the beginning of Khurdād, Divine month, corresponding to the 'Īd of the Ramaẓān.

Verse.[1]

With my own eyes I saw in a thoroughfare
That a bird killed an ant;
Its beak had not been withdrawn from the prey
When another bird came and killed it.
Be not secure if you have done evil;
For retribution is in accordance with nature.

At the time of his being strangled, his impure character displayed itself, and he made entreaties and lamentations in order that he might, perhaps, by a thousand humiliations, gain a few more days of life, though they were worse than death. But the result was only to show his worthless character. His impure carcase was by the exertions of some worthy[2] people deposited near the graves of the cupola of chastity, Khānzāda Begum, and of Mahdī Khwāja. God be praised! The world was cleansed of his hateful existence, and he by his own acts hastened to the pit of destruction. Whoever does not appreciate kindness and practises ingratitude, perishes under such circumstances of contempt and disgrace. If he escape the clutches of the imperial servants, the stewards of fortune send adversaries against him so that he is brought to destruction for the edification of the wise.

After this M. Sulaimān engaged in arranging the affairs of Kabul, 208

1 Badāūnī, Lowe 55, has, what seems to be, another version of these lines.

2 'Azīzān. Perhaps it means here faquirs or other religious persons. The placing the body in the enclosure where Mahdī Khwāja and his wife were buried seems to show that Abu-l-M'aāli was related to Mahdī Khwāja.

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and in educating M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm; and sent men to Badakhshān and had his daughter brought to Kabul and given in marriage to the Mīrzā. He gave much of the territory of Kabul to Badakhshān men, and appointed Umed 'Alī, one of his officers, M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm's *vakīl*, thereby establishing his own influence. He himself returned to Kabul. Ḥaram Begam urged him to take M. Ḥakīm with him, and to make over Kabul to the Badakhshīs. But he did not agree, holding that abrupt measures did not look well, and that things should take shape by process of time.

He gave three-fourths of Kabul in fiefs to his own men, and he picked out the (best) lands for them. One inferior share he alloted to M. Ḥakīm and the Kabulīs. He thought that this kind of arrangement was a means of keeping Kabul in subjection!

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CHAPTER LII.

CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRY OF GADHA[1] KATANGA BY THE SWORD OF THE GENIUS OF KHWĀJA 'ABDU-L-MAJĪD ĀṢAF KHĀN.

Though Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Majīd Āṣaf[2] Khān was a Tājīk and belonged to the writing-class, yet by being supported by the dominion which is conjoined with eternity he did deeds which made Turks humble[3] themselves before him. O wise (reader), those who prove their merit by their genealogy succeed with the vulgar (*'āmma*). Men of elite (*khāsān*) shut their eyes to lineage and look to the real nature of a man, and call those noble who do great deeds. In short, Āṣaf Khan by his excellent service, loyalty and reliance upon the eternal dominion was divinely favoured and conquered the territory of Gaḍha. The brief account of this is as follows: In the spacious territories of India there is a country called Goṇḍwāra, *viz.*, the country inhabited by Gonḍs. They are a numerous tribe and mostly live in the wilds. Having chosen this as their abode, they devote themselves to eating and drinking and to venery. They are a low-caste tribe and the people of India despise them and regard them as outside the pale of their realm and religion. The east part of the country adjoins Ratanpūr[4] which belongs to Jhārkhand, and the west is contiguous to Raisīn which belongs to the province of Malwa. Its length[5] may be 150 kos. On the north is the country of Pannah, and on the south the Deccan. Its width may be 80 kos. The country is called Gaḍha[6] Katanga. It is an extensive tract and is full of forts,

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1 Jarrett II. 196.

2 The Iqbālnāma mentions that he was descended from Raknu-d-dīn Khwāfī, and that he belonged to Merv.

3 *Ke Turkān ṣaḥib shamshēr pesh-i-ao pusht-i-dast nihādand.* "That Turks, masters of the sword, placed the backs of their hands before him." The Iqbālnāma adds the word *barzamīn* "on the ground."

4 Grant's Gazetteer of Central Provinces, p. 430.

5 That is, from E. to W.

6 Blochmann 367 note. Grant C. P. Gazetteer. Garha or Gaḍha is in

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and contains populous cities and towns, so that truthful narrators have stated that Gaḍha Katanga contained 70,000 inhabited villages. Among these, Gaḍha is a large city whilst Katanga is a village. The country has become known by this double name. The capital is the fortress of Caurāgarha. There was not in former times any sole ruler, on the contrary there were many Rajahs and Rais. At the present day, when by the revolutions of time the country is no longer
209 under the old regime there are still many Rajahs,[1] *e.g.*, the Rajah of Gaḍha, the Rajah of Garola,[2] the Rajah of Haryā,[3] the Rajah of Salwānī, the Rajah of Danakī, the Rajah of Katholā, the Rajah of Mugda, the Rajah of Mandlā, the Rajah of Deohār, the Rājah of Lānjī.

Most of the soldiers fight on foot: there are few horsemen. Since the first appearance of Islam, when great rulers conquered India, though their reigns were long, the bird of victory of none of them was able to fly to the pinnacles of those strong forts, nor could the hoof of the horse of their thought brush the soil of that extensive country. At this time, when Āṣaf Khān became jāgīrdār of Sarkār[4] Karra, and conquered the territory of Pannah, the sovereignty of that country (Gaḍha Katanga) had come to a woman named Durgāvatī, who was generally known as the Rānī. She was distinguished for courage, counsel and munificence, and by virtue of these elect qualities she had brought the whole of that country under her sway. I have heard from experienced men who had been there that 23,000 cultivated villages were in her possession, and that in 12,000 of these she had resident governors (*shiqdār*). The remainder were subordinate to her, and their headmen were under her control. She was the daughter of Rajah Sālbāhān of Rātha[5] and Mahoba who was a Candīl by caste. The Rajah gave her in marriage to Dalpat the son of Amān Dās. Though he was not of a good family yet as he was wealthy and Rajah Sālbāhan was in bad circumstances, the latter was compelled to make this alliance. As

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the Jabalpūr district near Jabalpūr. Katanga, or Katangī is some 20 miles north of Gaḍha and is N.-W. Jabalpūr.

[1] Several of these names do not occur in the C.P.G.

[2] C.P.G. 195.

[3] Gn. Harai, C.P.G. 201.

[4] The text has Gaḍha, but it is Karra-Mānikpūr that is meant.

[5] Probably the Rahatgarh of the C.P.G.

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Amān Dās had given valuable help to Sultan Bahādur of Gujrāt in the conquest of Raisīn, the latter had increased his dignity by giving him the title of Sangrām Shāhī.[1] He was the son of Arjan Dās, son of Sangīn Dās,[2] son of Kharjī. Though from old times the house of the ruler of Gaḍha was of high rank, yet it had nothing beyond reverence. This Kharjī by ability and contrivance took things under the denomination of *peshkash* from the other rulers of the country and so collected one hundred cavalry, and 10,000 infantry. His son[3] Sangīn Dās carried on his father's plans and increased his power, collecting 500 cavalry and 60,000 infantry. He had many Rājputs among his cavalry and infantry. Two able companions joined themselves to him. One was of the Kaharcalī (?) caste, and an inhabitant of Hamīrpūr, and the other was of the Parihār[4] caste. **210** By their abilities he obtained great influence in the country. After him the government came to his son Arjan Dās when the latter was forty years of age. After him the government fell to Amān Dās above mentioned. This Amān Dās was a trickster and evildoer. He always acted against the will of his father and prepared for himself eternal loss. His father out of regard for him kept him in confinement for some while, and then let him out upon conditions. The wretch went back to his old courses and did improper acts. He then ran away to Barsingh Deo, the grandfather of Rām Cand, the Rajah of Pannah. The Rajah adopted him. Barsingh Deo entered the service of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī and left Aman Dās with Bīr Bahān, the father of Rajah Rām Cand, who was then young. There he outwardly followed a course of rectitude. His father Arjan Dās being displeased with him made his second son Jōgī Dās his heir-apparent, but he had respect to the claim of his elder brother and did not agree to this arrangement. (He said) It is not right that I should have this title in the presence of my elder brother.

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[1] This should be Sā. See C.P.G. 282 and Sleeman's list of the Gaḍha Mandla Kings in Prinsep's I. Antiquities and in J.A.S.B. for 1837 VI. 621.

[2] A variant gives son of Gorak Dās, son of Kharjī, and there seems no doubt that this is right. MSS. have this.

[3] Apparently this should be grandson.

[4] Sleeman states that the Parihār Rajputs ruled Bandalkhand before the Chandels.

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When the worthless Amān Dās heard that his father was giving honour to the second son, he made a rapid expedition and got into his mother's house and remained hidden there. With the concurrence of one of the Rajah's intimates, with whom he had old relations, he one night got his opportunity and killed the Rajah. The people rose and imprisoned him and sent a messenger to the second son, but he would not accept the invitation, saying that he could not kill his elder brother whom he regarded as a father, nor could he submit to him as he had prepared eternal loss for himself. Arguments were in vain. He elected retirement and went off into the desert. The two honest companions stood firm on the path of fealty and refused to serve him. On the contrary they wrote an account of the circumstances to Rajah Barsingh Deo and instigated him to take the country. He got leave of absence from Sulṭān Sikandar and marched with a large force into the country. Amān Dās took refuge in the mountain-defiles. Though in fact he was unable to resist the Rajah, he represented that he had from ignorance and a disordered brain killed one father, and how could he now fight with a second? When the Rajah had conquered the country and was returning after leaving his own men in charge, Amān Dās met him on the way with a few followers and did homage to him. After much lamentation the Rajah forgave him and made over the country to him. Amān Dās wept continually and expressed his abhorrence of himself for his evil action. Nor is it known whether this was hypocrisy, or he became aware of his wickedness and so expressed his feeling of shame before God and men. When he died, the government went to his son Dalpat. He ruled for seven years and then left the world. There was a report that Sangrām had no son and that he requested Gobind Dās Kacwāha, who was his servant, to allow his pregnant wife to be delivered in the former's harem. If there was a daughter, Gobind Dās would have her, and if there was a son, Sangrām would take him as his. No one was to be told of this. Gobind Dās obeyed the order, and when his wife was delivered of a son the Rajah took him as his own. He gave him the name of Dalpat, and Rānī Dūrgāvatī was given in marriage to him. When Dalpat died his son Bīr Narayan was five years old. Rānī Dūrgāvatī in concurrence with Adhār Kayath and Mān Brahman gave her son the title of Rajah and exercised the real authority herself. She

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neglected no point of courage or capacity, and did great things by dint of her farseeing abilities. She had great contests with Bāz Bahādur and the Mīānas, and was always victorious. She had 20,000 good cavalry with her in her battles, and one thousand famous elephants. The treasures of the Rajahs of that country fell into her hands. She was a good shot with gun and arrow, and continually went a-hunting, and shot animals of the chase with her gun. It was her custom that whenever she heard that a tiger had made his appearance she did not drink water till she had shot him. There are stories current in Hindustan of her feasts and her frays. But she had one great fault, to wit, she, owing to a crowd of flatterers, became proud of her outward success, and did not submit herself at the threshold of the Shāhinshāh.

When Āṣaf Khān conquered the country of Panna, Dūrgāvati was infatuated with the strength of her army, her courage and her abilities, and was not apprehensive of such a neighbour. When Āṣaf Khān was near at hand he kept open the gates of friendship and intimacy and sent spies and experienced traders into her country and made investigations about her revenue and her expenditure. When he knew the truth about her abundant collections of treasure, and her hidden stores, the desire of lordship over the country entered his mind, and he longed to embrace the bride of the territories. He began with coquetry and toying, and put out his hand to touch the down and the mole of the beauty (Gondwāna), *i.e.*, he began by attacking and plundering the villages and hamlets on the borders. At length, he in this year by the orders of the Shāhinshāh, collected 10,000 cavalry and abundant infantry and girded up the loins of endeavour for the conquest of Gaḍha. Muḥibb 'Alīkhān, Muḥammad Murād Khān, Wazīr Khān, Bābai Qāqshāl, Nāẓir Bahādūr, Āq Muḥammad and a large number of holders of fiefs in that quarter accompanied him in accordance with the royal order. The Rāni was drunken with the wine of negligence and was spending her time in prosperity. Suddenly the news arrived that the victorious royal army had reached Damoh[1] which is one of the important cities 212
of the country. A stone of dispersal fell into the midst of her pride, and her soldiers scattered in order to defend their families. Not

[1] C. P. G., pp. 173 and 181.

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more than 500 men remained with her. As soon as she heard of the event, the Rānī in her courage proceeded towards the victorious army and with the rashness which outruns arrogance went forward to welcome a battle. Adhār, who had charge of her administration, spoke to her like a well-wisher of dominion and unfolded the circumstances of the desertion of the soldiers and of the largeness of the royal army. The Rānī replied that the desertion was due to his stupidity, and asked how she, who had for years governed the country, could resolve upon flight? "'Twas better to die with glory than to live with ignominy. If the just king were here in person it would have been proper for her to wait upon him. What did that fellow (Āṣaf Khān) know of her rank? It was altogether best that she should die bravely." She advanced four stages towards the victorious army. Aṣaf Khan, who was marching rapidly, halted in Damoh. The Rānī had collected 2,000 men. Her officers unanimously said that it was noble to determine upon war, but that it was not in accordance with courage and prudence to let fall the thread of deliberation. It was proper to stay in some secure place and to await the reassembling of their forces. When the Rānī heard these words she moved towards the forest west of Gaḍha. She then came into another forest north of Gaḍha, and wandered about slowly in those deserts. At last she came to Narhī which is east of Gaḍha. It is a place very difficult for ingress or egress. On four sides there are sky-high mountains, and there is a river in front called Gaur. On another side is the furious river, the Narbada. The ravine formed by the passage of the river and by which access is attained to the village is very narrow and awful. Āṣaf Khān, who, on hearing that the Rānī was approaching, had halted at Damoh, completely lost news of her, and though he sent out persons to make inquiries, yet, as the country was of an extraordinary nature, he could get no information. At last, he advanced in person to Gaḍha and proceeded to bring the villages and hamlets into subjection. When he got news of the Rāni he left a force in Gaḍha and hastened after her. When the Rani heard of the army's approach she called together her officers and held a council. She said that if they thought of going to some other place till her forces were collected, it would be proper to go there, but that her own inclination was to fight. How long was she
213 to shelter herself among trees? Whoever liked to go might do so.

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They had leave. There was no third issue to her warfare. Either she would fall or she would conquer. At last all her men—there were about 5,000 collected—set their hearts on fighting. Next day the news came that Naẓir Muḥammad, Āq Muhammad and a large force of gallant men had taken by force the head of the ravine which was the road of access, and that Arjan Dās Bais, who was the *faujdār* of the elephants (*i e.*, Dūrgavati's), had bravely lost his life there. The Rānī put armour on her breast and a helmet on her head and mounting an elephant slowly advanced to encounter the heroes who were eager for battle. She said to her soldiers, "Do not hasten, let the enemy enter the pass and then we shall fall upon them from all sides and drive them off." It turned out as she anticipated, and there was a great fight. Many on both sides fell to the dust, and three hundred Moguls quaffed the wholesome draught of martyrdom. The Rānī was victorious and pursued the fugitives, and emerged from the ravine. At the end of the day she summoned her chief men and asked what they advised. Each man spoke according to his understanding and courage. The Rānī said we ought to make an attack this night, and finish off the enemy. Otherwise Āṣaf Khān will come in the morning in person and take possession of the pass, and will fortify it with artillery. The task which is now easy will become difficult. No one agreed to this proposal. At last she yielded to the majority and retreated by the way she had come, and occupied herself in comforting those of her people who had been orphaned. When she came to her house she proposed the night-attack to some of her devoted followers. Not one of them could equal her in courage. When it was morning, what the Rānī had foreseen occurred. Āṣaf Khān came with his artillery and fortified the entrance to the pass, and the victorious army entered the mountains. The Rānī in her eagerness for battle mounted on a lofty and swift elephant which was the best of her animals, and was called Sārmān, and came out. She drew up her forces, distributed the elephants and prepared for battle. After the armies had encountered, the work passed from arrows and muskets to daggers and swords. Rajah Bīr Sā, the Ranī's son, who was the nominal ruler, behaved bravely, and performed great deeds. Shams Khān Mīāna, and Mubārik Khān Bilūc fought bravely. The battle raged till the third watch of the day, so that if it was fully described

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the account would be a long one. Three times Raja Bīr Sā repulsed
214 the victorious army but the third time he was wounded. When the Rānī heard of this she ordered trusty men to remove him from the battle-field to a place of safety. They obeyed the command and carried him off to a retired place. On this account a great many left the field of battle, and the Rani's troops were much discomfited. Not more than 300 men remained with her. But there was no weakening of the Rānī's resolution, and she continued to wage hot war alongside of her own gallant followers. An arrow from the bow of fate struck her right[1] temple, and she courageously drew it out and flung it from her. The point remained in the wound, and would not come out. Just then another arrow struck her neck. That, too, she drew out with the hand of courage, but the excessive pain made her swoon. When gradually she recovered her senses she addressed Adhār, who was of the Bakhīla caste and was distinguished for courage and devotion and who was riding in front of her on the elephant. She said to him, "I ever laboured to educate and consider you in order that one day you might be of service. To-day is a day in which I am overcome in battle, God forbid that I be also overcome in name and honour, and that I fall into the hands of the enemy; act like a faithful servant, and dispose of me by this sharp dagger." His true heart could not do anything so hardhearted. He said, "How can I bring my hand to do this thing. How can the hand which has held your gifts do such a dreadful deed. This I can do: I can carry you away from this fatal field. I have full confidence in this swift elephant." When the Rānī heard these words, which proceeded from soft-heartedness, she grew angry and reproached him, saying, "Do you choose such a disgrace for me?" Then she drew her dagger, and herself inflicted the blow, and died in virile[2] fashion. A large number of

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[1] *Shaqīqa*, defined as the space between the eye and ear. The C.P.G. 225 says, the battle in which the Rānī killed herself was fought near Singaurgarh which is 26 miles north-west(?) Jabalpur, but the account in the article Mandla, p. 283, in the same volume is different and says the battle took place near Mandla. The mention of the Gaur river which belongs to the Mandla district and is a tributary of the Narbada makes this probable. It is related that the Rānī killed herself because the river had suddenly risen behind her and cut off her retreat.

[2] "She was killed about twelve miles from Jabalpūr. Her tomb is still to

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her devoted followers fell in her service, notably Kanur Kalyān Bakhīla, Cakarmān Kharcalī, Khān Jahān Dakīt and Mahārakh: Brahman. A great victory was gained. A thousand elephants and much other booty fell into the hands of the Imperial servants. There was both a large amount of property obtained and also an extensive territory was added to the Imperial dominions. The reign of the Rānī lasted for sixteen years.

When the brilliancy of the Rānī's rule was extinguished, and when in the very height[1] of her rule the hand of destruction flung the dust of annihilation on the head of that noble lady, Āṣaf Khān after two months, and when his mind was at rest about the Miyāna[2] country proceeded to the conquest of Caurāgarh[3] fort. This fortress was replete with buried treasures, and rare jewels, for the collection of which former rajahs had exerted themselves for many ages. They 215 thought these would be a means of safety but in the end they were a cause of destruction. The soldiers girded up the loins of courage to capture this golden fort, and from the love of these treasures they washed their hands of life and eagerly followed Āṣaf Khān. The Rānī's son who had left the battle-field and was shut up in the fort, came out to fight on the approach of the army of fortune; but the fort was taken after a short contest. The Rajah died bravely. He had appointed Bhoj Kaith and Mīyān Bhīkārī Rūmī to look after the *jauhar*, for it is the custom of Indian rajahs under such circumstances to collect wood, cotton, grass, ghee and such like into one place, and to bring the women and burn them, willing or unwilling. This they call the *jauhar*. These two faithful servants, who were the guardians of honour, executed this service. Whoever out of feebleness of soul was

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be seen in a narrow defile between two hills, and a pair of large round stones which stand near are according to popular belief her royal drums turned to stone which in the dead of night are still heard resounding through the woods and calling the spirits of her warriors from their thousand graves around her." Sleeman's Rambles, Constable's edition I. 230.

1 *Dar 'aīn-i-ḥukmrānī* "In the eye (or fountain) of her rule. A. F. puns on the two meanings of the word *rānī* and also uses the metaphor of dust being thrown into the eye or fountain of her rule.

2 Miyāna-i-wilāyat. I have taken this to mean the country of the Miyāna Afghans, but it may mean the middle or central territory.

3 In the Narsingpūr district, and 20 miles south-west Narsingpūr.

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backward (to sacrifice herself) was, in accordance with their custom, put to death by the Bhoj aforesaid. A wonderful thing was that four days after they had set fire to that circular pile, and all that harvest of roses had been reduced to ashes, those who opened the door found two women alive. A large piece of timber had screened them and protected them from the fire. One of them was Kamlavatī, the Rānī's sister, and the other the daughter of Rājah Puragaḍha, whom they had brought for the Rajah but who had not yet been united to him. These two women, who had emerged from that storm of fire, obtained honour by being sent to kiss the threshold of the Shāhinshāh.

In fine, when the fort was taken there fell into the hands of Āṣaf Khān and his men an incalculable amount of gold and silver. There were coined and uncoined gold, decorated utensils, jewels, pearls, figures, pictures, jewelled and decorated idols, figures of animals made wholly of gold, and other rarities. I have heard from reliable informants that among the goods and treasures of Caurāgarh of which Āṣaf Khān took sole possession, there were one hundred jars (*deg*) full of 'Alāū-d-dīn[1] *ashrafīs*. There were also other things which could not be calculated. When Āṣaf Khān, by the good fortune which came from the rays of the Shāhinshah's prestige, acquired such wealth, and became so powerful, his self-confidence became greater than it is possible to imagine. As he did not possess right reason, the senses-robbing intoxication revealed the amount of his capacity. He altogether abandoned the path of propriety and sent none of those rarities or splendid jewels, which were worthy of the appreciative acceptance of the Shāhinshāh, to Court. He did not comprehend that fortune had made those pearls and jewels a sprinkling for the
216 head of dominion and a tiara for the auspicious, and regarding himself as the central object, he strewed the dust of ruin on the head of his own honour. That ill-fated one, the tablet of whose heart bore no impress of sincerity, or rather it had not a letter or even a dot of justice in it, sent only 200 elephants as a present, out of the 1,000 which had fallen into his hands. He concealed

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[1] *Ashrafī* 'Alāī. Apparently these were what A.F. speaks of in the Āīn, Blochmann 18, as the small, round dīnārs of 'Alāū-d-dīn.

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all the other rarities, and resting himself on the pillows of the government of Karra and Gaḍha he spent his days in negligence. H.M. the Shāhinshāh on account of his world-bestowing disposition did not give a thought to those things (the hidden rarities) and winked at his treachery. When he made the third expedition to Jaunpūr in order to chastise 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān he summoned Āṣaf Khān to the presence. The latter obeyed the command and went to kiss the threshold.[1] At the time when Jaunpūr was the seat of the royal forces he had the blessing of doing obeisance. The details of that affair will be recorded in their proper place.

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[1] The best account of Dūrgāvatī and the Gaḍha-Mandlā dynasty appears to be that by Sleeman, J.A.S.B. for 1837, VI. 621. See also the translation of the Gaḍha Mandalā inscription by Captain Fell, Asiatic Researches, XV. 436. The Gaḍha Katanga chapter of A. F. is translated in Elliot VI. 30 : see also ibid, p. 117.

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CHAPTER LIII.

DISPLAY OF THE LIGHTS OF JUSTICE IN THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S INDIGNATION AT THE CONDUCT OF KHWAJAH M'UAZZAM.

It is a requisite of the high office of sovereignty that justice be administered to the oppressed without distinguishing between friend and foe, relative and stranger, and that it place retribution for tyranny in the collar of the tyrant, so that those connected with the sovereign, and those attached to the court may not make their relationship a means of oppression, and that if, which God forbid, any such event should occur out of infatuation, right-acting men may be under no apprehension in reporting the oppression, but may boldly bring it forward. God be praised that this lofty characteristic is so marked in the disposition of the Shāhinshāh that the human intellect is at a loss how to describe it! This world-ministering quality is so unaffectedly existent in the sacred nature of H.M., that all classes rely upon it and pass their days in peace and tranquillity.

In the beginning of this Divine year and middle of 971,—which was the preamble of the distribution of justice—Khwājah M'uazzam, who was the half-brother of the noble lady H.M. Miriam-Makānī; as he had no flavour of real relationship so did he make his outward relationship an intoxicating drug and show himself on various occasions as an example of immoderation. In the auspicious time of
217 H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī, as it was a season for gentleness, H.M. had consideration for the noble lady and used to pass by his offences. For instance, in the year of the expedition to Badakhshān, he attacked H.M.'s *diwān* Khwāja[1] Rashīdī and with the sword of immoderation shed the blood of that worthy man. He absconded after committing this horrid crime and came to Kabul. Thereafter he was allowed again, by the intercession of near intimates of H.M.,

[1] From Bayāzīd's list No. 2 it appears that he was the maternal uncle of Ṭahmāsp's son, Muḥammad Khudābanda.

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to come to Court, and renewed his misbehaviour. At last H.M. expelled him, and he went off to the Ḥijāz. He committed wickedness upon wickedness and came back to India. There he displayed the old bad qualities. One day, when the ministers and officers were assembled in the Shahinshāh's palace, he made an unprovoked attack on Mīrzā[1] 'Abdullah Moghal who was ranked among the great Amīrs. On account of some story he ran at him and kicked him and struck him with his fists. On another occasion he behaved rudely to Bairām Khān and put his hand to his dagger. He was again expelled. He now went to Gujrat and there spent his days in doing harm to himself and to others. On account of his bad conduct and bad circumstances he could not remain there. He turned his face towards the world-protecting court. When Agra became the seat of the Caliphate he was exalted by the bliss of service and was distinguished everywhere by kindnesses and consideration. But inasmuch as his nature was compact of immoderation he revealed his character by hundreds of presumptuous acts and by his disregard of his past. Bairām Khān was arranging to make him over to Walī Beg in order that he might be conveyed by way of Bakar to Gujrat, when Bairām himself became excluded, and the Khwāja, on account of his connexion with the holy family, was treated with high favours. But he was caught by the hand of his own wickedness and continued to commit hundreds of unruly actions. At last Bībī[2] Fāṭima, who had been H.M. Jahanbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī's Urdū-begī, and now held a high position in H.M. the Shāhinshāh's harem, and whose daughter Zahra Āghā was in the Khwāja's household, and was, owing to his barbarity and wickedness continually in grief and in the prison of affliction, came one day with a thousand agitations and implored help as the Khwāja was about to go to his *pargana* and was going to take her daughter with him. On account of his wickedness, and of the evil imaginations which were part of his nature he meditated the death of this chaste and innocent lady. She said over and over again that from

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1 It appears from Bayāzīd's 4th list that he was the son-in-law of Mun'im Khān.

2 In my copy of the Iqbālnāma and in the Lucknow ed. of the A.N. she is apparently called Khānī instead of Bībī. Bayāzīd, list No. 4, mentions a son of hers named Bulāq. The entry corresponds to that of Adham Khān in that no father's name is given.

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apprehensions of the Shāhinshāh's justice he could not effect his purpose in the capital. Now that he was taking her to his *jāgīr*, what would happen? H.M. had compassion on the distress of this old servant and soothed her troubled mind. He was going a-hunting, he said, and for her sake he would cross[1] (the river) by the Khwāja's house. When the Khwāja came out to pay his respects he would give him good advice and forbid him to take her daughter with him.
218 Shortly afterwards H.M. left the citadel and crossed the river by boat. He then went off to the Khwāja's house with a few special attendants —not more than twenty. Among them were Dastam Khān, Ṭāhir Muḥammad Khān Mīr Farāghat, Qatlaq Khān, Maqbil Khān, Shimāl Khān, Peshrū Khān, and Ḥakīm-ul-mulk. As the unaccommodating temper of the Khwāja was known, the Mīr Farāghat and Peshrū Khān were sent ahead in order that they might apprise him of the sublime advent and bring him to the highway of rectitude. And Dastam Khān and Maqbil Khān were sent after these two in order that if the Khwāja should, according to his usual custom, behave in an insane manner, they might assist Ṭāhir Muḥammad Khān. When the ungovernable madman heard from Ṭāhir Muḥammad Khān and Peshrū Khān that H M. had crossed the river at this place and had sent them, he became violent and said, "I shall not come into H.M's presence." Then he went, full of wrath, to the female apartments, and drawing his dagger killed Zahra Āghā who had just come from the bath and was robing herself in the dressing-room. In this way he provided for himself a supply of eternal destruction. Then he put his head out of the window and flung the blood-stained dagger to where Dastam Khān was standing and cried out with a loud voice, "I have shed her blood, go and tell." Dastam Khān took up the bloody dagger and brought it to H.M. When

[1] In Akbar's time the Jamna flowed, as it were, through the middle of Agra, many of the nobles and others having their houses on the east bank. This was evidently the case of Khwāja M'uazzam. There was a bridge of boats across the Jamna, and probably Akbar usually went by it. This time he went by boat in order to land near the Khwājah's residence. The T. Alfi 616 has a somewhat more detailed account of the murder, etc. It says that when the Khwāja stabbed his wife, Akbar was near enough to hear her screams. It also says that Akbar afterwards told his mother what he had done and that she expressed her approval.

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H.M. the Shāhinshāh heard of this outrage he boiled over with indignation and entered the house of the villain. The madman buckled on his sword and came into the presence with his hand on the hilt. H.M. angrily asked him, "What kind of conduct is this? Your hand is on your sword; attempt to draw it and I shall strike such a blow on your head that your soul will depart." When the madman beheld the majesty of the Shāhinshāh, his hands and feet gave way and he sank down. Those present arrested him. One of the Gujrātīs was standing behind the Khwājah with a sword and was meditating treason. H.M. perceived his intention and bade Qatlaq Qadam Khān strike him. That ready-witted one understood at once and struck him such a blow that his head rolled off and lay beside his feet. For a moment the trunk remained standing and the black blood spouted from the arteries of the neck. H.M. then asked the Khwājah for what fault had he shed the unfortunate woman's blood. The monster opened his mouth and uttered delirious ravings till at length they silenced him by blows and kicks. Dragging him by the hair and kicking him they brought him to the river. The tide of wrath foamed up in the ocean of justice, and in accordance with orders, the servants, who were always the boon-companions (*hamkāsa*) of his violence and frenzy, were bound neck and hand and immersed in the whirlpool of retribution. Though they dipped the 219
wicked wretch in the river he showed tenacity of life and did not cease his ravings. He knew that to blaspheme saints was painful to the king, and so he indulged in this. Though everyone was convinced that in this whirlpool of wrath he would be killed by the buffeting of the waves, yet from tenacity of life and hardness of heart he remained alive. He was made over to Maqbil Khān who sent him to Gwāliār where he was imprisoned. Melancholia took possession of him there, and he died of a disordered brain. There is a ridge in the precincts of the fort, and there he was buried; but afterwards his body was brought to Delhi. God be praised! Hail to the Fortune which consumes sedition and the justice which wipes out violence. As H.M.'s sole object is to show forth the lights of justice and to erase the traces of oppression, his dominion increases daily, and also his prosperity.

One of the dominion-increasing occurrences of this auspicious year was the victory of 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān over Fatḥ Khān of

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Patna. The account of this is as follows. Fatḥ Khān, Ḥasan Khān his brother, Mallū Khān and a large number descended from fort Rohtās and took possession of Bihār and various estates belonging to the Khān Zamān. They chose the son of Salīm Khān, who had the name of Āwāz Khān, for the throne, and uplifted the head of sedition. The Khān Zamān and other officers of that country, such as Bahādur Khān, Majnūn Khān, and Ibrāhīm Khān proceeded to extinguish these flames of disaffection. As the Afghans were in full force, the Khān Zamān did not think a battle advisable and made himself secure in a fort on the bank of the Son (called) Andhīārī-bari[1] (?). At this time Maulānā 'Alāu-d-dīn Lārī, Mullā 'Abdullah Sulṭānpūrī, Shihābu-d-dīn Khān and Wazīr Khān came from the court. This was because H.M. the Shāhinshāh had resolved that the Khān Zamān should be established in the path of fidelity by good counsels, and by royal favours. Ample favour, too, was shown to Sulaimān Kararāni, the governor (Ḥākim) of Bengal, who had made himself one of the court-officers and associated himself with the Khān Zamān, and who recited the *Khuṭba* in the Shāhinshāh's name. If it seemed advisable and opportune, he (Sulaimān) was to be brought to kiss the threshold—the elixir of spiritual and temporal excellence. Those envoys came inside the fort and gave the Khān Zamān the good news of the royal favour. They strengthened him physically and morally, and at such a time of discomposure conjoined him with victory. One day they were seated in front of the Khān Zamān when the black-hearted Afghans came towards the fort with an equipped
220 army and a number of war-elephants. The Khān Zamān was collecting his forces when they came, and as soon as they arrived they repulsed his men and threw them into confusion. His whole army fled, and the Afghans set themselves to plunder their quarters. Just when those presumptuous ones (the Afghans) had made things difficult, the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh looked to the outward connection of the Khān Zamān with the sublime palace and manifested itself in a wondrous way.

The brief account of this astonishing affair is that the Khān Zaman assisted by a few men was waiting inside the fort-walls for an opportunity of fighting or of retreating. Ḥasan Paṭnī was mounted

[1] Perhaps Andaribārī is the proper reading.

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on an elephant named Bakht-buland and advanced with a body of troops. The men fled, and Khān Zamān and the few who remained resolved to die. He went to one of the bastions and having fired [1] (?), a mortar which was planted there, discharged it in the face of the presumptuous army which was advancing like a *mast* elephant. The discharge and the striking of the elephant's head were simultaneous. The elephant was overthrown and killed, and the army was dispersed. A divine help which occurred at this time close upon the above providential boon, was that there was an elephant called Koh-pāra which Bairām Khān had given to Bahādur Khān when the latter was deputed to Mālwa. It had become completely *mast* and was kept chained up, and was still quarrelsome. When the Khān-Zamān's troops were driven off, the Afghan elephant-drivers loosed it and mounted it. While they were riding it, it became violent and overthrew and killed an Afghan elephant that was close by. A great uproar arose, and the Afghans mistook this for the noise of the victorious army and fled. The Afghans also who were engaged in plundering all at once lost their heads and dispersed. When the fugitives (of Khān Zamān's troops) heard of this Divine help they turned back and pursued the black-fated Afghans. Much booty and many noted elephants were captured. It was solely by the fortune of the Shāhinshāh that such a great victory showed herself. After it the Khān-Zamān returned and went towards Jaunpūr, and sent the envoys to court with all honour from Zamānīya.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Amīr Murtāẓā. As the world-protecting gateway of the Shāhinshāh is the rendezvous of the elite of the earth, for Almighty God hath made the king's holy personality desirous of collecting all perfections, and a collector of liberal sciences, and a gatherer of all kinds of beneficial things, so do the solitary ones of the seven climes leave their native lands and turn their faces towards this holy gateway and there attain felicity. One of the wonderful things is that when the master of any science or craft, who is the unique of the age in his department—from theology to carpentery—comes into the society of the Shāhinshāh, he hears

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[1] *cāq-karda.* No dictionary seems to explain this phrase, and I have only guessed that it means to explode the mortar. Perhaps it is the Turkī چاغ *Cāgh* and means "to elevate."

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from him such acute remarks about his science or art as he has never heard from his teachers, and becomes convinced that H.M. has devoted his whole time to the study thereof. In short H.M. by his wide capacity, and great-mindedness, which are exercised without effort,
221 and with adaptation to his listener—from the highest to the lowest grade—makes the latter successful, spiritually and physically. Among those was the glorious Saiyīd Amīr Murtāzā, who belonged to the very learned Jurjānī[1] famīly, and who was eminent in the rational and traditional sciences. He had circumambulated the holy places of pilgrimage, and now took up his abode at the sublime threshold which is the K'aaba for the pilgrims of blessedness, and the altar for the caravans of auspiciousness. He according to proper regulations became acquainted with the majestic assemblies, and gained auspiciousness. The Khedive of the Age, who is a connoisseur in human jewels, recognised the advent of the Mīr as an honour, and distinguished him by graciousness and by copious gifts.

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[1] Presumably Saiyid Sharīf Zaīnu-d-din Abu-l-ḥasan 'Alī Jurjānī. See Notices et Ex. X, p. 1 et seq., Jurjānī was the author of a book of definitions, and died in 816 A.H.=1413-14. See Badāūnī III. 320 who says that Mīr Murtāẓā was a grandson of Mīr Saiyid Sharīf Jurjānī. See Blochmann 449 and 540. Mīr Murtāẓā was a native of Shīrāz and died at Delhi in 974 A.H.=1566-67.

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CHAPTER LIV.

Expedition of H.M. to Mālwa, his hunting of elephants and his march against 'Abdullah Khān, his victory and renewal of elephant-hunting, and his return to the capital.

As it is a lofty duty of sovereignty to be always cognisant of the affairs of the kingdom, and of the sentiments of the officers of the State, especially of the presumptuous and narrow-minded ones who when they have attained success have departed from the vicinity of the throne, and to check them before their proceedings have amounted to sedition, so is it a thing to thank God for that this glorious quality is displayed in perfection in the holy personality of the Shāhinshāh. Accordingly the wise are at a loss how to comprehend it. He continually seeks for information about the hidden things of the kingdom, and though apparently he be engaged in hunting and the like, yet such things are but a veil, and his noble days have no respite from the affairs of church and state, and he is ever employed in worship of God, and in fostering his subjects. Therefore, when he came to hear that 'Abdullah Khān Uzbeg, who had eaten the salt of fortune's table was uplifting the head of rebellion in Mālwa and that he was in his narrow-mindedness about to cast away the burden of favours and to become an ingrate, he determined to use elephant-hunting as a pretext and to make an expedition to Mālwa. He set out under the divine protection on the day of Bahrām 20 Tīr Divine month corresponding to Saturday, 21st Zī Q'ada 2 July, 1564. It was a season when those proudly-stalking elephants—the clouds—had in their violence flung confusion and uproar on the time and the terrene and had in their oozing fury sent forth floods and made highlands indistinguishable from lowlands, and in their arrogance and haughtiness paid no regard to the guiding-crook (*kajak*) of the lightning, that the sublime standards approached Narwār [1] and the Sīprī [2]

[1] A town in Gwāliār. Tiefenthaler was long stationed there and has a good deal to say about it.

[2] This is a river, a tributary of the Cambal.

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where there were elephant forests. When the camp reached the bank of the Cambal, the river was, owing to excessive rain, in full flood. It was necessary that the encampment should halt for nearly
222 two weeks in order to cross, so that the whole body might pass over in boats. When the special elephants were crossing that furious river, the elephant Lakna was in his impetuosity carried away by the water. After that the army encamped at Gwāliār, and from there marched on to Narwār. As the elephant forest was near there, arrangements were made for hunting, and the servants were divided into several bodies. To each of them a great officer was appointed and several tame elephants assigned. Strong ropes, too, were provided which might have force to drag the mountain-forms, nay, which might furnish nooses for the elephants of the horizons. The order also was issued that whenever wild elephants were found, the tame elephant should follow them up, until the latter should from weariness lose power of movement. Then from each side of the wild elephant the drivers who were seated on the tame elephants should cast one end of the rope round the neck of the wild elephant and the other round the neck of the tame one. In this way they were to bring him into captivity and to drag him along. Every day they were to tame him more and more, and to throw fodder before him until at length they could mount on him. In this way they were to tame him in a short space of time. The real method of taming every wild animal is gentleness, and the exhibition of what is agreeable to him such as grass, grain and water. On rational grounds this mode of hunting seems to be the best plan for hunting elephants; for the wild elephant is great of body and powerful, and is subdued by elephants more powerful than or like himself. The hunters avert his malignity from themselves and gain the victory over him.

In fine, H.M. practised the laws of hunting in the pursuit of elephants in the forest of Narwār, and sent out parties in every direction. He himself with his brave companions enjoyed the sport. That day after a great chase a female elephant was seen in the distance. They hastened after it, and having tired it out, they bound it to another elephant. As they were doing so, Adham, the son of Mullā Kitābdār, fell into the clutches of the elephant and was kneaded somewhat but managed to crawl away. Next day was the 'Īd Qurbān. Mūn'im Khān Khān-Khānān, who in that pleasant hunt was in

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attendance on the royal stirrup, and other pillars of the state, appeared before H.M. and did homage. H.M. in his kindness heaped 'Īd upon 'Īd and went off to hunt. Each party proceeded to its appointed place, and that day, after much exertion, a herd of female elephants was sighted which had with them two or three male ele- 223
phants. H.M. on beholding them had a renewal of the joy of the 'Īd and captured the herd which consisted of nine elephants. Next day he abode in his camp and engaged in administration which is the real kind of hunting. On the third day he was on horseback with the dawn, and till the close of day traversed that forest into which, from the closeness of the trees and the thickness of the branches, it was difficult for the north or east winds to penetrate. Suddenly a herd which contained more than seventy elephants crossed before him. He was delighted and took it as an omen of the capture of great successes. In accordance with orders the elephants were driven into the dense forest and the foot of each was fastened to a tree. Persons were appointed to watch over each animal. Ropes were sent for from the camp, and that forest in which there never had been a trace of men's footsteps, and which had not been crossed even by the steeds of imagination, became on that night by the arrival of the sublime cortege a Cairo and a Bagdad. The chamberlains by the help of the court carpenters made a platform for the royal repose and covered it with scarlet cloth. H.M. took his seat thereon, and his courtiers such as Yūsuf Muḥammad Kokaltāsh, 'Azīz Muḥammad Kokaltāsh, Saif Khān Kokaltāsh, Mīr M'uizzalmulk, Mīr 'Alī Akbar, and Calma Khān, who was known by the title of Khān 'Aālm, Mīr Ghyāṣu-d-dīn 'Ālī, who is now distinguished by the title of Naqīb Khān, and other special favourites formed a circle round him. Next morning when the world-warming sun had sate on the throne of the horizons, H.M. the Shāhinshāh with the desired prey in his net and the cup of success at his lip sate on that auspicious throne and graciously ordered his courtiers to be seated. Then for the sake of delight and pleasure he listened for some time to Darbār [1] Khān's recital of the story of

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1 Akbar's reader. Blochmann 464. The Iqbālnāma says his real name was Mullā 'Ināyat, but he was called Darbār Khān because he was always present in Court. His father, according to the Iqbālnāma, was Shāh Ism'aīl's reader.

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Amīr[1] Ḥamza. Meanwhile several elephants with many ropes arrived from the camp. H.M. signified that each one of the evil-disposed elephants should be firmly bound between two of the royal elephants, and be conveyed to the camp by evening. This was done, and for the completion of the work he remained there two days more. As H.M. meditated the capture of some more wild[2] elephants he turned his rein towards Mālwa. On account of the lightning, the rain and floods, and the viscous mud, and the numerous holes and ditches which characterise the province of Mālwa, the march was difficult.
224 The horses had to swim like hippopotamī, and the camels to traverse floods like ships of ocean. At last after hundreds of difficulties they came to the village of Ranad[3] and encamped there. On account of the excessive rain they halted there two days. From thence they proceeded by way of Sārangpūr. On account of the quantity of mud on this march the horses sank up to their chests and the very hair of the camels became a burden to them. With a thousand difficulties they moved along. On this day the tents of the victorious encampment which crowded the wilderness fell into the rear. Except the royal tents and enclosures, a tent of the Khān-Khānān, the tent of M. 'Azīz Kokaltāsh, and the tents of one or two of the other great officers, not a tent of the king's servants could come up. Of necessity, a halt for one day was ordered. Next day the standards were upreared in the direction of Mandū. The wide plain of the town of Khīrār[4] was reached after five stages. Though in these halting-places the animals could not get grain, they enjoyed instead abundance of fresh and moist grass, which was plentiful in these pleasant meadows, and were indifferent to grain. They skipped about with delight in those verdant pastures.

H.M. the Shāhinshāh left off the pleasure of hunting, and having located the camp in that pleasant spot and placed some officers in charge,

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[1] A famous romance and one of very great length. Ḥamza was Muḥammad's uncle and also foster-brother. See Rieu's Catalogue, and Blochmann 108. Akbar had the book illustrated. 'Ārif Qandahārī has some account of the illustrations. Ḥamza was killed at the battle of Ohod in A.D. 625

[2] This refers to 'Abdullah Uzbeg and his companions.

[3] Ranod Jarrett II. 202.

[4] Perhaps the Kherā of Jarrett II. 199.

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he went off on horseback towards Māndū, which was the residence of the rebel. On the way he sent Ashraf Khān and I'timād Khān in advance in order that they might convey to 'Abdullah Khan, who was apprehensive on account of his improper actions, the news of the royal favour, and bring him to do homage, and might not permit him to be a vagabond in the fields of disloyalty. With the wings of swiftness he went from Khīrār to Sarangpūr [1] which is the first city in Malwa and is at a distance of 25 Malwa kos, which are equal to more than 40 Delhi kos, and he performed this journey in such a time of mud and water in one stage. At the confines of Sārangpūr, Muḥammad Qāsim Khān of Nīshāpūr, to whom the government of that place was entrusted, had the felicity of going out to meet him. He begged H.M. to alight at his house, and offered as a present on the part of himself and his followers nearly 700 horses and mules. These were 225
distributed to the officers and servants. At dawn he proceeded towards Ujjain, which in former times was the capital of the kings of Malwa. When the climate of Dhār [2] had become delightful (lit. otto-scattering) by the arrival of the encampment, Ashraf Khān and Itimād Khān came from 'Abdullah Khān and reported the state of his case. It appeared that though these loyal servants had done their office zealously, yet no impression was made on his hypocritical heart. He would not accept any consolation. He sent his family out of the fort, and then waited till evening and followed his men. He made some idle requests and sent them away. For instance he asked that he should receive no detriment in person or purse, and that the province of Māndū should be left to him as before, and that Tingrī Bardī, Khān Qulī, and Insān Bakhshī should be allowed to accompany him. Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān relying upon H.M's clemency and mildness, begged the pardon of his offences. H.M. the Shāhinshāh, out of his abundant graciousness, drew the line of forgiveness over his offences and accepted his petition. He issued an order in accordance with them and again despatched 'Itimād Khān and Darbār Khān to him.

[1] It is stated in the Akhbar-al-akhyār B.M.MS. 129*a*, that Sārangpūr derives its name from one Shaikh Sārang, who was originally an officer of Sulṭan Fīrōz Shāh.

[2] Jarrett II. 197 and 206. It was Rajah Bhoja's capital.

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During the time that the shadow of glory rested on the inhabitants of the town of Dhār, a woman who had been oppressed came and complained that Muḥammad Ḥusain, qūrbeg of 'Abdullah Khān, had committed various acts of tyranny against her minor daughter and had plundered her house. H.M. with a fate-expressing voice directed her to be at ease and to wait the exhibition of the lights of justice, for that he would shortly inflict a great punishment on him. It was one of the wonderful instances of H.M's foresight, for this was the first person who was seized and punished. In this city it was brought to H.M.'s notice, that when the news of the expedition reached 'Abdullah Khān he—for a traitor is ever fearful—made certain that he would be destroyed, and that as he saw himself imprisoned and bound by the wrath of the Shāhinshāh, he took to flight, and went off from Mandū to Liwānī. H.M. left Mandū and pursued him. A number of loyal officers such as Mīr Mūazz-al-Mulk, Muqīm Khān, Muḥammad Qāsim Khān of Nīshāpūr, Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram,
226 Dastam Khān, Māṣūm Khān Farankhūdī, Qatlaq Qadam Khān, Kharram Khān, Qulīj Khān, I'timād Khān, Caghatai Khān, and others were sent on in advance in order that by marching rapidly they might head that devious one. H.M. with some of his intimates made a great expedition, and on the day of Dīn 24 Amardād, Divine month, corresponding to Saturday 26 Ẕī-l-ḥajja, he arrived at evening at the village of Liwānī.[1] The ill-fated one had already left it. H.M. remained there that night. Meanwhile 'Itimād Khān and Darbār Khān, who had been commissioned to lead aright the strayed one, were sent off to guide to the highway of auspiciousness the wanderer in the wilderness of ignorance. Next morning H.M. advanced from Liwānī. On the route the envoys returned and reported that as it was the day of his destruction he ('Abdullah) had regarded their admonitory words as a trick and had turned away from the blessing of presenting himself. It happened that the Disposers of success and victory had guided those who have been already mentioned as forming the advance to the village of Bāgh.[2] There they learnt that the ill-fated one had sent his family on ahead, and had himself halted. It chanced too that on account of the ups and downs of the

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[1] لوانى qu. Liwānī in Indore.

[2] In Gwaliār, I.G. I., 414.

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route, many of the advance-guards had got separated. A few, such as Muḥammad Qāsim Khān of Nīshāpūr, the Khān 'Aālm, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Sāmānjī Khān, Khwāja 'Abdullah, Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān, and Saiyid 'Abdullah went forward and boldly engaged, assailing the enemy with a shower of arrows. 'Abdullah Khān, regardless of the secret forces (*i.e.*, the heavenly helpers of Akbar) turned round in his reverted fortunes, and accepted battle. To his companions he said, "The grand army has made a long march and only a few have come up, we are many and full of vigour, let us be brave and attack." With this evil design he turned his face to battle, and made a hot onset. The fortune-befriended ones gave proof of courage and devotion and had drawn up their forces when swift couriers brought the news to H.M. The royal standards pressed forward. On that day Khāksār Sulṭān, from want of understanding, presumptuously suggested to H.M. that the expedition should be abandoned. The royal wrath boiled over and H.M. put his hand to his sword and in his rage rushed at the man. The fool got off his horse and took refuge among the horses' fore and hind feet. H.M. also dismounted and went up to him and struck at him with his sword. As it was an Indian *khānḍa*,[1] it did not kill[2] him, and when the royal clemency saw him fallen on the ground (*khāk*) of disgrace it spared him. In truth this wrath was such as became the royal disposition, so that everyone might know his place, and speak in accordance therewith. For it is a wise maxim that it does not become every servant to serve in the Presence. Nor is everyone who is a personal servant fitted for the carpet of honour. Nor is everyone who is worthy of that carpet 227
entitled to sit there. Nor is everyone who has the honour of companionship permission to speak. Still less is this so when he who is addressed is the Khedive of the universe. And when permission to

[1] Straight, double-edged sword, especially used in Orissa. See Egerton's Indian Armour, pp. 51, 104, 105, and 117. Also Blochmann 110.

[2] *ta badam narasīd.* *dam* also means the edge of a sword, and this is probably the meaning here. But the Iqbālnāma seems to take *dam* as meaning life. Perhaps the meaning is that as the weapon was a powerful one, Akbar did not fully use it. The words *muḥāfaẓat firmūd* seem to mean "he restrained himself," but perhaps they mean, "he warned him." Maulvi Abdul Haq Abid tells me that the *khānda* is a short, pointed sword. Probably the meaning is that, as the sword was short, the point, that is, the *dam*, did not reach Khāksār.

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speak has been granted, it is not becoming to oppose the royal desires. In fine, the hardihood of opposing the weighty designs of kings, and of going against their opinions, is discommended by wisdom, and disapproved of by the wise. But when those majestic ones have of their own accord conceded to one of the farsighted courtiers of honour's carpet, lofty rank, and have selected him for special service, then if he, under the guise of humility, represent the truth, assuredly he shall have performed his duty.

In fine, H.M. the Shāhinshāh moved the standards of fortune, which are the embroidery of victory, and cast the shadow of prestige over the sincere combatants. He came in person to the field of battle and arrived at a place where the hostile arrows flew over his head. The Divine protection delivered him from the darts of misfortune. On H.M.'s right was Mun'im Khān, and on his left I'tīmād Khān. At this time, when the flames of contest were kindled, a secret inspiration made him order the drums of victory to be beaten. He addressed the Khān-Khānān and said, "There is no need for further delay: we must attack the enemy." Saying this he was about to give the reins to his horse. The Khān-Khānān in a despairing voice, humbly said, "Your Majesty's idea is a good one, but it is not the time to spur on alone. See, there are a number of devoted men: let us all charge together." H.M. got angry and was about to charge. I'timād Khān in his fidelity seized his rein. H.M. rebuked him and advanced. Just then the enemy became conscious of the royal glory and the kingly onset, which was such as not to be withstood by a mountain. Their feet and their hearts gave way. The Divine halo which accompanied that royal rider, dispersed those ill-fated wretches and overwhelmed them. Some of 'Abdullah Khān's leading men were killed, and many were made prisoners. A victory, such as was a masterpiece of epochs, was won merely by the royal fortune's being set in motion. On that day of victory the number of the imperial servants who were with H.M.'s cavalcade was not more than 300. For instance there were M'unim Khān Khān-Khānān, M. 'Azīz Kokaltāsh, Saif Khān Kokaltāsh, Muqīm Khān, Muḥd. Qāsim Khān of Nīshāpūr, Mīr M'uizz-al-mulk, Mīr 'Alī Akbar, Shāh Fakhru-
228 d-dīn, Ashraf Khān, 'Itimād Khān, the Khān 'Aālm, Āṣaf Khān, Lashkar Khān, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Dastam Khān, M'aṣūm Khān Farankhūdī, Qilīj Khān, Raḥmān Qulī Khān Qūshbegī, Kharram

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Khān, Qutluq Qadam Khān, Khwājah 'Abdullah, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī, 'Aādil son of Shāh Muḥammad of Qandahār, Muṭṭalib Khān, Caghatāi Khān, Rajah Todar Mal, Rai Patr Dās, Khāksār, Wazīr Jamīl, Murād Beg. Though the victorious army was few in numbers and had made such a long march, and the enemy were there with all preparation and were more than a thousand horse, the Divine aid gave it the victory. Where prestige comes in, smallness of numbers does not count, and where the stewards of destiny are present, how can earth-born ones stand up against them!

In short, after that rout, and after the standards of victory had been upreared, H.M. halted there for the night and despatched some devoted officers under the command of Qāsim Khān of Nīshāpūr to pursue the rebel. As it rained heavily during the night, those who were appointed for this service could not advance more than four or five kos. In the morning H.M. himself marched and sent on men to the advanced party with directions that by every possible means they might come to an engagement. The devoted soldiers pressed forward, and on the morning of the day of Ashtād 26 Amardād corresponding to Monday 28 Zī-al-ḥajja, 7 August 1564, the royal standards reached Ālī[1] in the beginning of the third watch. Ḥakīm 'Ain-al-mulk, who was acquainted with the Rajah of Ālī, went and brought him to do homage. He joined the troops and went on with them. On this day, which was the time of testing ability and courage, Timur Īkka[2] showed cowardice. H.M. got him a special horse and appointed him to go forward as scout. The worthless fellow's courage failed him, and he made the false excuse of illness. A watch of the night remained when H.M. mounted his horse, and as the air was hot he rested for a time under the trees, and sent Khūsh Khabar Khān to go on quickly and get information about the men, who had been sent in advance. He was there when Khūsh Khabar Khān came and brought the news of their victory.

The particulars of this were that the landholders of that neighbourhood had from loyalty joined the army, and set their hearts

1 Ālī is the Ali Rājpūr of I.G. and apparently the Ālī Mohān of Jarrett II. 251. It is a Native State in S.W. corner of Central India, and lies N. Narbada and E. Baroda.

2 Quatremère N. et E XIV. 86 n. says, ایکه is a Mongolian word meaning great.

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upon doing service. The brave men of the victorious army raised
229 the war-cry (*sūran* [1]), and fell upon the camp of 'Abdullah Khān near a defile, from which Cāmpānīr is visible. That infamous one, who had no sense of honour, fell into confusion and left his women in the wilderness, and went off, taking his son with him. The great officers surrounded all his property, especially his women and his elephants, and halted at that stage. Mīr M'uizz-al-mulk and a number of officers followed the wretches for five kos, and by their rapid movement succeeded in coming up with them. They dispersed many of them, and Mīr M'uizz-al-mulk and some others were decorated (lit. made red-faced) by being wounded. The villain escaped from that place of danger, with frustration and loss, and only half-alive. As he had still some breaths remaining, he reached the boundaries of Gujrat. As no world-obeyed order had been issued for making that country the arena of fighting, the victorious troops stopped there. When the good news reached the royal ears, H.M. went forward and arrived at that place, and returned thanks to God. The loyal officers were exalted by an audience. An abundant booty, consisting of women, elephants, horses, as well as money and other goods, were shown to him. Among them the elephants Āprūp,[2] Gajgajhan, and Saman were received with special attention, and indeed each of them was creation's masterpiece.

After returning thanks to God, H.M. the Shāhinshāh beat high the drums of retreat towards Māndū. He completed the distance in three marches, and on the day of Mārasfand, 29, Amardād, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday, 2nd Moḥarram 972, 10th August, 1564, alighted at the pleasant quarters of the fort of Māndū. From thence he sent bulletins of victory to the imperial dominions, and especially to Agra where Khwāja Jahān and Moẓaffar Khān were managing the State-affairs; he remained nearly a month in that auspicious city, and made regulations for the management of the country. He also promoted the officers in accordance with their services and abilities. Among them was Mūqīm [3] Khān, who had distinguished himself during this campaign, and who was glorified by a *khilat*

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[1] Apparently this word is a form of *surnā*, a trumpet. The word is Turkish.

[2] Apparently this is Khusrū's elephant Abrūp. Blochmann 467. It is called Āprūp in the Maaṣir I. 571.

[3] Blochmann 371.

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and the title of Shujā'at Khān. As the noise of the setting up of the standards of victory had been diffused over Mālwa, and the sound of the drums of fortune had penetrated to the ears of everyone, all the leaders and chiefs of that country came and did homage, and 230 the landholders put the diadem of fortune on their heads by kissing the ground. During that glorious residence, it was reported to H.M., that 'Abdullah Khān had gone to Cingīz Khān, who was then powerful in Gujrat. H.M. ordered that one of his able officers should be sent to Cingīz Khān to request him to send the wretch bound to the Presence, or to expel him from the country. Accordingly Ḥakīm 'Aīn-ul-mulk was sent with the rescript. Cingīz went nearly to Campanir to receive the rescript, and displayed great adulation, and sent several of his confidential servants to Court with suitable presents and a humble petition. Its purport was that he was the king's slave and must obey orders. Inasmuch as H.M. was a forgiver of faults, and a distributor of favours, it would be in accordance with the cherishing of his slaves if he would, on this occasion, forgive his ('Abdullah's) offence and let him (Cingīz) send him to court. If this request did not obtain acceptance, he would of course thereafter expel the inauspicious one. Ḥakīm-'Ain-ul-mulk arrived at Agra with Cingīz Khān's presents one day after the standards of fortune had reached there.

Among the occurrences was that Khān Qulī, who was one of the brave servants of 'Abdullah Khān, and had been left by him in charge of Handīa, made a petition to the effect that he was still there in the whirlpool of mingled hope and fear. If he should be favoured by the news of personal safety, he would become one of the slaves of the court. Accordingly a comforting order was issued to him, and he received that as an amulet and came to court with a number of his followers. There he obtained auspiciousness.

Another occurrence was that Muqarrib Khān, who was one of the officers of the Deccan, came by way of Berār and did homage. He was received with kindness and obtained Sarkār Handīa as his *jāgīr*.

Another occurrence was, that Mīrān Mubārik Shāh, the ruler of Khāndīs, whose ancestors had held that territory for many generations, sent ambassadors and splendid presents to court. He represented through H.M.'s intimates that his great wish was that his daughter

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231 might be included among the ladies of H.M.'s seraglio. As H.M. the Shāhinshāh is a granter of desires, Mīrān's request was acceded to, and a favourable order was issued. 'Itimād Khān, the eunuch, who was one of the confidential servants of the court, was sent with Mīrān's ambassadors upon this service, together with noble gifts. When 'Itimād Khān came near the fort of Āsīr, which was Mīrān's residence, Mīrān hastened to welcome the glorious rescript, and brought 'Itimād Khān with honour inside the fort. Knowing that H.M.'s favour was the document of his own eternal bliss, he despatched his chaste daughter in proper form. A number of nobles accompanied her. 'Itimād Khān arrived, when H.M. had departed one stage beyond Māndū, and conveyed the daughter to the harem. He recounted the respectful behaviour of Mīrān, whose good qualities and sincere devotion were approved of at court.

One of the occurrences was that as H.M. the Shāhinshāh is innately disposed to forgive offences, and to cherish the poor, Ḥasan Khān Khazāncī, Pāyinda Muḥammad Panc Bhīya, and Khudā Bardī Yatīm were sent with a rescript of favour to the confines of Dūngarpūr to soothe Bāz Bahādūr, the former governor of Mālwa, who was wandering about in exile in those parts, and to bring him to Court. As the envoys brougnt the news of the royal favour, Bāz Bahādūr recognised his good fortune in this and showed a desire to return to service, and prepared to set out. At this time, a foolish eunuch of his came from Agra, and by making improper observations, as is the way of wretched praters, withheld him from the highway of fortune. As the black pall of wretchedness had not yet been removed from his fortune, Bāz Bahādur involuntarily made some idle excuses and remained excluded from the bliss of doing homage. He put off the period of this great success to another time. He sent back the envoys with petitions full of his shame and offences.

In fine, Māndū remained the residence of H.M. for nearly a month, and when he had made administrative regulations, he in a happy hour, *viz.*, in the middle of Shahriyūr, Divine month, corresponding to the end of Moḥarram, turned his reins towards Agra. While he was encamped at Nālca, he appointed Qarā Bahādūr Khān and other officers to the government of Māndū, and issued an order that the retribution for everyone, who in this expedition had withheld himself from accompanying the royal cavalcade, and had chosen

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the dust of delinquency as a stain on the face of his service was, that he should remain in Mandū with Qarā Bahādūr Khān and be excluded for a while from the Presence. He remained the following day to arrange affairs, and on the third day, he started in the height of the rainy season for Agra. The march was made through floods, and on the way H.M. frequently rode on *mast* [1] elephants. One day he mounted on the elephant Khāndī Rai, which had no equal for ferocity and obstinacy, and proceeded towards the next station. That sky-high elephant was such that powerful drivers could not keep their seat on him in the time of his violence. By a sublime device of H.M., one goad had its point buried in the elephant's head while the handle was securely fastened on the beast's back, while he held another in his hand and struck the elephant's head with it whenever he was obstreperous. By means of these two instruments he restrained him from outbreaks of ferocity and made him obedient. In this majestic manner he arrived at the end of the stage. His attendants who beheld his wondrous power, were amazed and regarded the performance as the effect of Divine aid, and opened their lips in prayer for his long life and dominion. After encountering storms and traversing mountains which poured down floods, the army reached Ujain, and then making four marches from there arrived at Sārangpūr. He stayed one week there in enjoyment, and then went on to Khīrār. For two stages he travelled through that wonderful country of hill and forest. For two days this lion of the forest of sport hunted elephants and brought several females within the noose of desire. From there he went on march after march till he came to Sīprī. At that stage the news was given by the scouts that there was an extensive forest in the vicinity, and that there was a herd of elephants in it. H.M., the Shāhinshāh, from his delight in hunting went thither as soon as the Prince of the East and West (the sun) had wrapped himself in the brightness of the dawn. When he came near the forest, seventy elephants came in view. Among them there 233
was one magnificent animal. Bold men made the whole forest an enclosed park and proceeded, according to signal, to drive the herd

[1] *Mast* is not always used in the modern sense of "savage," or "rutting." It often merely means young and full-blooded. See Akbar's classification in Blochmann 124.

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towards the camp. They had driven it some distance when a female elephant came out of the herd and rushed at the horsemen. She came to Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn,[1] and threw him from his horse. Then she went for the horse, leaving the Mīr fallen. Meanwhile the gallant men displayed alacrity. The Mīr, in his confusion, lost his head and put his finger on his mouth as a sign to them to be silent. This action of the Mīr's was, for a long time, a source of amusement (to Akbar). That day the herd went off. All H.M's efforts were directed to the capture of the elephant above mentioned, and at last they brought it within the noose. At the same moment H.M. mounted upon him, without regard to his power or to his having been newly caught. Abu-l-fazl, the narrator of this masterpiece of Divine power, has heard from the pearl-dropping tongue that this was not a wild elephant, but one that had escaped from the rulers of the country. H.M. gave it the name of Kherī Sang. Next day he halted in the same place and went after the herd. Suddenly five female elephants appeared, and he set off to hunt them. By H.M.'s exertions three females were caught. While the camp was stationed at Sīprī, an order was issued that the scouts should exert themselves to produce the herd of elephants.

It was the end of the day when one of the savage denizens of those wilds, who are in their language called Bhīls, came to the camp and gave an indication of where the herd was. This man was a servant of Rājāh Jagman of Dhandhera. As the world-traversing cavalcade had not happened to pass through his territory, he had driven it away from there, and he had also arranged that, if by chance the camp should be in the neighbourhood, information should be given that Jagman had out of loyalty left huntsmen for the purpose of the sport. When the joyful news arrived, H.M. the Shāhīnshāh at once mounted and went off to that place. Nearly seventy elephants were seen in motion. Among them one *mast* elephant was remarkable for the beauty of his movements. Brave men proceeded to drive the animals from all sides. That elephant in his pride and *mast* condition paid no attention to them. The female elephants got separated from the herd and went to attack
234 the beaters. Just then a female elephant ran and threw Muḥammad

[1] Blochmann 406.

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Ṭālib, the elder brother of S'aīd Badakhshī from his horse. Then it proceeded to trample him. The spectators felt certain that his bones would be reduced to powder. Meanwhile, the elephant saw that the horsemen were approaching, and taking the man in her mouth and trunk ran off. When the horsemen got nearer to her she flung him off and ran away still faster. As soon as he was flung down he got up and ran, to the astonishment of those who saw it. But when we consider the marvels of Divine power, there is no room for astonishment. In short, H.M.'s sublime genius engaged itself in capturing the aforesaid elephant. He gave an order that a war elephant should be brought from among the special elephants and made to fight with him. The elephant Bhirūn, which was equal to that elephant, was brought and set to fight with the other. A great contest ensued. After Bhīrūn had made great exertions he turned tail, and they had great difficulty in keeping the wild elephant off him. At this time an excellent idea occurred to the inspired mind whereby the hunting of elephants might be easily accomplished. This [1] was, that whenever the herd of elephants showed themselves, active horsemen should surround them at a distance, so that the elephants should not see them. By beating of drums they gave (the elephants) to understand that there were a number of people behind them (the elephants?). Two elephants were associated together and were ridden in such a way that the riders should not be seen. They were taken to a place that had been selected and there bound. Meanwhile the wild elephants were driven very slowly forward till at length on account of the imitativeness which is part of beasts' nature, the herd went towards the two elephants. They came there of themselves and were then tied up. It was a source of great joy when this excellent plan, which, till now, had never entered the head of any prince, was imagined by the holy mind. An order was issued that the troops should advance on all sides, and that having taken the wild elephant already mentioned along with the rest of the herd, they should proceed towards the camp. The officers obeyed the order and tucked up the skirt of service. When they arrived at the fort of Sīprī they drove the herd inside. When the whole herd together with the great elephant had entered the fort, the latter again showed violence.

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[1] *Cf.* Blochmann 284, 285.

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H.M., in order to chastise him, had the elephant Khāndī Rai, which was a match for him, brought up and put face to face with the wild elephant. These two moving mountains had a great fight, and contended together for one watch of the day. Khāndī Rai nearly broke the pride of the wild elephant, but on a sign from H.M. to the attendants, Khāndī Rai was withdrawn. The wild elephant, by mighty blows, broke the stone wall of the fort and went off into the wilds. H.M. sent Yūsuf Khān, the elder brother of M. 'Azīz Koka with a
235 number of men to capture the elephant, which was now wearied. Meanwhile, he personally attended to the fastening-up of the herd. Strong elephant-drivers brought in the wild elephants on every side. An order was given that the elephant Ran[1] Bhīrūn, who was a powerful animal, and distinguished among the special elephants, should be brought and made to head the elephant aforesaid. Again these two mountain-forms contended together. As the wild elephant had fought a great deal, he was nearly being overcome. The drivers brought him to the foot of a large tree, and bound him with strong ropes. Slowly he grew tame, and was gradually included among the special elephants. He received the name of Gajpatī. When H.M. had sufficiently gratified himself with hunting, he went on all the faster towards the capital. The route taken was by Narwar and Gwālīār. And when the grandees of Agra heard the sound of the approach of the army, which is the voice of the organ of joy, they all came to welcome it, and did homage. They attained temporal and spiritual felicity by the favouring glances of H.M. the Shāhinshāh. H.M. arrived at the capital on the day of Zamīyād 28 Mihr, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday, 3 Rabi-al-awwal, 9th October, 1564.

One of the occurrences, which occurred during this happy time, was the birth of twins. Two priceless jewels appeared from one matrix, two world-lighting stars emerged by one ascension, two (pairs of) glorious eyes received brightness, two (sets of) earrings were exalted, two precious necklaces shone, two powerful arms came into being, two wrists of success appeared, two beauteous eyebrows came into being, two ears of joy were opened. That is, two twin-princes were born. The worlds expanded with joy, and the parterres of

[1] This appears to be the Bhīrūn already named, for it is described as a second encounter.

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flowers smiled. The carpet of joy was spread from shore to shore and happiness was proclaimed to mankind. The sound of the drum of rejoicing was heard throughout the nine heavens, and the strains of the organ of felicity resounded over the six sides of the world.

Verse.

There was such a round of bumpers
That patience deserted patience, and sense left sense.

H.M. took the blooming of these two rose-bushes as an omen of **236** the auspiciousness of two worlds. He returned thanks to God, and named one of the twins Mīrzā Ḥasan, the other Mirza Ḥusain. Qāsim Arslān made this chronogram about the birth of those two royal pearls.

Verse.

The unique king had two sons as successors
Two jewels came into the hands from the casket of success.
Time searching for the date wrote thus:
Two [1] moons appeared from the zenith.

These two unique pearls of the ocean of holiness, returned to the ample domain of the other world after one month. They flung down the coin of their lives for their father. H.M. felt grieved at the departure of those two early fruits, but trod the pleasant path of acquiescence and resignation, for to the farseeing there is no remedy save submission and resignation against the inevitable Divine decrees.

Among the occurrences were the laying the foundations of Nagarcain,[2] and the playing of polo. The Architect of the workshop of wonders and the Geometrician of marvels hath willed that the holy personality of H.M. the Shāhīnshāh shall be such an aggregate of perfections that he display celestial glories in everything; and that in every place he shall devise thoughts of beauty

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1 The Persian words yield 972.

2 See Badāūni, Lowe 69. He remarks that the place had wholly disappeared. See Blochmann 298*n*. See Fanthome's "A Forgotten City," J.A.S.B. for 1904. He identifies Nagarcain with the village of Kakrālī within the boundaries of Qabūlpūr seven miles due south of Agra.

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and be the adorner of kingdoms. Accordingly H.M. turned his attentions towards the improving and beautifying of the noble village of Kakrālī. That land of flowers was distinguished among pleasant places for its climate, etc., and was one league (*farsang*) distant from Agra, and H.M. frequently halted there when he left the city for recreation or hunting. There he enjoyed the sport of hunting, and soothed his mind by the capture of beasts and birds (*i.e.*, hawking) in those meadows. When he returned from Mandū to the capital, he decreed that pleasant dwellings and life-cherishing gardens should be made there. Accordingly engineers laid the foundations of delightful houses in an auspicious hour and in the time of a fixed constellation which is suitable for the foundation of delight.
237 In a short time clever builders finished the work. Similarly the officers and other servants created dwellings and laid out gardens suitable to their conditions. It soon became so civilized that it was like the cheek-mole of cities. H.M. gave to that holy spot and first-fruits of mystery the name of Nagarcaīn, *viz.*, the city of repose. He often played polo there, and enjoyed hunting there.

In this year, the ambassador of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the ruler of Persia, arrived and brought the rarities of that country as a present. Sulṭan Maḥmūd of Bakar begged that he might attain the office of Khānḷārkhānī, *i.e.*, of Khān-Khānān; but as there were officers greater than he, who, from knowing their position and from perceiving the nature of their predecessors, had not asked for this appointment, he did not succeed in his request. He sent much gold as a present to the Shāh, who is now defunct, with the idea that perhaps by his recommendation he might obtain this good fortune. The Shāh had accepted his request and had referred to the matter in his letter. But as the Khedive of the world was seated on the *masnad* of appreciation of merit and of justice, the currency required was merit, not recommendation. Especially when one like Mun'im Khān held this high office. Accordingly the request of the Shāh was declined, and the ambassador was dismissed according to the rules of princes.

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CHAPTER LV.

M. Muhammad Ḥakīm seeks to take refuge at the world-protecting court of the Shāhinshāh; the delivery of Kabul from M. Sulaimān; and other fortunate occurrences.

It has already been narrated how M. Sulaimān disposed of the wicked and ill-fated Abūl-m'aalī, and how he left Badakhshīs in Kabul. He did not appreciate the rights of the sublime family, and did the work of an enemy under the garb of a friend. He was continually trying to get possession of Kabul, and to keep M. Ḥakīm in one of the districts of Badakhshān. Though the loyal Kabulis understood in some measure M. Sulaimān's designs yet, as the proceeding was a strange one, they did not feel quite certain about the matter. At last he was not contented with the number of men he had already sent and took to sending more. One time, he sent 'Abdu-r-raḥman Beg, the son of Mīr Tolak Qadīmī with a force, and on another occasion he sent Tangri Bardī Qūshbegī with troops. The suspicions of the Kabulis were confirmed, and they took measures to remedy affairs. Those who took the chief part in this were Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī, Bāqī Qāqshāl, Siyūndak, 'Alī Muḥammad Asp, Banda 'Alī Maidānī with other Maidānians and Khwāja Khiẓrīyāns, Yār Muḥammad Ākhūnd, Fīrūz and Khalīfa 'Abdullah. They sent information of the facts to M. Ḥakīm, who had arrived at years of discretion, and he, who had been put into straits by the parsimony and bad behaviour of the Badakhshīs, approved of their solicitude, and set about expelling the Badakhshis. He took away the territory of Ghaznīn from Qarā Yatīm and the son of Ḥusain Kabulī, to whom it had been given by M. Sulaimān, and bestowed it on Qāsim Beg Parwancī. Bangash he took from Murād Khwāja and gave it to his own followers. Jalālābād and its territory up to the Indus, which M. Sulaimān had given to Qāẓī Khān, S'aīd K. Mubāriz K. and Bahāū-d-dīn K. he made his own exchequer-lands. By degrees he loosed the noose of oppression which the Badakhshīs had

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cast over Kabul, and expelled all of them from the country. The Badakhshīs were put down and went off to M. Sulaimān. Ghāzī K. met in the passes of the Hindū Koh M. Sulaiman, who was marching to Kabul to set matters right, and he told him all that had occurred. Thereupon he hastened towards Kabul. When M. Ḥakīm received the news of his approach, he made over the citadel to Bāqī Qāqshāl and a number of other trusty men and went off himself with a body of loyal followers towards Jalālābād and Peshawar. When M. Sulaimān came to the river Bārān, he halted there for some days in order to rest his men. As he knew that the Mīrzā was going towards Jalālābād, he put off the capture of Kabul to another season, and moved on to Jalālābād from Deh-Minār with the intention of making M. Ḥakīm a prisoner. When the latter arrived at Daka [1] an erroneous report was received that M. Sulaiman was not following him, and so M. Ḥakīm turned round and proceeded to Koh-i-Barān.[2]

The daughter of M. Sulaiman, who from want of sense had remained in Jalālābad, now repented and joined M. Ḥakīm (her husband) in the borders of Basāwal,[3] and apologised for her offence. At this same stage it became certain that M. Sulaimān was marching in that direction, and that the former report was wrong. The Mirza proceeded with all haste to Gharībkhāna,[4] and from there to 'Alī Masjid, and from there to Peshawar, where he halted near Qabīla-i-Ḥabīb.[5] On the same day M. Sulaimān's envoy arrived there with the idea that he might succeed in laying a snare for him. The Mīrzā after a brief interview (?) (*sir-i-su wāri*) dismissed him, and sent Khwāja Ḥasan to M. Sulaimān, while he himself proceeded towards the Indus. Just then Khāki Gallabān (shepherd), who had remained behind to get correct information, came and reported that M. Sulaimān had arrived at Jalālābad, and that he had left Ḥaram Begam there with a body of troops and was coming on. M. Ḥakīm quickly crossed the

[1] Or Dakka; at the west end of the Khaibar.

[2] Perhaps the Bārān river.

[3] Yasāwal in text. On the south side of Kabul river and east of Jalālābād. See Raverty's Notes, p. 45. It is also known as Bihsūd and as Dih-i-ghulāmān.

[4] The old name of Landī Khāna, Raverty, p. 40. See also Jahāngīr's Memoirs quoted by Raverty, p. 45. Landi Khana apparently means "small river."

[5] I cannot identify this place.

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Indus, and sent Ghālib Beg and Ṭūfān Aujī with a humble petition 239
to the Shāhinshāh's world-protecting court. He described his wretched circumstances, and begged for assistance.

He himself halted on the bank of the Sind-Sāgar.[1] As at that time the government of the province of the Panjab was in the hands of Mīr Muḥammad Khān, the elder brother of the Ataga K., the Mīrzā sent his Diwān Khwāja Beg Maḥmūd, and Maqṣūd Jauharī to him and begged for help. Mīr Muḥammad K. sent Qāẓī 'Imād with presents and an encouraging message. The Panjab officers also sent presents suitable to their rank. When M. Sulaimān heard that M. Muḥammad Hakīm had crossed the Indus, he became hopeless and returned from Peshawar. He proceeded towards Jalālābād by the Karappah[2] route, and on the way had fights with the Shinwāri Afghans. Many of the Badakhshīs were killed, and some goods belonging to the camp-market were plundered. Hārūn Shinwāri, who was the head of the tribe, was killed here. M. Sulaimān left Qambar and a body of troops in Jalālābād, and proceeded to Kabul which he set himself to besiege. The garrison were on the alert and took measures to strengthen the fort. At the time when Nagarcain was by the advent of H.M. the Shāhinshāh made the cynosure of the seven climes, M. Ḥakīm's ambassadors arrived and were through the instrumentality of the courtiers exalted by doing homage. They conveyed the petition of the Mīrzā to the royal hearing. This was favourably received, and as the cause of the Mīrzā's trouble was his not having a prudent and well-wishing guardian, H.M. the Shāhinshāh in his abundant wisdom took thought about a guardian and chose for this high post Quṭbu-d dīn Khān, who was distinguished for his prudence, ability and trustworthiness. An order was also issued that the cream of the Panjab troops should, under the generalship of Mir Muḥammad Khān, join the Mīrzā and convey him to Kabul and seat him firmly on the *masnad* there. After doing so, Quṭbu-d-dīn K. was to remain in Kabul while the officers should return to their fiefs. An order was issued to Mir Muḥammad K., and to the great

[1] Apparently the Indus is here meant, but A.F. says Akbar gave the name of Sindh Sagar to the valley of the Bihat and Sindh, Jarrett II. 311.

[2] In the Mohmand country. See J. II. 401 and note: also Raverty's Notes 176.

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officers such as Muḥammad K. and Qulī K. Birlās, the Governor of Multan, Quṭbu-d-din K., Mahdī Qāsim K., Ḥasan Ṣūfī Sulṭān, Jān Muḥammad Bahsūdī, Kamāl K. Gakhar, Fāẓil Muḥammad, Qulī K., and to the headmen of the country that they should march quickly
240 and join the Mīrzā on the bank of the Indus, and proceed with him against M. Sulaimān and put a stop to his molestation of Kabul. H.M. also sent a large sum of money from the royal treasury, together with comforts and luxuries along with the ambassadors.

When the orders reached the officers, they bound the girdles of obedience on the waists of loyalty and went off with the army to serve the Mīrzā. Quṭbu-d-dīn, Kamāl K., Fāẓil Muḥammad Qulī K., and a body of troops joined the Mīrzā before the others. By the reception of the royal favours and by the royal graciousness, the Mirza's position acquired fresh glory. They crossed at the ferry of Atak-Benares [1] and proceeded towards Kabul. Mir Muḥammad K. and the other officers joined the Mīrzā with proper equipments near Peshawar. Each officer offered presents suitable to his rank. By the lights of the royal favour which shone upon the cheek of the Mīrza's circumstances, his officers assumed a splendour such as he had never imagined or dreamed of, and he marched on to Kabul with high hopes and right intentions. They did not draw rein till they reached Jalālābād.

As M. Sulaimān had made over Jalālābād to one of his men named Qambar, Mir Muḥammad K. began by sending Sāqī Tarnābī and 'Aārif Beg to advise him. He from ill-fatedness withdrew his neck from the collar of obedience. As that moribund was in his ignorance not merciful to his own life, the army set about capturing the fort. The fortress-taking heroes girded up their loins for the capture, and by the strength of their arms easily untied the difficult knot. They mounted with the foot of courage the steps of fortress-capture, and set up lofty scaling-ladders. They planted them against the wall of the fort, and essayed to enter. Though the Badakhshīs opposed them to the utmost of their power, and neglected no point of defence, and assailed the attacking party with arrows and bullets, etc., and threw the dust and ashes of opposition on the heads of the

[1] Jarrett II. 311, n. 3.

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climbers to victory's summit, yet no dust remained on the mirror-hearts of these gallant men. And if occasionally some climber were wounded and thrown down, they had not[1] so little a desire to capture the fort as that they should become apprehensive on seeing him, and should refrain from going on. On the contrary their courage increased, and they put their feet on his head and ran upwards. By the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh they took the fort in the space of an astronomical hour and put to the sword Qambar Ali and his 300 comrades. They let go two of them in order that they might 241
impress upon M. Sulaimān what they had seen of the fate of Qambar and all his comrades.

The head of Qambar was sent as a present to the battlements of Kabul, and encouraging letters were sent to Bāqī Qāqshāl and the men of Kabul to inform them of the arrival of the army of fortune. When the news of the favour and of the helping-hand of H.M. the Shāhinshāh, and of the capture of Jalālābād reached Kabul, the sound of joy rose high, and the head of Qambar was made an ornament to the battlements. Though M. Sulaimān was disconcerted by the capture of Jalālābād and the noise of the approaching army, yet he comforted his panic-stricken men by declaring the news to be false. He said it was a clamour of the Kabulis, till at last the two Badakhshīs came and confirmed the tidings of the victory. Thereon, the thread of patience fell from the hands of M. Sulaimān and Ḥaram Begam, and the cord of coherence became unloosed. Disheartened, and in evil case, they debated as to whether they should fight the victorious army or return to Badakhshān. After argument they decided upon flight.

Next day M. Sulaimān retired from the siege of Kabul and turned back his horses (*lit.* shod them backwards). He went in the direction of Jalālābād and arrived at Khwāja Riwāj. He gave out that he was going to fight the Mīrzā. At nightfall he became perturbed and went towards Badakhshān. As he was crossing the river Parwān a great flood came down, and carried away much of the Badakhshīs' baggage. With a thousand difficulties, and with precautions that no one should see him, he reached Badakhshān. The

[1] The negative *nadāshtand* is curious, but A.F.'s meaning seems clear enough.

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victorious army had arrived at Jagdalak when the news came to Kabul of the flight of M. Sulaimān. M. Ḥakīm and the officers came to Kabul. The inhabitants being released from the troubles of defending the fort raised shouts of joy to heaven. The whole population rejoiced, and offered up prayers for the long establishment of those royal standards which cast the shade of justice far and near. After some days Quṭbu-d-dīn K. went to visit Ghaznīn, which was the home of his family, and took Kamāl K. with him. He spent days in pleasure in that place where he had been born and brought up. He showed kindness to all his clan, and to all his friends, near or remote. He returned after laying the foundations of stations, gardens and buildings, which are marks of auspiciousness, and produce
242 pleasant memories. After arranging the affairs of Kabul, the Khān Kilān foolishly resolved to take upon himself the office of the Mīrzā's *vakil* and stayed in Kabul. He bade adieu to the officers, and they returned to India. Sakīna Bānū Begam, the younger sister of M. Ḥakīm, went to India in order to thank the Shāhinshāh for his kindness and from a wish to enter [1] the holy service. She proceeded under the guidance of Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad K., and obtained fortune by kissing the threshold.

As there was no inborn goodness in M. Muhammad Ḥakīm's disposition, nor any development of sound reason, and no honest and loyal servants, disturbances arose at this time when by the Shāhinshāh's influence the affairs of Kabul had been arranged, and the Khān Kilān was established as administrator. The sedition-mongers of Kabul stirred up strife and Muḥammad Ḥakīm Mīrzā on account of his youth was always giving ear to falsehoods. And Mīr Muḥammad K., who was noted for his impetuosity and roughness, did not adopt conciliatory ways and was put out by petty matters. He conducted things with severity, and so things did not proceed harmoniously between him and the Mīrzā and the Kabulis. Though the Mīrzā used expressions of obedience, yet he transacted many important matters without consulting the Khān Kilān. One of them was that Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī was passing his days in Kabul, and that the Mirza without consulting H.M. the Shāhinshāh, or reference to the Khān Kilān, gave his sister, whom his mother had formerly

[1] Akbar gave her in marriage to Naqib K.'s son, B 449.

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married to Shāh Abu-l-m'aāli, in marriage to the Khwāja. When the latter had the glory of such an alliance, he took to managing the affairs of the Mirza's household, and used to do things which he ought not to have done. Also many men of the Mirza's household used to say things which were not agreeable to the Khān Kilān's disposition. Mir Muḥammad Khān, in spite of the hastiness of his character, could read men, and was acute and far-seeing. He could see in the diary[1] of to-day the catalogue of the events of the morrow, and in his ill-fatedness he thought it proper to consult his own repose though he should act contrary to the Shāhinshāh's order. He perceived that evil days were coming upon him, and as he saw that the outcome would not be good he proceeded to look ahead. In a night[2] of nights he, without anyone's knowledge, marched from Kabul, and took the highroad to India.

He also sent a report to the sublime court, detailing the intrigues of the Mīrzā's palace, and the commissions and omissions which were taking place in Kabul. If the Khān Kilān for his own satisfaction took such a bootless course, he should have from his knowledge of the world, etc., sent Khwāja Ḥasan, Yār Muḥammad Ākhūnd, Fīrūz 243
and some others along with the officers to India, so that the Mīrzā's affairs should not go the length of becoming sedition and also he should not have returned in such fashion. But when there is a Divine design for some act, the wise and farsighted are previously made foolish, and then the hidden purposes are revealed. And, in fact, in such matters there is nothing left for the acute and intelligent, but to be spectators and to become acquainted with the Divine decrees.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Qulīj K. to Rohtās in order to conciliate Fatḥ K. The short account of this is that there is in Bihar a fortress named Rohtās which is one of the greatest in India, and which is a marvellous work of the Creator. It stands on a very high hill and is guarded from the thought of disturbance. Its length and breadth are more than five *kos*. The ascent from the plains to the terrace of the fort may be more[3] than a *kos*. A wonderful

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1 That is, he could interpret the future by the light of present events.

2 Apparently the meaning is that the night was a very dark one.

3 The Ṭabaqāt has "half a *kos*." The meaning must be that the road rises for a *kos* or half a *kos*, not that the hill is half a *kos* high.

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thing is that though the fort is situated so high, good water is found whenever the soil is dug to the depth of two yards. From the time it was built, no ruler had ever got possession of it, except Sher Khān, and he took it by fraud by introducing troops dressed as women, as has already been briefly related.

After that it fell into the hands of Fatḥ Khān Patni,[1] who was one of the great sirdars of Sher Khān and Selīm Khān. Supported by this fortress he used to contend hotly with Sulaimān who had acquired the government of Bengal. From far-sightedness he was always making representations to the well-wishers of the empire. At this time, when the notes of the disloyalty of 'Alī Qulī K. Zamān were visible far and near, H.M. sent Qulīj Khān to Fatḥ Khān, who was always sending representations of his submissiveness, to ascertain his disposition and to confirm him in the path of service and obedience. He was to arrange that when the standards of fortune reached the borders of Jaunpur, he (Fatḥ Khān[2]) should attain the reward of performing service and should bring the coin of his fidelity to be tested by H.M., and should prove to all and sundry the genuineness (*saragī*) of its quality. Qulīj Khān reached Rohtās with all possible speed, and confirmed him in the straight path of service. And he brought his younger brother Ḥasan K. Patnī into service in order that he might obtain princely favours by being admitted to the Presence. At the time when the glorious cavalcade returned from elephant-hunting in Karhara and Narwār, of which an account will shortly be given, to the capital, they were exalted by kissing the ground. Ḥasan Khān was encompassed by the Shāhinshāh's favours.

In the beginning of this year the cupola of chastity, Ḥājī Begam, who was one of the pure wives of H M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Ashiyānī[3] and the daughter of his mother's maternal uncle, and mother of

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[1] The Ṭabaqāt seems to have Batanī, see Jarrett II. 402.

[2] Perhaps the meaning is that Fatḥ K. undertook to do it.

[3] *Dakhtar-i-taghāi-i-wālida-i-ḥazrat-i-īshān.* Blochmann has taghaizāda-i-wālida-i-Jannat ashiyāni which seems taken from the Maaṣir, and he renders this, p. 465, as "daughter of Humāyūn's mother's brother." Perhaps then Ḥājī Begam was Humāyūn's cousin, and not his mother's cousin. Bābar Mem. 388 calls her the daughter of Yādgār Taghāī. Perhaps A.F. by the expression *taghāī-i-wālida* only means to emphasise the fact that she was the daughter of Humāyūn's maternal uncle, or per-

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Alāmān Mīrzā, was permitted to go on a pilgrimage to the holy places. **244** H.M. arranged this pilgrimage to the holy places in an excellent manner and provided all things necessary, and bade her goodbye. Though his holy heart did not wish to be separated from her, yet he preferred her wish and granted her request. A large number of persons obtained the same favour by this opportunity.

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haps he means that the uncle was the mother's full brother. I think we may gather from the fact of Gulbadan Begam's not accompanying Ḥājī Begam on this pilgrimage that her husband Khiẓr Khwāja was still alive. He was probably made Amīr-al-'umrā after Adham Khān's execution.

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CHAPTER LVI.

EXPEDITION OF H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH TO THE PROVINCE OF NARWAR FOR THE PURPOSE OF ELEPHANT-HUNTING.

The Khedive of the world always employed himself in various kinds of hunting and other diversions so that a spectator might suppose that nothing but these amusements touched the hem of his heart. H.M. always conducts himself outwardly with reference to the creature, and inwardly with reference to God, and so superintends the order of things external and internal. He always adorns externals as if he were one of the external and superficial, and internals, like the wise esoterics of the true *qibla*. At this time he devised elephant-hunting as his veil, and in Isfandarmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Rajab,[1] he proceeded to Narwar and Karhara.[2] The attraction of pleasure took him to Dholpūr. As its climate was equable he crossed the Cambal on an elephant, and passed by way of Gwālīār. When he reached the borders of Narwar the huntsmen brought the good news that several herds of elephants were roaming in the forest of Narwar. An order was issued that the camp should halt in that pleasant spot while H.M. entered that forest with a few attendants. He wandered for two days in that endless forest and then came upon a herd of elephants. He made an enclosure according to the old method, and after catching the wild elephants in it returned to the camp. One of the successes of the hunt was that one day while he was engaged in the chase in the wilds of Narwar his eye fell upon a serpent which was nearly seven Akbarshāhī[3]

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[1] The T. Alfi has "in Rajab 972, corresponding to Monday the 27th of (qu. before) the true vernal equinox of the 10th Divine year." The Persian is *bīstu haftam nauroz sulṭānī duham ilāhī*, and perhaps the reference is to the fact that Akbar's accession took place on the 10 Isfandarmaz, about three weeks before the beginning of the solar year.

[2] Qu. Karara in Gwaliar, W. of Jhansī. But probably it is the Karharah of Jarrett II. 189, the zamindārī of which is said to be included under Ratangadh.

[3] See Jarrett II. 61. The Akbar

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yards in length and which had consumed several *cītal*[1] (spotted deer-) which are a kind of deer, and was about to destroy more. H.M. ordered the noxious animal to be destroyed so that it received retribution for its actions. He stayed there for two days disposing of the world's affairs, and sent Lashkar Khān Mīr Bakhshī to Asaf Khān in Garha in order that he should send to court such of the war-elephants and other goods, which had fallen into his hands during the campaign with the Rānī by virtue of the royal good fortune as were fit for presentation. An order was issued that Khwāja Ghīāssu-d-dīn[2] 'Alī of Qazwīn should act for Lashkar Khān during his absence. H.M. devoted himself to hunting, and adorned the hunting-quarters with his presence.

Shāhī gaz was apparently = 41 fingers long.

[1] The spotted deer, axis maculatus. The text has *mādh āhū* ماده آهو but the word is the Arabic مادة *māddat*, matter or species.

[2] The T. Alfi says, "afterwards styled 'Āsaf Khān."

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CHAPTER LVII.

245 BEGINNING OF THE TENTH YEAR, TO WIT, THE YEAR DAI OF THE FIRST CYCLE.

In this season of expansion and on this auspicious soil, when the airs of joy were circulating in the brain of fortune, a vernal happiness possessed the soul of the Age. The advent of the world-enkindling new year diffused abundance over the terrene and terrestrials. The hundred-petalled rose bloomed forth.

Verse.[1]

The rose sought to unfold her petal-wings
That she might fly in company with the nightingale.
The early buds half-opened on the ends of their stalks
To bear away the hearts of the claw-sporting birds;
The spectacle of flower and leaf reveals
That at each step the road of love rises and falls.
May I imitate the nature of this garden's buds
With a hundred tongues in their lips they are silent
'Tis for the Shāhinshāh's advent they've spread
Carpets of roses and brocades of jasmine.

After nine hours and twenty-one minutes had passed of the night of Sunday, 8th Shābān 972, of the lunar year, 11 March 1565, the sun entered his mansion of exaltation, and the tenth year of the reign began, *viz.*, the year Dai of the first cycle, and another spring was added to the equable spring of the Shāhinshāh's character. H.M. was in the same delightful meadow which the artists of springtide had

[1] These verses are not very intelligible. The Lucknow editor has an useful note about them. The third last line alludes to the leaves or petals being regarded as tongues. The flowers have hundreds of petals or tongues and yet are silent, and the poet hopes that he may be the slave of the intellect of the buds. The fifth and sixth lines seem to refer to the alternation of flower and leaf.

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decorated, when on the next day the desert-traversing huntsmen announced that in a certain quarter there was a forest full of elephants. H.M. the Shāhinshāh was delighted at this news and hastened off to the chase. He captured the elephants and sent them to the camp. He spent the night in the forest, and next day came to the camp. On the way the huntsmen announced that at the distance of eight *kos* from the halting-place there were more than 250 elephants wandering at their free will in a forest. H.M. was delighted and at once went off to the spot. At the end of the day he arrived at the grazing-ground of those mighty forms. In accordance with his orders the servants surrounded the elephants and drove them towards Bayānwān.[1] Half the night had passed when they had driven them into the fort. By H.M.'s orders a pond was dug by the camp-attendants, large enough to charge with moisture those cloud-like animals, and it was filled up with pure water so that these heated river-quaffers enjoyed the springs of that bounty which guarantees the satisfaction of all from the elephant to the gnat.

After those wild creatures had been caught [and] fastened with 246
ropes, some were sent to Narwar, some to Gwalīyār, and the most of them to the camp. In connection with this affair H.M. spent two days in the neighbourhood of the fort of Bayānwān. Certainly, on the occasion of this delightful occurrence—the like of which was not to be witnessed anywhere else in the pleasant lands of India—the spectators enjoyed a wondrous spectacle and had cause for admiration. What sublime contrivance! What lofty conceptions! How the Lord of the Age brought into captivity such a number of savage, mountain-like heaven-ascending animals! From thence he turned towards the camp which was in the vicinity of Karhara, and stayed there about twenty days. As it was the time of the mingling of two seasons, and the air was becoming heated, and as the climate of that warm, elephant-haunted country was not conformable to the human constitution, many of the camp-party fell ill. H.M. had compassion on humanity and bade the beating of the drums of return. He left some of the followers to capture the remaining elephants, and went on stage by stage, and hunting by the way to Gwalīyār. There H.M.'s constitution became somewhat affected by the climate and long marches. In a short

[1] Bapānwa in text. See Jarrett II. 188.

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time, however, he was restored to health, and sickness was changed into soundness.

(*I'tilāl ba i'tidāl mubaddal shud.*)

Five or six days after his recovery he proceeded towards Agra, and in a fortunate hour, which was a chosen one of stars and horizons, he cast his light and his shadow on that fortunate city.

Among the principal events of the year was the founding of the fort of Agra. It is not concealed from the minds of the mathematical and the acquainted with the mechanism of the spheres that since the world-adorning creator hath decked Time and the Terrene with the existence of the Shāhinshāh in order that the series of creations might be perfected, that wise-hearted one has exercised himself in bringing each individual life from the secrecy of potentiality to the theatre of performance. At one time he has prepared the constituents of rule by perfecting the earth for animated nature by improving agriculture by irrigation and the sowing of seeds. At another time he stablishes spiritual and temporal dominion by building fortresses for the protection of products and the guarding of honour and prestige. Accordingly, he at this time gave directions for the building in Agra—which by position is the centre of Hindustan—of a grand fortress such as might be worthy thereof, and correspond to the dignity of his
247 dominions. An order was then issued that the old fort which was built on the east bank of the Jamna, and whose pillars had been shaken by the revolutions of time and the shocks of fortune, should be removed, and that an impregnable fort should be built of hewn stone. It was to be stable like the foundation of the dominion of the sublime family and permanent like the pillars of its fortunes. Accordingly, lofty-minded mathematicians and able architects laid the foundations of this great building in an hour which was supreme for establishing a fortress. The excavations were made through seven strata of earth. The breadth of the wall was three *bādshāhī*[1] yards

[1] It is not quite clear what is meant by the bādshāhī gaz, but most probably it is the Iskandari gaz which was introduced by Sikandar Lūdī and consisted of the width of 41½ copper coins till Humayun increased it by half a coin, making the length 42 Iskandari coins. See Jarret II. 11, where it is stated that the Ilāhī gaz was apparently made of universal application, l. c. p. 58. The account in the Tab. Akbari differs

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and its height sixty yards. It was provided with four gates whereby the doors of the dominion were opened towards the four quarters of the world. Every day 3 to 4,000 active builders and strong-armed labourers carried on the work. From the foundations to the battlements, the fortress was composed of hewn stone, each of which was polished like the world-revealing mirror, and was ruddy as the cheek of fortune. And they were so joined together that the end of a hair could not find place between them. This sublime fortress, the like of which had never been seen by a fabulous geometrician, was completed with its battlements, breastwork, and its loop-holes (*sang-andāz*) in the space of eight years under the faithful superintendence of Qāsim Khān Mīr Barr u Baḥr.

In this year H.M. determined that a person should be appointed to the lofty office of Ṣadr, who should be distinguished for wisdom and probity, etc., in order that ascetics and devout persons might approach the sublime threshold and receive pensions and support in accordance with their condition. In this way they would be comforted and be able to give themselves up to their devotions without anxiety. Though this tribe of men is to be found in every country, and there is no clime without them, yet they are most numerous in the districts of India. It was indispensable that there should be at the head of such an affair someone who should be firstly single[1]-eyed, so that this high office should not be a scene of grasping and contention, and that he should not covet the goods of the poor, for to cast eyes of desire on everyone's property is to make oneself a public and private plunderer. It would be most wretched if he should in this way seek to satisfy the maw of his desires! Secondly, he must be capable and a discerner of mankind so that he be not unduly swayed by the recommendations of oppressors, the blandishments of flatterers,

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from Abul Fazl's. According to it the breadth of the wall was ten yards, and the height more than forty yards. The moat was twenty yards wide and its depth ten yards. It also states that the work was finished in four years. Cf. also Blochmann, 380.

I do not fully understand A.F.'s statement that the excavations extended through seven strata or layers of earth. Apparently he is referring to the foundations generally and not to the moat. I suppose "seven layers" is merely a rhetorical expression for a great depth.

[1] Text *ser-casm* which apparently means full-eyed, *i.e.*, independent.

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248 and his own ignorance. He must be able to appraise every man according to his merit, and so further their work. Thirdly, he must not have a patrician nature (*mīrzā ṭabī'yat*) and so spend his time in sloth and pleasure, and delay the business of the poor. On the contrary he must be strenuous, and one who distinguishes not between night and day so that he may carry matters through and show the most exquisite devotion towards the needy.

When this right and proper idea took possession of H.M. and he was in search of one who was adorned with the qualities above described, or who was resolved to acquire them, and was eager in the pursuit of them, Muẓaffar Khān, who had the control of affairs, appointed Shaikh 'Abdu-n-nabī to this high office at the instance of misjudging panegyrists and prattlers, and then reported the matter to H.M. and recommended his being confirmed therein. The Lord of the Age, out of that excellent disposition which thinks nothing but good of men, relied upon Muẓaffar Khān's knowledge and made the appointment. He ('Abdū-n-nabī) decked out his shop with hypocrisy and fair-seeming, and the Lord of the Age, who abode in the peaceful abode of thinking well of men, was pleased with him. In a short space of time he, by means of a crowd of flatterers and interested persons, and by the ascendancy of the short-sighted and ignorant, sold his studentship at the rate of teachership, and his superficial learning became converted into substantial wisdom. He was the grandson [1] of Shāikh 'Abdul Qaddūs whom the people of India regarded as a saint. But as God hath made H.M. the Shāhinshāh the touchstone of men's merit, this man was also tested, and the veil was withdrawn from his actions, as will be related in its proper place.

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[1] The text has erroneously *bait* for *bek*, but it is corrected in the Errata. 'Abdu-n-nabī was the son of Shaikh Aḥmad son of Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Qaddūs Gangūī. Badāūnī has a biography of him, III. 79. It seems that he fell into disgrace with Akbar for putting a brahman to death on a charge of blasphemy. There is some account of 'Abdu-l-qaddūs in Jarrett II. 374 and note 2, and a notice of 'Abdu-n-nabī in Blochmann 546. See also the Darbār-Akbarī, p. 320, and Blochmann 268 et seq.

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CHAPTER LVIII.

March of the Shāhinshāh to put down the sedition of Khān Zamān 'Alī Qulī, etc.

To those who have drunk[1] down to the lees of understanding it is no secret that[2] the "world is like wine in that it intensifies whatever exists already." If a man is of happy fortune, the acquisition of worldly things increases his auspiciousness and improves his personality so as to produce a thousand advantages to him. If, however, a man's destiny be evil, and his disposition bad, worldly success is productive in him of a thousand mischiefs. His outward prosperity is a cause of affliction to mankind, and his darkened heart becomes day by day more and more dark. His erring feet stray more and more, and he neither recognises the favours he has received nor does his duty to his benefactor. According as he is situated, he some- 249
times practises deceit and hypocrisy, and sometimes he withdraws the veil from before his actions and becomes openly as well as secretly a sedition-monger. The evil-ending career of 'Alī Qu. Khān Zamān is an instance of this. From the commencement of the coming into India, and the polishing of that great country which resulted from the Light of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, he was always committing improprieties. The vessel of his nature was of small capacity, and so intoxication became apparent, and already some instances of this have been given.

H.M. the Shāhinshāh, from the breadth of his views, was continually washing the record of his faults and crimes from his own pure soul with the water of forgiveness. That black-fated one did not appreciate this clemency, but went on to accumulate wickednesses.

When it came to the royal hearing that the Iskandar Khān

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1 Text, *durd-kashān*, but many MSS. have *daryā-kashān*.

2 This is a line or part of a line of verse.

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Uzbeg's[1] brainless head had been affected by seditiousness, H.M. winked at this, and at the time when he went towards Narwar for the purpose of elephant-hunting he sent Ashraf Khān to him together with conciliatory orders and invited him to come to court and to abandon evil thoughts and take the highway of auspiciousness. When Ashraf Khān came to Oude, which was Iskandar Khān's fief, the latter showed alacrity in going out to welcome the royal commands and treated Ashrāf Khān with respect. He brought him with honour to his abode. When he became acquainted with the contents of the royal missive he made his submission, and outwardly began preparations for attending the court. He spent a long time in making those pretences, but in reality he was acting hypocritically and was concocting another scheme. At last he said to Ashraf Khān: "Ibrāhīm Khān is our Greybeard (*āq siqāl*), and is in the neighbourhood. Let us go and see him and proceed with him to court."

With this design they went from Oude to Sarharpūr, which was Ibrāhīm Khān's fief, and from there they hastened to 'Alī Qulī Khān. There the whole party determined upon opposition and emerged from the screen of ashamedness, and proclaimed rebellion. They said to one another: "At this time the royal *cortège* is far off and engaged in elephant-hunting; let us form two bands! Iskandar Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān will go to Qanauj by the route of Lucknow, and stir up strife there, and 'Alī Qūlī Khān and his brother Bahādur Khān will go by the route of Manikpūr against Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl who is *jāgīrdār* there and raise the flames of sedition. In this way, per-
250 haps, we shall succeed." When the evil schemes of those wretches had settled upon this course, they kept Ashraf Khān among them by criminal methods. Ibrāhīm Khān and Sikandar Khān went towards Lucknow and 'Alī Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khān went towards Karrah and Mānikpūr.

When the report of the rebellion reached the officers of that quarter, such as Shāham Khān Jalāīr, Shāh Budāgh Khān, Amīr Khān, Muḥammad Amīn Dīwāna, Sulṭān Qulī Khāldār, Calma Tawācī, Shāh Ṭāhir Badakhshī, and his brother Shāh Khalīl Ullāh, Gadā 'Alī Tūlakcī, Khān Qulī Sārbān, Yūsuf Taghāī, and others, they

[1] Blochmann 365. I presume he is the son of Sāīd Khān of Kashghar. See Tar. Rash.

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assembled together and faced the rebels. A hot engagement took place between them and Sikandar Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān near the town of Nīmkhār.[1] Muḥammad Amīn Diwāna attacked the rebels' centre, and levelled many with the dust. But during the attack his horse stumbled and he was thrown to the ground. The wretches crowded round him and made him prisoner. Though Shāham Khān and Shāh Budāgh Khān were somewhat disheartened by seeing the fate of Muḥammad Amīn yet they at length advanced in a devoted manner, and made many efforts. They contended manfully, and the brave on both sides fell on the field. As the faithless to their salt were superior in numbers, the imperial officers judged it right to retire to the fort of Nīmkhār, and they reported the circumstances to the sublime threshold. 'Alī Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khan turned their rein towards Mānikpūr and extended the head of oppression there by plunder and rapine. Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, who was an experienced soldier, did not think it advisable to engage the rebels, and sheltered himself in the fort of Mānikpūr. He sent messengers to Āṣaf Khān, calling upon him to join him, and when the latter heard of the disturbance he left a part of his men to guard the Garha country and took a number of experienced troops with him and came to Karra. There he distributed among the soldiers the plunder which he had obtained in Cauragarha, and he also assisted Majnūn Khān with a large sum of money. When the latter was emboldened by Āsāf Khān's help he frequently sent out brave men from the fort to contend with Alī Qulī Khān's forces. At this time, too, Majnūn Khān and Āṣaf 251
Khān sent swift couriers and reported the state of affairs to court. The messages of the royalists came one after the other, when the royal *cortège* had returned from elephant-hunting and H.M. was engaged in administering the affairs of the empire. As the putting down of strife and sedition results in general tranquillity, and produces the comfort of the whole of mankind, H.M., conformably to the precepts of King Wisdom, who is the Viceroy of the capital of Divine power, always gave his attention to such matters and regarded them as more obligatory than all ordinances and more meritorious than all other good actions.

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1 A town in the Sītāpūr district of Oude, on the left bank of the Gūmtī. Jarrett II. 176, and Oude Gazetteer.

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When the purport of the representations of the officials became known to H.M., he, who is a world-opening key, determined that the thorny tree of the seditious should be destroyed, root and branch, by the strong blast of severity before it raised its head to the sky and had become firmly planted. Accordingly an order was issued for the assembling of an army, and in order that there should be no delay, Mun'im Khān was dispatched as an advance-force with a body of gallant men. During these few days H.M. personally engaged himself, from early morning till the end of day, in preparing an equipment for the army. A force was soon made ready such as that the swift steed of imagination could not enumerate by careering in the arena of computation. When the troops upon troops of soldiers were gathered together under the shadow of the sphere-touching banners, H.M. directed that the military and other elephants should be brought into the field. Out of them 2,000 were chosen to accompany the army.

When H.M. had obtained leisure for necessary duties he made over the government of Agra to Tarsūn Khān, and on the day of Tīr the 13th Khardād, Divine month, corresponding to Thurday 23 Shawwāl (24th May, 1565) he put the foot of dominion in the stirrup of fortune and crossed the Jamna. As the season was excessively hot, the army marched at night time, and came, stage by stage, to Qanauj. Mun'īm Khān Khān Khānān, who had gone on in advance, there tendered his homage. Qīyā Khān, who from his evil star had come into the faction
252 of the rebels, obtained through the intercession of the Khān-Khānan the privilege of kissing the foot of the throne. Inasmuch as the granting of life is part of H.M.'s nature, his numerous crimes were cast into the whirlpool of forgiveness and he was comforted by favours, and restored to his former position of confidence. From there H.M. proceeded to the bank of the Ganges, and ten days were occupied in crossing the army. At this time the imperial scouts brought the news that Iskandar Khān had on hearing the reverberation of the march of the royal army established himself in Lucknow. On hearing of this audacity, the wrath of the Shāhinshāh decided that he should march quickly there and personally chastise that wretch. Accordingly he left Khwāja Jahān, Muẓaffar Khān, M'uīn Khān and others of the officers in the camp, and at midnight went off on horseback. He spent one night and one day on the march, and at dawn on the second day

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the dust of the army rose up from the territory of Lucknow and became the collyrium of fortune's eye. An order was given that Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān Kokaltāsh, Shujā'at Khān and other heroes should proceed as the vanguard. Sikandar Khān, who from brainlessness and rashness had settled himself in Lucknow, became confused on hearing of the royal march, and strewing the dust of shame on his head took to flight. H.M. cast the shadow of fortune over Lucknow and reposed there. He appointed some gallant and capable men to continue [1] the chase, and those brave men followed up the fugitives, and wherever they fell in with them they with the glittering sword cast earth into the cup of their heads. Sikandar Khān escaped half-dead and joined 'Alī Qulī and Bahādur Khān. The prisoners had to stop on account of the exhaustion of their horses. 'Ali Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khān, who were facing Majnūn Khān and Āṣaf Khān became shaken on hearing of this event. They withdrew from the siege of Mānikpūr and went in confusion to Jaunpūr. They drove their families before them and crossed the Ganges at the ford of Narhan.[2] They took refuge on the other side in places [3] difficult of access. H.M. tarried in Lucknow till he was joined by the camp. Thereafter he marched on slowly and continuously to Jaunpūr. When the stone was removed from the path, Āṣaf Khān and Majnūn Khān and the other officers who were confronting 'Alī Qulī Khān entered on the highway of loyalty and joined H.M.'s army two stages from Jaunpūr. They brought suitable gifts. Among these, the presents of Āṣaf Khān, which consisted of the rarities of the country (Garha) and included 253
warlike elephants and Persian and Turkish horses, were approved of by H.M., and the splendour of his favour shone upon the field of his hopes. From the time when Āṣaf Khan had by the might of the Shāhinshāh's fortune conquered the territory of Garha, and obtained possession of the treasures of Cauragarha, he had drilled his troops so that they should be worthy of H.M.'s inspection. He now begged that he might now bring them before him, and as it is H.M.'s excel-

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[1] *tagamashī*. The word is not in Steingass, but see Vullers I. 453*a*, who quotes S. de Sacy's note N. et E. IX. 181. The Lucknow edition has a good note on the word.

[2] Narhan in Champāran. Jarett II. 156 n.

[3] *zamīnhāī qalb*. Bayāzīd says that the place was called Kandnā and that it was near the Son.

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lent habit to grant the petitions of the loyal, his request was granted and his hopes were gratified.

Next day, when the Prince of the East (the sun) had sat on the throne of the fourth heaven and shed light upon earth, and the soldiers of the night had been dispersed, Āṣaf Khān showed his army of nearly 5,000 horse in a plain which was broad as the palm of the genius of stoics, and open as the forehead of the generous. He was made the recipient of royal favours, and next day, which was the 3rd day of Tīr, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 14 Ẕi-l-hajja (13 July), the standards were unfurled in Jaunpūr. The quarters inside the fort were made auspicious by the royal advent, and H.M. addressed himself towards the improvement of that country which had been laid waste by the oppression of the rebels. As 'Alī Qulī Khān and the others had fled and crossed the Ganges, Āṣaf Khān and some officers of mark, such as Majnūn Khān and Shāh Muḥammad Khān Qandahārī were dispatched after them. For the sake of greater caution and in order to keep up the prestige of the sovereignty the royal insignia [1] were placed under the charge of Wazīr Jamīl and sent to assist the imperial forces so that the officers might be able to perform the *kornish* and pay their due respects, and be zealous in service. 'Alī Qulī Khān and the disaffected officers had gone to a rugged place (*jāī-qalb*) [2] near Hajīpūr and entrenched themselves. They applied for help to the black-fated Afghans such as Sulaimān Kararānī, who had obtained the government of Bengal, Fath Khān Batanī [3] (?) and his brother Hasan Khān who was governor of Rohtas. They were in the act of applying for such assistance when H.M. resolved to send one of his confidants to Sulaimān Kararāni to deter him from joining them. Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī, who was distinguished for address and eloquence, was sent upon this service. When he approached Rohtās a number of contumacious Afghans who were in league with the rebels forbade him to go to Bengal and took him before 'Alī Qulī Khān.
254 As Ḥajī Muḥammad Khān had old relations with 'Ali Qulī Khan, and

[1] *qūr bādshāhī*. Blochmann 50 n4. and see *id.* 473 for account of Wazīr Jamīl Beg Apparently the *qūr* was sent in order to inspire awe, or perhaps to make the rebels believe that Akbar was with the army.

[2] Kandnā. It was on the other side of the river from Hajīpūr.

[3] The text has Patnī, but the word is Baṭanī, *i.e.*, belonging to the Afghan tribe Baṭan. See Jarrett II. 402, 403; and Blochmann 204, p. 1 and 476.

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the latter was desirous of gaining him over, he treated him with respect. When he found that there was no hope of his being won over he put him under arrest. Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān did not let go the thread of loyalty and service, but continually gave him good advice. The first result of Ḥājī Muḥammad's Khān's detention among the rebels was that he deterred 'Alī Qulī from dangerous acts and induced him to enter the straight path of obedience. Accordingly in the end he brought him and his mother to the sublime threshold, as will be recorded hereafter.

One of the occurences was the dispatch of Ḥasan Khān Khazāncī (treasurer) to Orissa, which is a territory lying to the S.E. of India. From the time that India was conquered, none of the princes had raised his standard over Orissa. The rulers of that country had always been powerful, and the Rajah who was now ruling them was especially so. From the time when the Afghans had stretched their hand out over Bengal they had continually planted in the gardens of their aspirations the wishing tree of the conquest of Orissa, but it never bore fruit. For on the borders thereof there were dangerous passes and lofty mountains, and heights and declivities innumerable, and difficult forests so that grasping hands of princes could not reach it. It is difficult for armies to tread on that soil. Whenever any of the competitors for Bengal took refuge with the Rajah of Jagannāth, the ruler of Bengal could not lay hands on him. For example, Ibrāhīm Sūr, who has been already mentioned, took refuge with the Rajah of Jagannāth, and the latter assigned him a tract of Orissa for his subsistence. Though Sulaimān Kararānī exerted himself he could not put him down. On the contrary he was continually alarmed by him. At this time, when Jaunpūr was H.M.'s station, his sagacious mind, which[1] extracts the account of the morrow from the diary of to-day, determined to send one of his confidants to the Rajah in order to range him by gracious means in the lists of the obedient. Ḥasan Khān Khazāncī was chosen for this service, and Maḥāpāttar, who was unrivalled in the arts of Indian poetry, and of music, was sent along with him. The two went together to Orissa.[2] As soon as the Rajah heard of the

[1] A slight variation of the phrase used above with reference to Khān Kilān, page of text 242.

[2] Blochmann 611 n. M'utamad Khān says he knew the Oriya language, so probably he came from Orissa. He was formerly in the service of Bahādur Shāh of Gujrāt.

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255 Shāhinshāh's favours he sent out to welcome the visitors and had them brought with honour to his city. He treated them properly, and having bound the girdle of service on the waist of his soul he represented that if Sulaimān did not insert the ring of submission to the sublime court in his mental ear, he would collect an army and bring Ibrāhim, who was Sulaimān's competitor, against Bengal. He would do such things to Sulaimān that he would be a warning to all strife mongers. After the Rajah had entertained Ḥasan Khān and Mahāpāttar for three months, he selected elephants of note and other valuable presents and sent them to court. Ḥasan Khān, Mahāpāttar and the ambassador of Rajah Mukund Deo, who was called Rai Parmānand, had the honour of paying homage at Nagarcīn when the imperial *cortège* had come there from Jaunpūr.

One of the events which occurred when the camp was at Jaunpūr was the flight[1] of Khwāja 'Abdu-l-majād Āṣaf Khān. Good God! the worldly who are not right-thinking cast themselves into destruction by their own efforts, and give such proceedings the name of policy! One of the great misfortunes is that along with their presumption and ingratitude they shake like willows with regard to their own prosperity, and from some slight suspicion do to themselves in a moment a mischief that a thousand enemies could not accomplish. Thus Āṣaf Khān, out of haste and volatility, committed an act whose shamefulness could not be removed by the labours of all the writers in the world. Though the graciousness of the Shāhinshāh pardoned those faults and so cleansed the cheek of shame from the dust of crime, yet the mark of them remained. The point of this preamble is that Āṣaf Khān, who after having been appointed to high office had lately been honoured by the command of a victorious army, had, owing to the fact that fear attaches to the skirt of the perfidious, been carried away by the tale-bearings of strife-mongers, and had disregarded the preservation of his position, and from a vain terror fled to Garha. The brief account of this affair is that from the time when Āṣaf Khān conquered the territory of Garha and had taken possession of the treasures of Cauragarha and had basely and ungratefully concealed them from his king and benefactor, by whose favour he had been advanced from the

[1] According to Bayāzīd and the Ṭab. Akbarī Āṣaf Khān was frightened by Muẓaffar Khān's making inquiries about the Garha treasure.

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pen to the standard *az qalm-b-'ilm* ("from pen to panoply"), and had thereby prepared the materials of his own downfall, he had continually been under apprehensions. Though he, from not understanding matters, had sent bribes to the royal clerks, yet this had no success 256 as nothing but earth (*i.e.*, death) will fill the greedy maw of such covetous ones. They were always uttering dark hints. At the time when he brought his excellent army before H.M., and was treated with royal favours, the grandees were moved to envy and framed fictions and falsehoods. Inexperienced and unintelligent friends and chattering strife-mongers made one into a thousand and caused Āṣaf Khān to lose heart. At last, on 3 Mihr Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 20 Safar 973 (16th September, 1565), he left his tents and goods and went off to Garha with his brother Wazīr Khān and some friends, and did not turn back until he reached there. In the morning the well-wishers who had been named as his comrades reported the circumstance to H M. Their representation arrived at Jaunpūr at the time when H.M. was enjoying the pleasure of hunting. He appointed Mun'īm Khān Khān-Khānān to the charge of the army, and appointed Shujā'at Khān and some brave men to pursue Āṣaf Khān. Shujā'at Khān arrived at Manikpūr and searched for 'Aṣaf Khān. He learnt that he had reached Karra and was preparing to go to Garha. Shujā'at Khān secured boats and was meditating the crossing of the river. On the other side 'Āṣaf Khān got information of the coming of Shujā'at Khān and turned back with his army in order to stop Shujā-'at Khān on the riverbank. The boats had nearly reached the shore when Āṣaf Khān proceeded to oppose them. A hot engagement took place between him and the troops who were in the boats. On that day the interview was carried on up to evening by means of arrows and bullets. When night threw her dark veil over mortals, Āṣaf Khān thought flight his best resource and went off during the night. When at dawn Shujā'at Khān heard of the flight of 'Āṣaf Khān, he got quickly into boats and crossed the river and went off in pursuit. He came up with a party who had been left behind by Āṣaf Khān and learnt that it would be exceedingly difficult to reach him. So he turned his reins and came and did homage. He was exalted by kissing the threshold at Jaunpūr.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Qulīj Khān a second time to Rohtās. It has already been related that H.M. had sent

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257 Qulīj Khān to conciliate Fatḥ Khān and to confirm him in his allegiance. He arranged that when the imperial forces reached Jaunpūr, Fatḥ Khān should come to do homage and should bring with him the elephant Bakht Buland, at the time when H.M. was sent again for this purpose. A fresh reason for this was that, before the imperial troops had left the capital, Sulaimān had sent an army to Rohtās in order that he might get possession of it with the help of 'Alī Qulī Khān. Sulaimān's army had, with the assistance of 'Alī Qulī Khān, reduced Fatḥ Khān to straits when the news arrived of the approach of the imperial army. Thereupon Sulaimān's army withdrew from the siege, and Fatḥ Khān, who was nothing if not two-faced, when the neighbourhood of the fort was free from the molestation of Sulaiman's army engaged in collecting munitions and stores. He also sent secretly a message to his brother Ḥasan Khān, who had entered into service along with Qulij Khān, to the effect that he was now at ease about provisions and that Ḥasan Khān should by every possible means come to Rohtās. As it was difficult for Ḥasan Khān to come openly, he had recourse to stratagem, and represented that some high official should be sent along with him so that they might go to Rohtās and might bring his brother to the king with the keys of the fort. Accordingly Qulīj Khān was chosen for this service. He set about carrying out the commands and arrived at Rohtas. Though Fatḥ Khān made hypocritical representations yet they were false. Qulīj Khān perceived their worthlessness and returned. As the taking of that fortress and the conquest of the whole of the Eastern provinces belong to another time I shall not treat of them at present.

When 'Alī Qulī Khān had for a long time sat down in front of the victorious army and done nothing but strew on his head the dust of disappointment, he employed the time, which was one for shame and repentance, in developing still further his rebellion and disaffection. He sent Sikandar Khān, Bahādur Khān and a body of troops to the territory of Sarwar in order that they might then ravage and plunder. When H.M. heard of this he appointed Shah Budāgh Khān, 'Sāid Khān, Qīyā Khān, Ḥusain Khān (*i.e.* H. K. Tukrīya), Bāqi Khān, Maṭlab Khān, M'āsūm Khān Farankhūdī, Calma Khān, Muḥammad Amīn Dīwāna, Beg Nūru-d-dīn, Selīm Khān, and Fattū Afghān under the leadership of Mīr M'uīzzu-l-mulk and directed that they should
258 bar the path of the rebels and not suffer the dust of dissension to

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settle on that country. The imperial troops did not halt till they reached the pargana Khairābād. When H.M. the Shāhinshāh had administered such a remedy for the rebellious madness of 'Alī Qulī Khān, he proceeded to Allahabad. 'Ali Qulī Khān had thought that by sending his troops as above stated, he would cause a dispersion of the imperial army. When he was disappointed in this, he turned to deceit and hypocrisy and began by sending to Mun'im Khān Bībī [1] Sarv Qad, a woman who had been distinguished in the service of H.M. Firdūs Makānī (Bābar), and who reminded him of their old friendship. After that he sent experienced men to propose a reconciliation. Mun'im Khān in his simplicity, and on account of his being an old servant, witheld his hand from extirpating the disobedient. He put faith in 'Alī Qulī's deceitful words and made a representation to court, strongly recommending that the propositions should be accepted. H.H. the Shāhinshāh, though he was fully aware of 'Alī Qulī's evil nature, accepted, from his perfect kindness and liberality, the Khān-Khānan's representations and sent Khwāja Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī of Qazwīn to impress his princely graciousness (on 'Alī Quli) and to ascertain and report about what transpired at the meeting (between Mun'im Khān and 'Alī Qulī).

When Mun'im Khān was distinguished by this great favour he wrote to 'Alī Qulī Khān to the effect that they two should have an interview without the intervention of messages or messengers, and lay the foundation of sincerity and service. As there was a report at that time that some of the devoted heroes such as 'Aādil Khān and Jamāl Khān Bilūc had resolved that they would lie in wait and finish off the scoundrel, 'Alī Qulī Khān was very cautious about coming to see Mun'im Khān, and wished that the subject of a reconciliation should be carried on by letters and messengers. Mun'im Khān did not agree to this, and at last it was arranged that they should meet in the middle of the river, attended by two or three persons. Accordingly 'Alī Qulī Khān left his family where they were, and came with his army and boats towards the ferry of Causā, and pitched his tents at

1 This apparently comes from Bayāzīd who calls her Aghāī Sarv Qad. She was with Mun'im when he died, and apparently was his wife or mistress. Perhaps she is the Sarv Sahī of Gulbadan Begam's Mem, and who went with Gulbadan B. to Mecca, A. N. III. 145.

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Baksar opposite the camp[1] of the Khān-Khānan. Ḥasan Batanī, Sulaimān Mankalī, Kālā Pahār, officers of the Afghans, were with him. Messages and messengers passed between the parties, renewing the propositions of concord on both sides. Next day 'Alī Qulī Khān got into a boat, accompanied by three men, *viz.*, Shahriyār Kal who was
259 distinguished for courage, Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrāb, and his *qūrcī* who had the name of Āhū-i-ḥaram[2] (the gazelle of the harem), and proceeded towards the Khān-Khānān's camp. From the other side the Khān-Khānan also got into a boat, accompanied by three persons, *viz.*, Mīrzā Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn, 'Alī Bāyāzīd Beg, and Mīr Khān[3] the *ghulām* of Sulṭān Muḥammad Qabaq,[4] who was relied upon by Mun'im Khān, and went to meet 'Alī Qulī Khān.

The banks of the river were lined by the two armies. When the boats nearly met in the middle of the stream,[5] Ali Qulī Khān rose up and said "Kaifīyat[6] Legh" and "Peace be upon you."

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[1] Mun'im Khān was encamped at Narainpūr which, Bayāzīd says, was opposite Baksar and belonged to pergana Muḥammadābad and district of Jaunpūr.

[2] Bayāzīd seems to call him Beg Qūrcī. *Āhū-i-karan* is a name applied to a favourite youth or damsel. In Hilālī's poem of the king and the beggar, B.M.M.S. Add. 7781, p. 20, he says that the pariah dog of the palace-environs is equal to an *āhū-i-haram*, *i.e.*, to a royal favourite. See Ethe's translation, Leipzig 1870, line 443.

[3] Bayāzīd has Manīr Khān.

[4] The text has Rafīq, but the variant Qabaq has the support of Bayāzīd. The Bayāzīd Beg of the text is the memoirs-writer. He has described the interview, and A.F. has evidently used his narrative.

[5] The text has *jazīra-i-āb*, the peninsula of the river, and the phrase seems to be a reference to Bayāzīd's phrase "the middle of the Ganges and Jamna," but of course the meeting took place far below the junction of these rivers. Cf. the use of the word Jamna at A.N. III, 417, l. 9. Probably A.F. uses the word *jazira* in the sense of block or portion. The phrase might be paraphrased as "in the middle of the sheet of water."

[6] The Lucknow ed. says Legh means master, and a note to the Bib. Ind. text has adopted this explanation. In Bayāzīd 123*a* the words are *kaifast lagh*. Possibly it is a contraction of اولغ Ulugh great. One variant is *kaif akhī*, "How is my brother?" Bayāzīd seems to have *kaifast*. Perhaps then the meaning is, "How is the lord, or How do you do?" Perhaps the *legh* is the Turki affix used to signify abundance. Erskine renders it "All hail." Though A.F. seems to use Bayāzīd, he seems also to have had another authority. Perhaps it was Ghiāṣṣu-d-dīn's report. It was Bayāzīd who supplied

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Then he sprang into Mun'im Khān's boat and they embraced one another and sate down. The time of meeting passed partly in hypocritical[1] weeping, and partly in 'Ali Qulī's describing how he had sold service (*i.e.*, what work he had done for Akbar).

Some time, too, was spent in taking oaths and in making engagements. After that it was agreed that Mīrzā Ghiāṣṣu-d-din 'Alī should go to the Shāhinshāh and represent the state of matters, and request that H.M. should also send Khwāja Jahan[2]—by whose counsels the affairs of state were managed—in order that 'Alī Qulī Khān's mind might be fully set at rest, and that he might from the bottom of his heart make promises of loyalty. After these arrangements they separated, each going to his own camp. This affair took place in the beginning of Dai, Divine month, December 1565. M. Ghiāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī went to court and reported the circumstances, and H.M. sent Khwāja Jahān agreeably to Mun'im Khān's request. On the next day, after the interview with 'Alī Qulī Khān, Mun'im Khān crossed the river with a select party and proceeded to 'Alī Qulī Khān's quarters. Shāham Khān Jalāīr, the Mīr Munshi, Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān Ākhta Begī, Kūcak 'Ali Khān, Taimur Ikka and a number of others were with him. 'Alī Qulī Khān gave a great entertainment, and was very hospitable. Afterwards Mun'im Khān returned to his own quarters. Subsequently Khwāja Jahān came, and Mun'im Khān wished to take him with him and to go a second time to 'Alī Qulī Khān. Khwāja Jahān remonstrated and plainly said that 'Alī Quli Khān was a man (*jawān*) without moderation, and was displeased with him. He did not think it advisable to go to his quarters. If Mun'im Khān was bent upon their going, he should take pledges for their security. Mun'im Khān asked for Ibrāhim Khān Uzbeg as a pledge from 'Alī Qulī Khān and obtained him. Next day Mun'im Khān and Khwāja Jahān went and had an interview with 'Alī Qulī Khān in his quarters, and next day they had another meeting in Ibrāhīm Khān's quarters. Majnūn Khān Qaqshāl, Bābā Khān Qāqshāl and Mīrzā Beg[3] were present at this meeting, and a reconciliation

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the Koran for the two chiefs to swear upon.

[1] Bayāzīd says they wept about the death of Humāyūn as they had not met since then

[2] *i.e.* Amīnu-d-dīn, Blochmann 424.

[3] Nephew of Khwāja Jahān, and a poet. Blochmann 424.

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took place between them and 'Alī Qulī Khān. Although much was said about 'Alī Qulī Khān's going to court, no effect was produced,
260 and from his deceitfulness he would not consent to kiss the threshold. He said that when he had shown so much ingratitude, he had not the courage to go. He would now send his mother and Ibrāhīm Khān, who was a grey-beard among them. When he had done good service, he would himself attend. After much discussion this arrangement was agreed to.

Next day 'Alī Qulī Khān sent his mother, and Ibrāhīm Khān and some noted elephants such as Bāl Sundar and Acapla (?)[2] and others by Mir Hādī Niẓām Āqā. He also sent Ḥājī Khān Sīstānī who was a sort of prisoner. The Khān-Khānān and Khwāja Jahān left the army on the river-bank, and, taking with them 'Alī Qulī's mother, Ibrāhīm Khān and the presents, proceeded to court.

The Khān Khānān had a sword and shroud hung round Ibrāhīm Khān's neck, and had his head and feet bared, and so brought him into the Presence. Through his intercession the pen of forgiveness was drawn over the varied offences of those ill-fated ones. The holy tongue dropped these words: "Though it is plain that these evil-starred ones will not adhere to their promises, yet as we love to please you, their offences have been forgiven. Their fiefs will be given to them as before, but so long as the imperial standards are in this neighbourhood for the purpose of hunting and recreation, 'Alī Qulī Khān must not cross the Ganges to this side. When the court is established at Agra, their agents will come and get the patents for their fiefs put in order. They will thereupon enjoy their fiefs in accordance with the orders that shall be passed." The Khān-Khānān was exalted to the pinnacle of glory by the royal favour, and an order was issued that the sword and shroud should be removed from Ibrāhīm Khān's neck. The good news of pardon were[3] conveyed to 'Alī Qulī Khān's mother, who was in the Shāhinshāh's harem and had cast her face into the dust of lamentation, and was waiting for the royal forgiveness. As the transactions of those unworthy

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[1] Ibrāhīm was Khān Zamān's paternal uncle.

[2] qu. Acala, *i.e.*, immovable (?).

[3] *Rasānand.* Apparently A.F. means that Akbar personally gave the good news, and Mu'tamid Khan takes this view.

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wretches were hypocritical—as is not unknown to the acute and intelligent—the world-adorning Deity willed that the evil inner nature of these ingrates might be impressed on the simple-minded.

Some days after they had the bliss of doing homage, news came of the battle of Mīr M'uīzzu-l-mulk and the other great officers. The particulars of this occurrence are that when Bahādur Khān and Sikandar Khān had, at the instigation of 'Alī Qulī Khān, stirred up the dust of strife in Sarkār Sarwār,[1] a large force suddenly arrived from the imperial camp. On hearing of this they got confused and lost courage and had recourse to deceit and fraud. They sent a message **261** to Mīr M'uīzzu-l-mulk and the other officers asking how it was reasonable to suppose that they were going to oppose the imperial forces and engage in battle. Their desire was that they (*i.e.*, the imperial officers) should be the intermediaries for cleansing their offences, and they were sending to court noted elephants which had come into their possession by the king's good fortune, and were such as H.M. loved. And when it appeared that their faults had been washed by the limpid waters of forgiveness, which flowed from the sea of his graciousness, they too would come and ask for pardon. As Mīr M'uīzzu-l-mulk and the other officers knew the deceitfulness of the set, they rejected their overtures (*lit.* put the mark of rejection on the forehead of the wish of those wretches) and wrote in reply that the record of their crimes was not of a nature to be expunged from the register of time save by the bloody deluge (*tūfān*) of the shining sword. Bahādur Khān again sent a message to Mir M'uīzzu-l-mulk and requested that they should have an interview and discuss matters face to face. Mīr M'uīzzu-l-mulk agreed and came out of his camp with a few followers. Bahādur Khān also came out from his, attended by a few men, and embraced the Mīr. Proposals on both sides were submitted, but as deceit was patent on the foreheads of the contumacious, peace was not established, and the time passed in futile talk.

When the state of the matters was reported to H.M., he issued an order that Lashkar[2] Khan and Rāja Todar Mal should join the

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1 Blochmann 381 n. 1. Perhaps the Saror of Jarrett II. 185, Elliot takes it to be Surhārpūr in Faiẓābad.

2 Blochmann 407.

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army with his men. If they considered that fighting was the proper course, they were to take part; if it seemed advisable to accept the petitions of the rebels, they were not to allow them to despair of the royal clemency. When these two loyal servants arrived with their troops, they at once sent a message to the rebels to the effect that if their protestations of devotion, etc., were genuine they should honestly proceed to court. Otherwise, it was not manly to waste time and to put their hands to deceit. As their hearts and their tongues were not in accord, they were not guided aright. They waxed still bolder in their contumacy near Khairābād,[1] and as the imperial army was not aware of the intreaties of 'Alī Qulī and of the graciousness announced by the Shāhinshāh, and also as the first body of troops had displayed indifference to fighting, the Rajah[2] and Lashkar Khān determined upon war and drew up their forces. The centre was officered by Mīr M'ūizzu-l-mulk, Itmād Khān Khwājasarā (eunuch), Mīr 'Ali[3] Akbar, Rājah Todar Mal, Lashkar Khān, Daulat Khān Faujdār and others; the right wing by Qīyā Khān, Ḥasan Akhta, Sher Sultān, Rajāh Mattar Sen, Karamsai[4] (?), Mihr 'Alī son of Ustād Yūsuf and others: the left wing by Bāqī Khān, Shāh Budāgh Khān, Mattalib[5] Khān, Fattū, Nāṣir Qulī Uzbeg and others. The vanguard was under Muḥammad Amīn Diwāna, M'āṣūm Khān Fa-
262 rankhūdī, Qatlaq Qadam Khān, Shāh Fanāī, Ṣad Raḥamat Uzbeg, Qalmāq Bahādur, and others. The reserve-vanguard (*iltmish*) was under Khān 'Aālam, Hindū Beg Moghal, Rai Sāl[6] Darbāri, Rai Patr

[1] Jarrett II. 177 and Oude Gazetteer.

[2] See Blochmann's account of the battle in his notice of M'ūizzu-l-mulk, 381.

[3] M'ūizzu-l-mulk's younger brother. Blochmann 382.

[4] He is mentioned again, along with Rām Cand. under the year 985 A.N. 111. 201. Perhaps he is the Karm Cand of the Tūzuk and is a grandson of Bihārī Mal: cf. Blochmann 387 n. 1.

[5] So in text but Blochmann 403 has Maṭlab.

[6] Rai Sāl Darbārī, B. 419, where he is called the son of Rai Mall Shaikhāwat. But according to Tod's Annals of Rajāsthān II, chapter on Ambar, he was the son of Sūja and apparently the grandson of Rai Mall. Tod has a long and interesting account of his advancement. He is often mentioned in the A.N. Vol. III, and at p. 809 he is stated to have been raised to the rank of 2,500 in the 47th year of the reign. He was also employed under Jahāngīr.

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Dās, Dāūd Khān Faujdār, and others. On the other side the rebels were in three bodies: one under Bahādur Khān, one under Iskandar Khān, and one under Muḥammad Yār, brother's[1] son of Sikandar. This last was in the van. A hot engagement ensued. The enemy's vanguard had the advantage somewhat, when the reserve-vanguard showed courage and drove it off. Muḥammad Yār was killed and many others of the enemy perished. Sikandar, who was behind the vanguard with a chosen force, turned and fled, followed by the victors who slew whomever they reached, until they came to the bank of a black piece of water.

Sikandar, in fear of his life, cast himself into the black water and brought out his head from the black earth[2] (*sīāh*). Many of his best soldiers went down in that slough of darkness. The victorious troops, who had pursued Sikandar, dispersed in order to plunder the fugitives. Bahādur Khān was in ambush with a body of men and came upon the left wing at this time of seizing and snatching. A battle took place and Shāh Budagh Khān fell from his horse, and was made a prisoner. His son 'Abdu-l-maṭṭalib did not obtain the glory of good service, and Nāṣir Qulī and a number of ingrates strewed the dust of faithlessness on their heads and joined the enemy. Bahādur drove off the force and then proceeded against the centre. The centre, without fighting, let fall the thread of war from its hand and chose the disgrace of flight. Muḥammad Bāqī Khān[3] withdrew himself under the pretext of guarding the baggage, and sundry persons from hypocrisy and treachery did not fight and turned their backs. Owing to their misconduct the army which had conquered was defeated. Rajah Todar Mal, Qīyā Khān, 'Itmād Khān and the men of the reserve-vanguard gathered together and stood their ground, but as the army was in confusion there was not a successful result. This was the consequence of presumption!

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[1] Bayāzīd has "sister's son" and the T.A. says he was Sikandar's son-in-law.

[2] Apparently the piece of water was lake or morass. Sikandar struggled out of the mud and water, but many of his followers were drowned or slain. Badāūnī, according to the Bib. Ind. ed., makes Sikandar cross the river Siyah (the Sye?).

[3] This is Adham Khān's elder brother.

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Those misunderstanding ones did not perceive with what perfect knowledge the Lord of the Age had directed a conciliatory course. Whoever acts in this way has himself to thank for the result.[1]

263 Next day the dispersed soldiers reassembled and proceeded towards Qanauj. The leaders sent representations descriptive of what had occurred. H.M., who is a mine of clemency, passed over such grave offences, inasmuch as he had lately overlooked other offences, and sent for the officers. Those who appeared to have behaved with insincerity remained in disgrace and were debarred from the bliss of doing *kornish*, while the sincere were, in spite of the condition they were in, rewarded by special favours.

One of the occurrences of this time was that, when H.M. was in Jaunpūr, Sher Muḥammad Dīwāna[2] set to plundering Samāna[3] and soon got the punishment due to his actions. This ill-omened wretch was one of the servants of Khwājah M'ūazzam. Afterwards he entered into the service of Bairām Khān, who made him a favourite on account of his good looks. In the time of Bairām's power he held a confidential position, but when adversity came he took the path of ingratitude. Something of this has been already said in its proper place. As H.M. is a fountain of justice, though the desertion was advantageous to himself, yet he could not approve of it as such vile conduct is the worst of qualities in a man. So Sher Muḥammad did not become a *persona grata*. For some time he lived in the town of Sāmāna. When 'Alī Qulī Khān and a number of others rebelled, and H.M.'s forces marched to extinguish the flames of their sedition, this predestined wretch collected a crowd of vagabonds, and proceeded to make a disturbance. Mulla Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Tarkhān, who was the faujdār of that part of the country, had left one Mīr Dost Muḥammad in Sāmāna to manage the affairs of the pargana. One day that scoundrel invited Dost Muḥammad to his house, and, in the very midst of the entertainment, was sharpening the arrow (for his destruction). Suddenly, while the feast was going on, he put the arrow into the notch (curve) of the bow and struck that innocent man in the breast and killed him. He

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[1] *Lit.* Whoever meets with such a result, what he sees, he sees of himself. I am not sure of the meaning.

[2] Blochmann 524.

[3] In Sarkār Sirhind, J. II. 296.

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then laid hold of all the goods and chattels which were in that *pargana* and rushed off to *pargana* Māler.[1] He killed likewise the Shiqdār of that pargana, which appertained to the exchequer-lands, and seized whatever property was there. Vagabonds flocked round him and he made incursions into the provinces, till at length Mullā Nūrū-d-dīn collected a number of men and set about putting him down. The madman was enjoying himself in the village of Dhanūrī[2] (?) which is on the borders of Samāna. On hearing of the arrival of Mullā Nūru-d-dīn he did not make much account of it and proceeded to attack the Mullā with a small force. 264

In the moment of the attack his horse struck against the trunk of a tree and fell. A number of men ran on foot and seized him. The Mullā put the ill-omened madman to death, and was rewarded by princely favours.[3]

One of the occurrences was that H.M. visited Chunar from Jaunpūr. As the Shāhinshāh's natural disposition is to forgive injuries, he, at the urgency and intercession of Munʿim Khān Khān-Khānan, drew the pen of pardon over the record of the crimes of ʿAlī Qulī Khān and other rebellious lords, and then was struck by the idea of seeing Benares and the fortress of Chunar, which is one of the celebrated forts of India. With this intention he left Āshraf Khān in charge of Jaunpūr and marched off on the day of Dai-ba-mihr 15 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 3 Rajab, 24th January, 1566. In three marches he reached Benares and shed the lights of justice over all the inhabitants thereof. He ordered his camp to halt there, and went on with some chosen followers to Chunar. He surveyed the inside and outside of the fort and received inward and outward pleasure. Meanwhile the hunters brought the glad news of elephants being in the forests in the neighbourhood of the fort, and he proceeded with a number of special attendants to search in these forests. After exploring about two *kos* they came upon a herd of elephants. He directed that those mountain-like forms should be surrounded on all sides

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[1] Text Mālez, and variant Mālner. See Jarrett II. 296.

[2] So written by Blochmann. Perhaps the variant Danhūrī is right.

[3] Badāūnī speaks of Nūru-d-dīn having the fief of Safīdūn in Sirhind. He died in poor circumstances. Badāūnī III. 197.

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and then following out the rules of hunting, ten elephants were captured.

Their necks were bound by strong ropes, and they were brought along with the tame elephants to the fortress. From there he returned to his camp at Benares.

One of the occurrences was H.M. the Shāhinshāh's making a rapid expedition against the Khān Zamān. As he is a talisman of constant wakefulness he perceives every Divine and material truth even before they reveal themselves, and gives indications thereof by the tongue of fate. Accordingly at the time when Mun'im Khān opened the lips of
265 supplication and interceded for 'Alī Qulī Khān, H.M. said: "We pardon him, but it will be surprising if he remain constant in the ways of obedience." And so it turned out in a short space of time. For when in accordance with the Khān-Khānān's request 'Alī Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khān were granted their fiefs, this was conditional upon Khān Zamān's not crossing the river while H.M.'s camp was in the neighbourhood.[1] It was also stipulated that when the royal standards returned to the capital their agents should come there and have the patents (title-deeds) passed through the offices, and that thereupon possession of the fiefs was to be given. On the very day when H.M. was proceeding to Benares and Chunar, 'Alī Qulī Khān crossed the river and came to Muḥammadābād, and sent men to Ghāzīpūr and Jaunpūr. H.M. had returned from hunting and had halted at Benares when the news came that the wretch had broken his compact and crossed the Ganges. The world-melting wrath of the Shāhinshāh blazed forth, and the disloyalty of those blackfated ones, which he had winked at, became manifest. He spoke in an imperious manner to Mun'im Khān about their conduct. The Khān-Khānan was completely confused and hung down his head. His lips were closed and the thread of reply was broken. Khwāja Jahān, Moẓaffar Khān, Rajah Bhagwant Dās and a number of the faithful officers were left with the camp, to follow slowly and stage by stage, while H.M. himself set out on the night of Dai-bādīn 23 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to the night of Saturday 11 Rajab, 2 Feb. 1566, in order to chastise 'Alī Qulī Khān. His courtiers and devoted followers gathered round and in front of the state umbrella, and vied with each

[1] In Azimgarh.

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other on their coursers and bore away the ball of swiftness from the north wind and the breeze of morn. Jáfar Khān Taklū and Qāsim Khān were sent against Ghāzīpūr. When they reached the gate of the fort, the ill-fated inmates became aware of their coming and cast themselves down into the river from a bastion which was near it, and went to Muḥammadābād, where they informed 'Alī Qulī Khān. He got confused and fled in consternation. When he came to the bank of the Sarwār [1] he and those who were with him got into some boats which were kept there for such an emergency, and carried themselves into safety. The royal cortège crossed, on the night they set out, the Jaunpūr river on elephants.

At the end of the night he halted for some time on his elephant and in the morning set off again. A portion of the day had passed 266
when by marching rapidly they came up with 'Ali Qulī's camp. He had left his tents and baggage and taken the road of flight. They went on till the third *pahar*. 'Alī Qulī Khān's elephant Bakht Buland had become *mast* and fell into their hands. Thereafter Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, M. Najāt Khān and a number more were sent on ahead. It was evening when the news came from them that 'Alī Qulī was in the act of crossing the Sarwār. As they had come a great way, and but little of the day remained, a halt was made. At dawn the march was resumed, and on that day Āwāz Khān, son of Islām Khān and brother of Farrakh Ḥusain Khān, left the enemy and joined the imperial forces. The advance-guard arrived at the bank of the river, and seized as the gifts of victory the boats which 'Alī Qulī Khān and his people had left, and which were full of goods. They ascertained from the boatmen the particulars of 'Alī Qulī Khān's adventures, and then the army marched along the bank of the Sarwār. The whole of the country high [2] and low (?) was searched, but no trace could be found of the vagabonds. It has been stated by trustworthy authorities

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[1] This seems to be the Sargū or Gogra.

[2] Text *hamgī bawādī u barārī*. *Wādī* means the valleys and lowlands, and *barāri* waste lands or deserts, being the Arabic plural برارى The Lucknow edition says they are the names of two villages. *Rāri* means in Hindustānī coarse grass, and so the meaning may be, they searched the hollows and the prairies. But the word *barārī* is used again in the sense of deserts at vol. III., p. 83, line 13.

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that had 'Alī Qulī Khān been in Muḥammadābād on the night it arrived, the wretch would have been caught. Apparently Mun'im Khān played this trick, as he did not, for his own purposes, wish that 'Alī Qulī should be caught. In the first place, he did not permit a march against him that night, and, secondly, he sent him warning. It became known that 'Alī Qulī had gone to the fort of Cilūpāra[1] by forest-routes. H.M. wisely winked at Mun'im Khān's conduct and took no notice of it. Next day, as there were no boats, and the ford by which that swelling river (the Gogra ?) could be crossed was not known, the army marched along the bank and encamped opposite Cilūpāra. Shots[2] were fired on both sides. When 'Alī Qulī knew that H.M. was present in person he left the place. Next day the army marched from there, and going along the river-bank came to Mau[3] and encamped.

On this strange journey forests were traversed and various wild beasts, both land and aquatic, showed themselves. Active young men hunted them. Various kinds of animals came under H.M.'s eye. He bade the soldiers shoot them. As the imperial[4] camp was passing along, river-animals, such as crocodiles, came out of the water and showed themselves on the banks, but when the dust of the army rose up on the distance they returned to the water. There were some animals such that arrows and bullets had no effect on them. In fine, the royal cortège was in the neighbourhood of that town when news came that Bahādur Khān had taken advantage of the opportunity to come to
267 Jaunpūr and rescue his mother. He had also imprisoned Ashraf Khān and meditated an attack on the sublime camp. Accordingly the royal cortège turned back from the bank of the Sarwār and proceeded to the camp.

The particulars of this affair are as follows. When the reverberation of the expedition against 'Alī Qulī Khān reached Sikandar Khān

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[1] Text Jalūpāra, but the place is Cilūpāra in Gorakhpūr, Jarrett II. 175, where the existence of a fort is mentioned. It is Cilūpara in Bayāzīd.

[2] This is taken from Bayāzīd.

[3] Mau Nātbhanjan in Aẕimgarh, fourteen miles from Muḥammadābād.

[4] Apparently the Imperial camp is meant, Akbar's special retinue which was ahead of the main body of the army. Or perhaps it is the advance-camp that is meant.

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and Bahādur Khān, and when they heard of 'Alī Qulī's mother's having been seized by Ashraf Khān in Jaunpūr, and were aware that he had not a large force with him, and that it would be a very easy matter to seize the fort of Jaunpūr, they marched rapidly thither. As Ashrāf Khān had not taken steps to strengthen the fort, they burnt the door and entered it. A party also put up ladders on the wall and came in. When Ashraf Khān heard of this, they had already entered. Bahādur Khān imprisoned him, and released his mother and took her off with him. Though Jaunpūr had been for a while in his and his brother's fief, and they had many connections with the citizens, he plundered and ill-used the city. After robbing many of the merchants he hastened off to Benares. There too he plundered and then went to Madan Benares, which was known as Zamānya. There news came that the royal standards had returned from following 'Alī Qulī. Sikandar and Bahādur went to the ferry of Narhan, which was their usual crossing, and passed over the Ganges.

When 'Alī Qulī went off at the pressure of the sublime army, and the turmoil caused by Sikandar and Bahādur was brought to the royal hearing, as has been reported, H.M. turned his rein on the bank of the Sarwār and proceeded towards his camp, lest, perchance, the agitated dust of the rebels should reach the hem thereof. But the wretches had fled on hearing of his approach, and tranquillity was restored to the people of the camp. From there he proceeded towards Jaunpūr. On the day when he reached the town of Niẓāmābād [1] the ceremony of weighing H.M. took place, and there was a great feast. Mankind received delight from the Shāhinshāh's bounty and offered up prayers for his long life and reign. Thereafter he marched on and arrived at Jaunpūr. When this rich city was adorned by the advent of the Shāhinshāh, and there appeared a great remissness on the part of the imperial servants in uprooting the rebels, H.M. determined on fixing his residence there until the 268
seditious should be destroyed, root and branch, and tranquillity restored. In accordance with the order the nobles and pillars of the empire laid the foundations of grand buildings, and it fell from the

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[1] In Jaunpūr, Jarrett II. 164. The T.A. says the weighing was practised twice, *viz.*, on the day, a year, according to the Hijra calendar, and again on the solar day. See Blochmann 266.

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royal lips that until the dust of the existence of the oppressors was removed from the skirt of this province, this city would be the seat of empire. An order was issued to all the officers who had gone on leave and were spending their time comfortably on their estates, directing them to enrol themselves in the royal forces in the appointed [1] rendezvous. The army was ordered to pursue the rebels once more, and an order was given not to desist until 'Alī Qulī was captured.

When the facts were known to 'Alī Qulī he sent to court M. Mīrak Reẓavī, who was one of his special companions, and represented his grief and pain. He made excuses for all his faults and by a thousand subterfuges and smooth speeches he induced Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān to be once more his intercessor. The Khān-Khānān, who knew H.M.'s disposition, had not the courage for this office, and accordingly a number of honoured persons whom H.M. reverenced on account of his abundant sense of Divine worship, such as Mīr Murtaẓa Sharīfī, Mullā 'Abdullah Sulṭānpūrī, and Shaikh 'Abdu-n-nabī Ṣadr, were brought forward by him. They relying upon the Shāhīnshāh's graciousness opened the mouth of intercession at the foot of the throne, and recited anecdotes about forgiveness. That mine of mercy, though he knew that their (the rebels') hearts were not sincere, and that the real object of the rebels was to gain time, yet granted their request out of favour to those ignorant men (the intercessors), and once more pardoned the rebels' offences, on condition that they repented of their evil deeds, and should in future never conceive the idea of opposing the holy will, but should always remain constant in the path of loyalty and devotion. When they showed signs of this, their estates were to be restored to them as formerly. The Khān-Khānan and the other grandees returned thanks, and an order was given that Mir Murtaẓa, Maulānā 'Abdullah, and M'uīn Khān Farankhūdī should go to 'Alī

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[1] *Ba buljār-i-m'ahūd*; *būljār* is given in the dictionaries as a Persian word meaning a place of refuge or of fighting. Zenker, however, gives it as a Turki word, and as meaning the gathering-place of an army. See also P. de Courteille. Another form is *muljār*, and this is the word used by Badāūnī II. 190, Blochmann 242, note 4. Mulcār or Malcār is the form in Bādshāhnāma I., Part II, p. 109, top line, etc., and apparently the word was often used to mean an intrenchment or place of refuge.

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Qulī Khān and confirm him in his repentance, and also give him the good news of pardon. H.M. thereupon renounced his intention of staying in Jaunpūr, and decided upon returning. On the day of Dīn 24 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Monday 11 Shábān, 3rd March 1566, the march from Jaunpūr to Agra began. In one week the camp reached Mānikpūr and encamped on the bank of the Ganges. The officers in accordance with H.M.'s orders made a bridge over so great a river in one day, such as that the camp could cross by. At the time when H.M. was returning to the capital, Ju- 269
naid Kararānī, brother's son of Sulaimān and son of 'Imād, obtained the bliss of kissing the threshold, and was encompassed by princely favours.

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CHAPTER LIX.

Beginning of the 11th Ilāhī year, to wit, the year Bahman of the first cycle.

A thousand thanksgivings that the spring of dominion has revived, and that the banner of the New Year has been upreared! The world has anew turned her face towards equability, and the elemental forces have assumed fresh power.

Verse.[1]

Clouds changed garden-dust into Tartar-musk,
The zephyr quickened the fire of the rose,
The blossoming branch became a ball of camphor,
The dark hyacinth changed into burning aloes of Qamār,
By the feet of the maidens of the garden-pavilion
Dust became like mirror-holding water,
'Twas the season of love-glances and beauty-worship
The season of blossoms and of wine-drinking
The rosebud and narcissus have joined hands
Strive to commit your heart to an alert hand

[1] The verses are rather obscure and the fancies are, as usual far-fetched, but the notes of the Lucknow editor are helpful. The first line means that the clouds by discharging rain on the garden have evoked fragrance and so made the soil into musk of Tartary. The fire of the rose is poetic for its red colour. The comparison of the blossoms to a ball of camphhor may remind us of Ômar Khayyām's expression of the white hand of Moses on the bough. The hyacinth, or the spikenard, has become fragrant, and so seems as if it were burning the aloes of Qamār, *i.e.*, the best aloes. The earth has assumed the appearance of bright, mirror-like water from being covered by a profusion of white flowers. Or perhaps *azpai* means "for the sake of" and the interpretation is that the earth has become a mirror for the use of the garden-maidens, that is, the flowers. The lines are Faizī's and occur in his *eliwan* under the letter *zā*. See I. O. MS. 3155, p. 271*b*. There are two more lines in the original at the end; one refers to tulip-adorned wine and the cup-bearer's locks, and the other bids Faiẓī guard his heart.

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The spring-breeze gave like an invisible messenger the glad tidings of victory and fortune. The gates of Divine abundance opened for the terrene and terrestrials, and the imperial servants were gladdened by the news of celestial victories. After three hours and fifteen minutes of Monday 18 Sh'abān 973, 10th March 1566, the sun entered the Sign of Aries, and the year Bahman, *viz.*, the 11th year of the first cycle began. For two or three days Karralī was the exercise ground of the sublime host, and the New Year's feast took place there. The Khān-Khānan Mun'im Khān and Moẓaffar Khān and others were left there for the settlement of the affairs of Khān Zamān, and for the return of those who had been sent to him, and the royal camp proceeded towards Kālpī, and from thence to the capital. On 19th Farwardīn, the day of Farwardīn, corresponding to Friday 7th Ramẓān, 28th March 1566, the shade of the imperial umbrella descended upon Agra, and thereby the dignity of that spot surpassed the sky. After spending some days there, H.M. went to Nagarcīn, which had been built then, and that delightful spot was irradiated by his presence. In fine when 270
H.M. the Shāhinshāh from a regard to his subjects proceeded to Agra, Mun'im Khān and Moẓaffar Khān awaited in Karrah the return of the envoys. When the latter approached 'Alī Qulī Khān, he went forth to meet them and treated them with respect, and used a glozing tongue. He came back to the path of obedience by promises and oaths, which are the documents of hypocrites, and then Mun'im Khān and Moẓaffar Khān, having been freed from their duties there proceeded, stage by stage, to the capital. When they came to Etāwah, Moẓaffar Khān, having become suspicious of Mun'im Khān, posted on to the threshold, and was received with favour. He explained the double-dealing of the grandees and impressed this on H.M. Afterwards Mun'im Khān and the other officers came to Court. Lashkar[1] Khān was removed from his office of Bakhshī, and Khwāja Jahān was reprimanded. The great seal was taken from him and he was dismissed to Mecca. The severity used towards these men, which was the retribution for their deeds, caused greater circumspection on the part of Mun'im Khān. The reputation of Moẓaffar Khān was increased, and by the mediation of the courtiers,

[1] B. 407. He was Mīr Bakhshi and Mīr 'Arz.

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the offences of Khwājah Jahān were forgiven. H.M. the Shāhinshāh personally attended to the administration of affairs, and the result was that the world assumed a new aspect.

One of the occurrences was that H.M. the Shāhinshāh displayed his world-adorning graciousness to the servants of the sublime threshold, and directed his attention towards the assessment (*jama'*) of the *parganas*. In accordance with his orders Moẓaffar Khān set aside the *Jama' raqamī*[1] (assessment according to kinds of produce?) which had

[1] Cf. B. 349, the Maaṣir III. pp. 221, 222 and J. II. 88. The name given to the old settlements in the text is *Jama'-i-raqamī-i-qalmī*, that is, perhaps "The assessment which was expressed in Raqam or Sīyāq characters, *i.e.*, in contractions of Arabic words, instead of in Hindi figures." See the advertisement prefixed to Gladwin's Revenue Accounts, and Carnegy's Kachchari Technicalities s.v. Raqam. But, most probably, the word *raqamī* refers to the assessment being made according to the kind of produce. The word *qalmī* perhaps means that the assessment was a paper one and not based on actuals. Blochmann has taken his account from the Maaṣir and not directly from the A. N., see his note 1, p. 349. The Maaṣir passage occurs in the notice of Moẓaffar Khan and has the words *qalmrūrā*, the empire, for *qalmī rā*, but it is *qalmī rā* in the I.O. MSS., and this seems to be correct. B. also has *qalb-i-wilāyat* which he renders "unsettled state of the country," but in the A. N. and also in the Maaṣir it is *qillat*, "paucity." In Jarrett, and also in the Persian original, the 15th instead of the 11th is given as the date when the great office of the Viziership devolved upon Moẓaffar and Todar Mal. I think that 15th here is a clerical error for 11th, the words yāzdahan and pazdahan differing chiefly by a dot. It is true that the 15th is mentioned lower down as the initial date of the ten years' settlement, but the context shows that the settlement in question is Todar Mal's which was made in the 27th year, and long after Moẓaffar's death. The paragraph before us is an important one, but it is obscurely expressed. The original estimate was a conjectural one, and not based on local inquiries. Hence it was very unequal. Now under Moẓaffar ten Qānungoes, as well as other experts, made the assessment, as far as possible, on the basis of the actual produce of the lands. A. F. remarks that it was not really a *hāl ḥāṣil* assessment, *i.e.*, an assessment based on actual produce, but when compared with the first assessment it might receive that name. When A. F. describes this new assessment as an instance of Akbar's graciousness to his subjects, he means that it relieved them from the injustices and inequalities of the old "paper" settlement, and saved them from the necessity of bribing the clerks. See J. II, 88.

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been made in the time of Bairām Khan and in which, on account of the plurality (*kaṡrat*) of men and the paucity (*qillat*) of territory, a nominal increase had been made for the sake of appearances. All these (papers) had remained in the public offices and been regarded as authentic, and had become the tools of embezzlement for the slaves of gold. Qānūngoes and others who were acquainted with the whole of the territories the empire fixed according to their own estimates the actual produce of the countries and established a new assessment.

Though it was not a regular estimate (*hāl-ḥāṡil*), yet in comparison with the former one, it might be so called.

As the branding[1] department, of which an account has been given in the final volume, had not then emerged into being, at this time the number of attendants for all the officers and servants of the threshold was fixed, so that every one should keep some persons in readiness for service. There were three classes of the ordinary soldier assigned to the officers. The first class had 48,000 *dāms* a year, the second 32,000 and the third 24,000.

One of the occurrences was that 'Abdullah Khān Uzbeg, who had been defeated and had gone to Gujrat, was turned out by Cingīz Khān in accordance with the agreement made with Ḥakīm Ain-al-mulk. **271** From ill-fatedness he did not become circumspect and wandered about in the desert of calamity. He again came to the borders of Malwa and raised the head of sedition. Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, who had been previously appointed to manage the affairs of Malwa got ready an army and marched against him. The wretch was nearly captured. With a thousand troubles he conveyed himself to 'Alī Qulī Khān and Sikandar Khān. Thereafter he went to the abyss of annihilation.

One of the occurrences was the flight of Jalāl Khān Qūrcī. The

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[1] The account of the substitute for the branding regulation has no connection with the paragraph about the revenue assessment. The sentence about the pay of the soldiers is obscure. It cannot mean that each private soldier got 24-48,000 dāms a year. This would amount to about Rs. 1,000 a year, whereas we find, B. 251, that troopers did not get more than Rs. 30 a month or Rs. 360 a year. Probably the sums represent the amounts allotted to each officer for support of his contingent. See B. 349, note 1, where it is suggested that the *dām* may have been of less value at this time.

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explanation of this is that, as the holy personality of the Shāhinshāh is pure and chaste, he wishes that all mankind and especially those near to him be so likewise. When he heard that Jalāl Khān kept a beautiful youth and was immoderate with regard to him, he was displeased and separated them. That light-headed one (Jalāl Khān) left the path of wisdom and one night went off with the young man. M. Yūsuf Khān and others were appointed to pursue him, and they seized him and brought him and the youth to Court. He was ordered to be suitably punished. For a long time he was kept in a portico (*jilaukhāna*)[1] and was kicked by high and low. Afterwards H.M.'s kindness remembered Jalāl Khān's good fellowship (*nadīmī*) in which he was unrivalled, and he was restored to favour.

One of the occurrences was the appointing of Mahdī Qāsim Khān to prospect the territory of Garha. It has already been related how Āṣaf Khān became a renegade at the time of service and trod the path of disloyalty. When the imperial camp returned from Jaunpūr to Agra, H.M. resolved to send to Garha Mahdī Qāsim Khān, who was one of the old servants of the family. He was to administer the territory and to arrest Āṣaf Khān who had perpetrated so much wickedness. Mahdī Qāsim Khān girded up the loins of resolution and set out, but before his army arrived, Āṣaf Khān got information and with much regret left the country. He became a wanderer in the fields of wretchedness, and, like a wild beast, took refuge in the forests.

Mahdī Qāsim Khān arrived at that rich country, and after taking possession of it hastened off after Āṣaf Khān. 'Alī Qulī Khān, who was always trying to win over Āṣaf Khān, recognised this as a good opportunity, and wrote letters to him, and so showed that he was about to break his compact (with Akbar). The simpleton (Āṣaf) foolishly
272 went off and came to Jaunpūr with his brother Wazīr Khān and

1 Jilaukhāna is given in Forbes as an antechamber. It does not occur in Persian dictionaries. It appears from a passage in the Maaṣir 'Aālamgīrī 175, and which is quoted in Maaṣiru-l-umarā I. 803, that the *jilaukhāna* was a recess under the public staircase to the Darbar or hall of audience and that the "kicking" *lakad kob-kole* was symbolical. That is, Jalāl was regarded as kicked because high and low passed over the steps above his head. See the account in Maaṣir-'Aālamgīrī l. c. of the treatment of the Jodhpūr idols.

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joined 'Alī Qulī Khān. Mahdī Qāsim Khān became governor of Garha.

One of the occurrences was as follows: As H.M. the Shāhinshāh wandered about under the veil of inattention and was continually arranging some pleasant screen for himself, he at the time he was residing at Nagarcīn, both for the sake of administration, which the wise can understand, and for ostensible amusement, which all can appreciate, employed himself in polo-playing, which in truth is an image of world-conquest and government. In the season of enjoyment he carried off the ball of pleasure from the world's plain. In appearance he was engaged in sport and amusement, inwardly he was occupied with realities, and was carrying on the world's business. In this pursuit he devised wondrous inventions. Among them was the burning[1] ball. By means of its light he with ease followed the sport of polo-playing in dark nights.

With[2] the crescent-moon-like stick he drove the ball beyond the stars. In appearance the methods of sport were perfected. In reality horses' paces were improved, and men were taught exertion and activity, which were indispensable for warfare.

One of the occurrences was the death of Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān Kokaltāsh, the elder brother of M. 'Azīz. He died from excessive drink on the day of Khūr 15 Khurdād, Divine month corresponding to 5 Ẕī Q'ada, 24th May 1566, after five days' illness. A remarkable thing was that when his body was removed next day from Nagarcīn to Agra it was still warm. H.M. the Shāhinshāh was, from his kindness of heart, much grieved and showed much sympathy with the mourners, and behaved very kindly to them.

One of the occurrences was the departure of Mahdī Qāsim Khān for the Ḥijāz. It has already been mentioned that he had been appointed to the charge of Garha, and directed to drive out Āṣaf Khan. When that territory came into his hands without exertion, he was

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[1] Blochmann 298. The ball was made of *palās* wood which, A. F. states, is light and burns for a long time. It is difficult to see how it remained alight when knocked about by the polo-stick.

[2] It is very difficult to make sense of this. Presumably A. F. means that the globe of fire, *i.e.*, the ball surpassed the stars or meteors in brilliancy when it was driven along by the *caugan*.

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unable to manage it on account of its extent and bad condition. He was overcome by depression, and in the midst of this year, he, without the royal permission, left the country and went southwards with the intention of going to the Ḥijāz. Seeing that proximity to great saints, who are possessed of pure spirits, is not beneficial when there is no real connection, what can result from proximity to holy places which have acquired sanctity from association with saints, especially when it is attended by the displeasing of so great a master? When
273 the fact was reported to H.M. he pardoned his (Mahdī Qāsim's) folly and made arrangements for the administration of the country. Shāh Qulī Khān Naranjī and Kākar 'Alī Khān with a number of heroes were appointed to the province. By their being sent, the distractions of the country were set right. They themselves were treated with princely favours.

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CHAPTER LX.

Expedition of the Shāhinshāh to put down the sedition of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and other prosperous events.

While the Shāhinshāh was enjoying himself at Nagarcīn, it came to his hearing that Muḥammad Ḥakīm Mīrzā had, at the instigation of short-sighted men, become disobedient and had marched against Lahore. The explanation of his coming there is as follows. From the time that M. Sulaimān had fled at the report of the coming of the imperial army and had retired to Badakhshān, he continually had the idea of coming again to Kabul. Now, when he became certain that none of H.M's officers was there, he thought he had his opportunity, and having, in conjunction with Ḥaram Begam, gathered together his troops the fourth time, he once more proceeded against Kabul. When M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm heard of his coming, he made over the fort of Kabul to M'aṣūm,[1] who was distinguished among his followers for courage and wisdom, and went off with Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandi, his prime minister, to Shakardara[2] and Ghorband. M. Sulaimān came to Kabul and besieged the fort. After some days he perceived that the lasso of his power was too short to entangle the battlements. He learnt that the Mīrzā was in Ghorband and its neighbourhood, and wished to accomplish his object by the deceitfulness of Ḥaram Begam. With this evil design Ḥaram Begam left M. Sulaimān at Kabul and went herself to Ghorband. She sent able men to Ḥ. Hakīm and gave him the message that he always was dearer to her than a son of her own body, especially since there had been an additional alliance.[3] Her whole soul was directed towards perfect concord and harmony with him, and to building yet higher the foundations of alliance. The object of her present coming was to have an interview, and to strengthen the bonds of friendship, and to guard them from being weakened or loosened. M. Ḥakīm was deceived by the Begam's cajolery and agreed to meet her in the

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[1] Blochmann 431, note 1.

[2] North of Kabul.

[3] Referring to his marriage with her daughter.

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274 village of Qarā-Bāgh, which is twelve *kos* from Kabul, and to ratify the alliance. When he had determined upon an interview he sent his confidants ahead in order that they might make conditions and promises void of hypocrisy. When the envoys produced their credentials, the Begam swore great and strong oaths that there would be no trickery, and that the heart and tongue would accord, and that deeds would correspond with the words. When the Mīrzā's men heard the Begam's oaths, they, in their folly, arranged that they would urge the Mīrzā to have an interview with the Begam at Qarā-Bāgh, and that he would tie the knot of sonship and concord.

When the Begam saw that the plot was arranged, she sent messengers to M. Sulaimān saying that she had engaged the Mīrzā's men to bring him to Qarā-Bāgh, and that now he should leave his camp and a few troops near the fort, and make a rapid march with some men and place himself in ambush near Qarā-Bāgh. When the Mīrzā came there he (Sulaimān) should make him prisoner. When M. Sulaimān heard this he left Muḥammad Qulī Shighālī, who was one of his trusted officers, with the camp to besiege Kabul, and hastened off himself by night-marches. He lay in ambush behind a ridge near Qarā-Bāgh. The envoys of M. Ḥakīm, who had returned after hearing the Begam's strong oaths, looked only to externals and were unmindful of the inward perfidy, and gave the Mīrzā a favourable account of the promises and of the interview. All the Mīrza's men urged his going to see the Begam, except Bāqī Qāqshāl, who spoke against going, and ascribed the oaths to deceit and treachery. He plainly said that the Begam wanted, by this pretence, to deliver him into the clutches of M. Sulaimān. He stripped off the deceit which that deceiver had contrived. In spite of this, M. Ḥakīm was helpless and went off with some of his confidants towards Qarā-Bāgh. On the way one of the Kabulis who had come with the Badakhshis on M. Sulaimān's rapid march, separated himself from them and joined M. Ḥakīm's people. He told them that M. Sulaimān was lying in ambush behind a certain ridge with a chosen body of men and was watching for his opportunity. The Kabulī himself had come with them that night. When the Mīrzā heard this he turned round and took the road to Kabul. When M. Sulaimān got news of this he followed him and came up with some of the Mīrzā's men and made them prisoners. Whatever was in the rear was

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captured. Bāqī Qāqshāl and his brethren were close behind the Mīrzā and urged him on. Some of the Badakhshis got close up to the Mīrzā and it was thought that they would capture him. Bāqi Qāqshāl and his brethren fought bravely and by arrows and bullets 275
occupied the enemy so that the Mīrzā could go on ahead. In this way they brought the Mīrzā out of that dangerous place. M. Sulaimān pursued him up to the Sanjad defile, but when he recognised the fact that the Mīrzā had escaped, he was compelled to halt. The baggage of the Mīrzā and his men fell into the hands of the Badakhshīs. When night came on the Mīrzā halted in one of the defiles of Ghorband and sent men to Ghorband to bring him some things which had been left there. Then he marched on to near the *kotal* of the Hindu Koh. Next day he passed through the *kotal* and came to Mazra'-i-ashraf, which was in the possession of the Uzbegs. From there he advanced one or two stages. Khwāja Ḥasan and the men who were of his party wished to take the Mīrzā to Pīr Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh, and to ask help from him. But Bāqi Qaqshāl did not agree to this and said he would take the Mīrzā to the sublime Court. Khwāja Ḥasan and a number of others went to Balkh, and Baqī Qaqshāl and his brethren, and those who were in accord with him, went back from there and brought the Mīrzā to Ghorband. From there they crossed over to Jalālābād by the way of Īsā[1] and Bahra.[2] From there they came to Peshawar, and then to the bank of the Indus. The Mīrzā crossed the river and sent a humble petition, together with an account of the dispersion that had taken place, to the threshold of fortune. His ambassadors delivered this at Nagarcīn. Inasmuch as fortune watches over the sublime family, the news of the troubles in Kabul had already arrived. At that time Farīdūn, the maternal uncle of the Mīrzā, was in attendance on H.M., and had been given permission to go to Kabul. As the Mīrzā was young and unprotected, Farīdūn was to arrange his affairs and to confirm him in the path of loyalty and to take care that seditious men should not have an opportunity of speaking to the Mīrzā. The affair of the coming to Kabul of M. Sulaimān occurred

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[1] Perhaps this is the Isakhel of the I. G.

[2] Badāūnī has Panjhar, and probably this is the correct reading. He says that Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī got lost by going to Balkh.

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before Farīdūn's meeting with the Mīrzā. When M. Ḥakīm's ambassadors arrived, H.M., out of his kindness, sent Khūsh Khabar Khān, who was one of the Court *yesāwals*, with much money and goods, a dress of honour, and a special horse, and he issued an order that the Panjab officers should proceed to Kabul and put down M. Sulaimān. When Khūsh Khabar Khān came near the Mīrzā's camp, the latter went out to welcome the dispatch,—the preface of eternal fortune,—
276 and received it with reverence. After some days Farīdūn, who had left before Khūsh Khabar Khān, arrived. That indiscreet one, influenced by notions which no sensible man would have entertained, put up the Mīrzā, who had arrived there after a hurried journey, to aim at the Panjab and inspired him with the idea that it would be easy to take Lahore. He was not contented with this, but also instigated the young Mīrzā to arrest Khūsh Khabar Khān. Though the Mīrzā was void of wisdom, and thought that Farīdūn's wicked idea was right, yet he would not consent to the arrest of Khūsh Khabar Khān, and sent for him one night and dismissed him. At that time there was a writer named Sulṭan 'Alī, who had been turned out of Agra and gone to Kabul, and had been given the title of Lashkar Khān, and also one Ḥasan Khān, a brother of Shihābud-dīn Aḥmad Khān, who had absconded before this and gone to Kabul. These two wretches joined with Farīdūn in stirring up strife, until at length M. Hakīm, who had not far-seeing intelligence, nor a loyal heart, was induced by the words of these vaunters to cross the Indus and to proceed towards Lahore. His men practised rapine in Bhera and its vicinity. When this news reached the Panjab officers, Mīr Muḥammad Khān, Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān and Sharīf Khān joined together and set about strenghening the fort, and reported the state of affairs to Court. The flames of the wrath of H.M. the Shāhinshāh burst forth on hearing this news, and he directed the assembling of troops. M. Ḥakīm, with the evil thought that perhaps he might by fraud and deceit bring over the Panjab officers to his side, advanced from Bhera to Lahore. He halted outside of the city in the garden[1] of Mahdi Qāsim Khān. Next day he came to the edge of the fort and drew up his troops. The Panjab officers made the eternal fortune of the Shāhinshāh their fortress and by means of cannon and musketry prevented any

[1] The Darbār Akbarī, p. 828, says this was where Jahāngīr's tomb now is.

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living creature from treading on the hem of the fortress. Every day they maintained the rules of the defence and displayed courage and loyalty. H.M. the Shāhinshāh appointed Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān to the charge of the capital, and Moẓaffar Khān to look after civil matters, and set out on the day of Shahriyūr 4 Āẕar, Divine month, or Saturday 3 Jamāda-al-awwal 974, 17 November 1566. He followed the pleasure of hunting during the whole of the expedition and after ten days arrived at Delhi. In accordance with custom he visited the 277
shrines of the saints and made liberal gifts to the custodians, and then went and visited the tomb of H.M. Jinnat Āshiyānī. When M. Ḥakīm, who at the instigation of short-sighted men was revolving vain thoughts, heard the reverberation of the march of H.M. he fell into consternation and fled to the bank of the Indus. On the day that the imperial army reached the Satlej the scouts brought the news of the flight of the Mīrzā. The army crossed the river and proceeded towards Lahore. In a fortunate hour in the middle of Bahman, corresponding to middle Rajab (near end February 1567) it reached that city, and the quarters of Mahdi Qāsim Khān were made glorious by the arrival of the Shāhinshāh. Peace and tranquillity extended everywhere. The loyalists who during the time of the siege had contended with the rebels and jeoparded their lives were raised to dignities. Though the imperial servants urged that the Kabulis should be followed and punished, yet as the holy nature of the Shāhinshāh is a mine of kindness, he forgave M. Hakīm for his folly and stopped the pursuit. Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān, Kamāl Khān and a number of other officers were deputed to the borders of the empire in order that they might reassure the peasantry who had suffered from the oppression of the Kabulīs and that in this way the expulsion of the Mīrzā might be best effected. They received the order and went forth to execute it. H.M. stayed in Lahore, and occupied himself with administration and enjoyment. The army proceeded to the bank of the Indus and looked after the peasantry, and learnt there that M. Ḥakīm had proceeded to Kabul on learning that that place had been abandoned by M. Sulaimān.

The adventures of M. Sulaimān are as follows: When he made his rapid march against M. Hakīm he left Muḥammad Qulī Shighālī with a large force to besiege Kabul. Ma'ṣūm Khān sent out of the fort a number of cavaliers of the hippodrome of valour to display their daring. They engaged Muḥammad Qulī and defeated him, and

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seized the baggage of the Badakhshīs. The besiegers were scattered, and Muḥammad Qulī conveyed M. Sulaimān's daughters, who were with the expedition, to the Cār-diwār garden, which was in the neigh-
278 bourhood, and fortified it. The people of Kabul surrounded Muḥammad Qulī and sent word to Ma'ṣūm Khān[1] that if he was quick and would bring help he could easily capture the men whom they had brought into straits. He wrote in reply that as M. Sulaimān's daughters were there it would be disrespectful to behave in such a manner; and he recalled his own men. M. Sulaimān came back from Sanjad-dara, disappointed of his project against M. Ḥakīm, to the neighbourhood of the fort of Kabul, and resumed the siege. Ma'ṣūm Khān sent out a suitable person with a force every day, and fought victoriously with the Badakhshīs. The latter waxed faint in battle and a pestilence broke out among men and horses. M. Sulaimān was constrained to propose peace, and accepted through the instrumentality of Qāẓī Khān Badakhshi some paltry advantage, which might be represented as a condition of his return. First he sent his wife to Badakhshān, and then followed her himself. Just about this time M. Hakīm returned from India to Kabul, and the short-sighted ones of that place felt ashamed and sank down from their vain thoughts. The royal camp established itself in Lahore and cast the shadow of justice over the land. The glory of the standards of victory destroyed darkness in minds and horizons. The great feast of the holy weighment[2] took place at this time, and was performed according to rule with gold and silver and other rareties. Gifts and alms were distributed to rich and poor, and the rulers of tracts of country, especially the governors and landholders of the northern districts placed the head of submission and the forehead of obedience on the dust of the threshold and scattered largesse in proportion to their means. A number who were unable at that time to obtain the blessing of kissing the threshold sent their children and relatives along with able ambassadors.

During these days Muḥammad Bāqī the son of M. 'Īsā Tarkhān

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[1] The negotiation is more fully described in Badāūnī. It seems that Ma'ṣūm was a disciple of Qāẓī Khān, and so out of deference to him he agreed to pay Sulaimān a small tribute.

[2] This was the weighment on 1 Ābān and the more important of the two.

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and ruler of Tatta sent a representation full of submission and obedience, accompanied by suitable presents, and conveyed by confidential officers. The purport of it was that his father had been a slave of the sublime court and had offered up his life on the carpet of sincerity and devotion. Now he (M. Bāqī) placed the head of respect on the threshold of obedience as being one of those firm in their allegiance. At this time Sultān Maḥmūd Bakarī was acting contrary to the code (of Cingīz Khān) and to the sublime orders and was at the request of the Mīrzās of Qandahār leading troops against him. On account of the writer's being strongly bound to the eternal fortune (of Akbar's family) Sultan Maḥmūd was unable to lay hands on his territory and his troops had been dispersed. Now the writer hoped that he could on account of his loyalty and sincerity, be reckoned among the faithful slaves and that no dust of separation would settle upon the court of his union (with Akbar's dynasty). His petition was brought to the royal hearing by the intervention of courtiers and in accordance with his prayer a world-obeyed order was issued to Sulṭan Maḥmūd Khān to the effect that he should not advance his foot beyond his limits, and should restrain the reins of his fancy from territories 279
appertaining to Bāqī Khān. The ambassadors received permission to depart after having received princely favours.

One of the occurrences was that whilst H.M. the Shāhinshāh was casting his shadow over the northern regions a petition arrived from Agra, from Mun'im Khān the Khān Khānān. Its purport was that the sons of Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā and Ulugh Mīrzā, who had been distinguished from among the other courtiers by the glance of favour, and who held a fief in the Sarkār of Sambal, had taken the road of rebellion and put out their hands against the villages in the neighbourhood of Delhi. He (Mun'im) had gone to Delhi in order to extirpate them, but they had got news of this and had fled by the way of Māndū.

This Muḥammad[1] Sulṭān Mīrzā was the son of Sulṭān Wais Mīrzā the son of Bāīqrā the son of Manṣūr, the son of Bāīqrā the son of Umr Shaikh, the son of H.M. Sāhibqirānī Amīr Timūr Gūrgān, and his mother was the daughter of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā. This last had, during the time of his rule, educated Muḥammad Sulṭan Mīrzā, who

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1 See Blochmann 461 for the genealogy, etc., of the Mīrzās.

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was his nephew's grandson. After Sulṭān Husain Mīrzā's death, as a great dispersion took place in Khurāsān, Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā entered the service of H.M. Getī Sitanī Firdūs-Makānī (Bābar), and was received with favour. When the diadem of empire came to Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī that prince also showed him kindness. He had two sons; one was Ulugh Mīrzā and the other Shāh Mīrzā. Both were successful as his servants. In spite of that, several times they showed signs of opposition, but H.M. (Humāyūn) from his innate kindness winked at this. At last Ulugh Mīrzā met with the reward of his deeds in an attack on the Hazāras. He left two sons, Sikandar Mīrzā and Muḥammad Sultan Mīrzā. After Ulugh Mīrzā was killed, H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Ashiyānī cast the shadow of his favour over his sons and gave to Iskandar Mīrzā the title of Ulugh Mīrzā and to Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā that of Shāh Mīrzā. When H.M. the Shāhinshāh came to the throne he showed kindness to Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā and his grandchildren and relatives. When Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā had grown old he was relieved from military service and given the pargana of 'Azimpūr in Sarkār Sambal for his maintenance, so that he might spend his days in tranquillity and in offering up prayers (for Akbar's success). Several children were born to him in his old age—1st, Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā; 2nd, Muḥammad Husain M.; 3rd, Mas'ūd
280 Ḥusain M.; 4th, 'Aāqil Ḥusain M. As the kindnesses of H.M. the Shāhinshāh extend over all classes of men, every one of these Mīrzās received fiefs suitable to their conditions, and took part in all the expeditions. Especially they were attached to the royal stirrup in the Jaunpūr commotion. After the royal standards had returned from there they got leave to go to their fiefs in Sambal. When the sublime army left Agra and went to the Panjab to extinguish the seditious flames of M. Ḥakīm, Ulugh M. and Shāh M. in combination with Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. and Muḥammad Ḥusain M. raised the standard of rebellion, and having collected a number of vagabonds stretched out the hand of rapine over Sambal and its neighbourhood. The fief-holders of that district joined and proceeded against them, and as the latter could not resist them, they fled to Khān Zamān and Sikandar Khān. But their company was not acceptable to the latter, for every one in his folly wanted to rule. They came back from there and made an attempt on the Dūāb. They crossed over to pargana Nīmkār. Yārshāhī, the sister's son of Ḥājī Khān Sīstānī, who was the jājīrdār of

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that part of the country, advanced to put down those wretches. As the divine destiny intended to deal hardly with them, their destruction was tied in the knot of another season, and Yārshāhī was defeated after fighting manfully. Many goods such as gold, elephants, etc., fell into the hands of those scoundrels, and they went on towards the borders of Delhi, committing rapine. Tātār[1] Khān made Delhi strong and Mun'im Khān came from Agra in order to repulse them. Those ill-fated ones knew that Mālwa was empty and went there. Near Sampat they fell in with Mīr Mu'izz-al-mulk who had donned the pilgrim's[2] garb and was going to the Panjab, and plundered him. Mun'im Khān did not think it advisable to follow them, and so returned to Agra. The rebels took possession of Mālwa which at that time had been assigned to Muhammad[3] Qulī Khān Barlās, but who, on account of sundry affairs, was then attached to the stirrup of fortune, (*i.e.* was at Lahore on personal attendance on Akbar). His son-in-law Khwāja Hādī, who was known as Khwāja Kilān, strengthened Ujjain, but some traitors who were with him came out and joined the Mīrzās. The Khwāja's goods were plundered, but he himself escaped on account of his high birth. Qadam Khān the brother of Muqarrab Khān Deccanī was in Hindia. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. besieged him. Muqarrab Khān Deccanī was in the fort of Santwās, and Ḥusain Khān the sister's son of Mahdi Qasim Khān came back from escorting Mahdi Qasim Khān who was going to the Ḥijāz. He had reached Santwās when the turmoil of the Mīrzās showed itself. He too took 281
refuge in Santwās. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. prosecuted the siege, and at this time Muḥammad Ḥusain M. got possession of Hindia and put Qadam Khān to death. When they brought his head to the edge of the fort of Santwās Muqarrab Khān lost heart and submitted. Ḥusain Khan[4] too came out. Though Ibrāhim Ḥusain M. offered him service he would not accept of it. When H.M. the Shāhinshāh proceeded to extirpate Ālī Qulī Khān he came forward and obtained the bliss of service. In fine, when the news of this affair was brought to the royal hearing, he issued an order that Muhammad Sulṭan M. should be removed from 'Āẕimpūr to the fort of Bīānā, and be guarded there.

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1 Blochmann 42.

2 Meaning that he was going to visit Akbar whom A. F. represents as a saint.

3 Blochmann 341.

4 This is the famous Ḥusain Khān Tukriya.

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CHAPTER LXI.

Beginning of the 12th Divine year from the Accession, to wit, the year Isfandārmaz of the first cycle.

At this time, when the territory of Lahore became by the advent of the sublime cortège a rosegarden of fortune, and H.M. the Shāhinshāh was engaged in captivating hearts, the bounty of spring encircled the land, and the balmy breezes began to blow. The gardens afforded a wondrous spectacle to beholders, and the tulips and other flowers cast nooses of enchantment over the onlookers.

Verse.

Arise for the peacock of spring has come
The call of the nightingale has come from the garden
The red rose has fallen all over the grass;
Or[1] have parrots set their beaks on their wings?

After eight hours, fifteen minutes, of Tuesday 29 Sh'abān 974, 11th March 1567, the sun entered (Aries), and the 12th year, to wit, the year Isfandārmaz of the first cycle began, and the equable mind of the Shāhinshāh felt a desire for hunting and for the *qamargha*,[2] which is the most delightful form thereof. An order was issued that birds and beasts should be driven together from near the mountains on the one side, and from the river Bihat (Jhilam) on the other. Each district was made over to one of the great officers, and Bakhshīs, Tawācīs and Sazāwals were appointed to every quarter. Several thousand footmen from the towns and villages of the Lahore province were appointed to drive the game. A wide space within ten miles of Lahore—like the capacious heart of princes—was chosen for the collecting of the animals. During the space of one month,

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[1] The Lucknow editor points out that this refers to the parrot's crimson beak and green plumage.

[2] The T. Alfi, p. 627, says that such a great hunt never occurred either before or afterwards, and that 50,000 beaters were employed.

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while the officers and other persons, both high and low, were actively engaged in driving the game, H.M. was chiefly engaged in stablishing the foundations of justice and in developing inward and out- 282
ward civilization. At length there was a suitable completion of arrangements; beaters were collected, and there was a large assemblage of animals. First H.M. the Shāhinshāh went to the hunting ground, and viewed it from the circumference to the centre. Every one of the grandees and other servants who had exerted himself in this delightful service was gratified by H.M's. approbation. Then he placed the foot of dominion in the stirrup of auspiciousness and made his tiger-like steed career in the pursuit of the prancing deer. He used the arrow, the sword, the lance and the musket. At the beginning, the hunting ground was ten miles in circumference. But day by day the *qamargha* was pushed on, and its area lessened. Within the space his swift steed sometimes swept afar the game from the ground, and sometimes he caught the lightning-footed deer by the lasso. Various modes of hunting were displayed. Among the intimate courtiers, M. 'Azīz Kokaltāsh came into the middle of the *qamargha* and attended on the auspicious stirrup. The officers put up screens in front of their stations and guarded the game, in the daytime by their eyes, and in the night by blazing torches. There was pleasure from morning till evening and from evening till morning. After H.M. the Shāhinshāh had, during five successive days, enjoyed various kinds of sport, the great officers and the attendants on the harem were allowed to come into the hunting-ground. Gradually the servants of the court were allowed to enter until at last the turn came of individuals from among the troopers and footmen.

One of the wonderful occurrences that took place during the hunting was that Hamīd Bakarī (of Bhakar) one of the *yesāwals* had become evilminded and had placed an arrow on his bow and discharged it against one of the servants of the Court. The latter abided his time and reported the matter to H.M. in the hunting-ground. The royal wrath ordered that he should be capitally punished and gave his special sword to Qulīj Khān, in order that he might relieve that unruly one of the burden on his neck. Qulīj Khān twice struck him with that segment of a diamond, but did not injure a hair of his head. With the tongue of fate it was uttered

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Verse.[1]

If the swords of the world move from their place
They'll not touch a vein so long as God does not will it.

On this account the mystery of destiny was accepted and his life spared, but as a warning his head was shaved and he was mounted on an ass and taken round the hunting-ground.

One of the occurrences of the hunting-time was the arrival of
283 Muẓaffar Khān. He brought Wazīr Khān the brother of Āṣaf Khān and begged the forgiveness of the two brothers. The brief account of this is that when Āṣaf Khan by his bad fortune fell into the snare of 'Alī Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khān's society, he did not like their company and was disgusted with their arrogance. Also 'Alī Qulī cast eyes of avidity on his property. Āṣaf Khān was looking for an opportunity of separating himself from them. Meanwhile, 'Alī Qulī sent Āṣaf Khān along with Bahādur Khān, and kept Wazīr Khān under surveillance. Wazīr Khān wrote an account of the facts to his brother and suggested a rendezvous for escaping. In accordance therewith Āṣaf Khān separated one night from Bahādur Khān and proceeded towards Karrah and Mānikpūr. Wazīr Khān also came out of Jaunpūr and hastened along the same road. Bahādur Khān heard of what Āṣaf Khān was doing and pursued him, and came up with him near Cunār. A fight took place between them, and Āṣaf Khān was defeated and made prisoner. Bahādur Khān put him into an elephant-litter and went off. His men had dispersed in pursuit of plunder when Wazīr Khān and his son Bahādur Khān arrived. When he heard that Āṣaf Khān had been captured he made ready, and while Bahādur Khān's men were

[1] These lines are proverbial, and are quoted by Bābar, Erskine 216, apropos of a blow he received on his arm. The translation there given is: "However the sword of man may strike, it injures not a single vein without the will of God." In this translation and in the Bib. Ind. text of the A. N. the *'izāfat* is read *tegh-ī-'Ālm*. In P. de Courteille's' translation I, 453, the izāfat is omitted, the translation being:—

"Quoique l'epee soit capable de bouleverser le monde, elle ne coupera pas une veine sans la permission de Dieu." In the Clarke MS. in the Victoria and Albert Museum there is a picture of Ḥamīd's punishment. According to the T. A. Elliot V. 317 Ḥamīd was drunk.

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dispersed he came up and fought bravely. Bahādur Khān could not resist him and fled, but made a sign for the killing of Āṣaf Khān, whom they were bringing along on the elephant. The guards wounded him once or twice with swords. The top of his finger was severed and he was wounded on the nose, when Wazīr Khān's men suddenly pressed forward and released Āṣaf Khān. They came to Karra and reposed there. In this fight Bahādur Khān the son of Wazīr Khān distinguished himself, and on this account acquired glory by receiving such a title [1] (Bahādur Khān). Āṣaf Khān repented of his past life and recognised in all these misfortunes and losses the results of his exclusion from the sublime threshold, and with feelings of shame earnestly betook himself to the Court. He sent his brother Wazīr Khān to Muẓaffar Khān at the time when the latter was, in obedience to royal orders, proceeding from Agra to Lahore. Wazīr Khān came to Delhi, and Muẓaffar Khān treated him with great kindness and took him with him. He (Muẓaffar) had an opportunity of representing the case when H.M. was engaged in hunting, and he begged forgiveness for Āṣaf Khān. H.M. pardoned him and his brother and issued a diploma of favour in Āṣaf Khān's name, directing him to proceed to Mānikpūr and act in conjunction with Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl. When the sublime cortège returned to the capital he had the bliss of doing homage and received princely **284** favours.

In fine, when the *Qamargha* was at an end, H.M. ordered a return and came to the river Rāvī, on whose bank Lahore is situated, and which flows with ocean-like majesty. H.M. the Shāhinshāh took in his hands the reins of trust in God and put his steed to the river. That fleet, fiery nature passed lightly over, like the breeze. The attendants, who necessarily were close by, also put their horses to the water and all crossed and arrived at the shore of safety except Khūsh Khabr Khān *Yesāwal* and Nūr Muḥammad, the son of Sher Muḥammad, who were drowned. When H.M. reached Lahore he spent his

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[1] The Iqbālnāma in its account of the 12th year says that Wazīr's son got the prize of valour on this occasion and the title of Bahādur Khān. It adds that he afterwards became insane and that he was alive and over 80 years of age in the 14th year of Jahāngir, *i.e.*, at the time of writing and 54 years after the fight.

[2] Cf. Badayūni, Lowe, 92.

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days in the administration of affairs and the distribution of justice which are part of his nature.

Among the occurrences was the flight of Muḥammad Amīn Diwāna. The brief account of this is that he was distinguished among the champions (*īkkajūānān*) for his courage and daring. He also led an ill-regulated, intemperate life. At the time that the camp was at Lahore, he encountered one of the *faujdārs*,[1] as he was riding a special elephant (*fīl khāṣa*), and he launched an arrow from the quiver of unrestraint against him. When this boldness was reported to H.M., an order was issued for his being put to death. The courtiers attached to the harem interceded for him, and H.M. granted him his life, but ordered him to be beaten. From his ill-fortune he[2] left the road of fortune and fled that night to Ālī Qulī Khān, who was the head of strifemongers.

One of the occurrences was that Junaid Kararānī, who had obtained the bliss of service, and received princely favours, fled, owing to a groundless apprehension, from Hindaun,[3] which had been assigned to him as his *jāgīr*, and went to Gujrāt. Those who are illfated and choose remoteness from the seat of dominion and fortune, think that they are going to better themselves, but in reality they increase their loss and cast themselves into the well of wretchedness. At the time when H.M., after arranging the affairs of the Panjab, was meditating a return, there arrived from Agra petitions of well-wishers and especi-
285 ally of Muḥ'im Khān to the effect that Ālī Qulī Khān, Bahādur Khān and Iskandar Khān, had again twisted their heads out of the line of obedience and stretched out their necks for rebellion. The misbehaviour of M. Ḥakīm had increased their frenzy, and in their folly and disloyalty they had recited the Khuṭba in the name of the Mirza! Those heedless, fortune-overturned ones had closed their eyes to the beholding of the glory of the Shāhinshāh, and for the sake of their own designs had cast the simple Mīrzā into the whirlpool of destruction.

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[1] Superintendents of elephants. See B. 126.

[2] He was with Bairām Khān when he was killed and helped to save his child. B. 334.

[3] J. II. 183. Then in Agra Sarkār, now in Jaipūr State, 71 miles S.W. Agra. It is a large commercial town.

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Kingship is a gift of God, and is not bestowed till many thousand grand requisites have been gathered together in an individual. Race and wealth and the assembling of a mob are not enough for this great position. It is clear to the wise that a few among the holy qualities (requisite) are, magnanimity, lofty benevolence, wide capacity, abundant endurance, exalted understanding, innate graciousness, natural courage, justice, rectitude, strenuous labour, proper conduct, profound thoughtfulness, laudable overlooking (of offences), and acceptance of excuses. And with all those notes of perfection, of which a few out of many are mentioned in detail in the ancient books of ripe philosophers, so long as the subject of such encomiums has not wisdom sufficient to overpower improper desires and unbecoming anger, he cannot be fit for this lofty office. And on coming to exalted dignity if he do not inaugurate universal peace (toleration) and if he do not regard all conditions of humanity, and all sects of religion with the single eye of favour,—and not bemother some and be-stepmother others,—he will not become fit for the exalted dignity. Thanks be to God! The holy personality of the Shāhinshāh is a fount of perfect qualites, and a mine of holy principles. Volumes would not be sufficient to describe the glories of the Lord of the Universe. How then can an incidental reference be sufficient? Give all that thou hast, and purchase eyes, and behold the world-adorning qualities of our spiritual and temporal king so that thou mayest know what is kingship, and what is the meaning of sovereignty!

In fine when the account of the disloyalty of this crew was reported to H.M., his equable disposition was affected and he made over to Khān[1] Bāqī Khān M. Mīrak Raẓavī who, at the time of the return of the royal cortège, had come to court in order to arrange about the fiefs of Ālī Qulī and Bahādur. H.M. resolved to proceed to Agra that he might punish the sedition-mongers. He rapidly arranged for the settlement of the Panjab, and alloted the parganas of

[1] The text has Jān but many MSS. have Khān, and this is the form accepted by Blochmann N. 141, p. 438. He is the Bāqi Khān who was Adham Khan's elder brother, id. 381. However, it is not certain that Jān is wrong, for Bayazid's fourth list mentions Jān Bāqī, who apparently was a son of Gulbadan Begam's husband Khizr Khwāja. The Iqbalnāma has Jān Bāqī.

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that province to great officers, such as Mīr Muḥammad Khān Kalān
286 and Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān and to their sons and brothers, and to the other devoted soldiers. The whole administration of the province he committed to Mīr Muḥammad Khān, and on the day of Tīr, 13 Farwardīn, Divine Month, corresponding to Monday, 12 Ramẓān, 23 March 1567, he returned his standards towards the capital. He was encamped at Serai Daulat Khān when the elephants Gajgajan and Panjpāya, which were noted animals, died on one day. A number of superficialists were saddened by this. H.M. said, "We draw a good omen from the event, *viz.*, that those two unlucky brothers (Ālī Qulī and Bahādur) will, in this campaign, hasten to the pit of annihilation." Good God! What capacity, what intellect, and what insight!

When the standards of fortune reached Sahrind, what shall I say of the folly displayed by Moẓaffar Khān such as that all were astonished? The account of this affair is that H.M. the Shāhinshah always kept himself informed of the condition of the soldiers and peasantry, and showed a paternal interest in amending the ways of mankind. He guarded men against improper actions and used to make efforts to elevate their characters. At this time it came to the royal hearing that Moẓaffar Khān had developed a fancy for the smooth (*i.e.*, beardless) face of one Quṭb Khān and had flung away the veins of judgment. H.M. from his native kindness sent for the latter and made him over to keepers lest Moẓaffar Khān should fall into great evil from this snare. That besotted one assumed the garb of a faqir and went off into the wilds. He did not recognise the extent of the royal kindness and thoughtfulness. H M. the Shāhinshāh who holds with perfect control the balance of discernment and appreciation took no notice of all this ignorance and indiscrimination but treated him with princely graciousness and sent the servant (Quṭb) to him. He also guided him by weighty admonitions. He indulged in hunting during the whole of this march, and conferred joy upon mankind.

While he was encamped at Thānesar, a dispute arose among the Sanyāsīs which ended in bloodshed. The details of this are as follows. Near that town there is a tank which might be called a miniature sea. Formerly there was a wide plain there known as Kūrkhet which the ascetics of India have reverenced from ancient times. Hindus from various parts of India visit it at stated

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times and distribute alms, and there is a great concourse. In this year before H.M.'s arrival, the crowd had gathered. There are two parties among the Sanyāsīs: one is called Kur,[1] and the other Pūrī. A quarrel arose among these two about the place of sitting. The asceticism of most of these men arises from the world's having turned its back on them, and not from their having become cold- 287
hearted to the world. Consequently they are continually distressed and are overcome of lust and wrath, and covetousness. The cause of the quarrel was that the Pūrī sect had a fixed place on the bank of the tank where they sate and spread the net of begging. The pilgrims from the various parts of India who came there to bathe in the tank used to give them alms. On that day the Kur faction had come there in a tyrannical way and taken the place of the Pūrīs, and the latter were unable to maintain their position against them.

Their leader Kīsū Pūrī came to Umballa and did homage, and made a claim for justice, saying that the Kurs had fraudulently come and taken their place. He added that though they had not the strength to encounter them, yet they would, trusting in God, engage in fight with them, and would either shed their own blood or take the place from them. The Kurs represented that the place belonged to them by inheritance, though the Pūrīs had settled there for some time. Now they would sit there, and the site would remain theirs as long as there was life in their bodies. When the sublime cortège came to Thanessar, and H.M. went to the spot and flung out the jewels of advice and counsel to those vain spirits, it was like casting pearls on the ground, and their absurdity and error only increased. Their desperation and disposition to kill themselves augmented and they entreated with fervent supplications that there might be a fight and a slaughter. As both parties were disordered in their minds and desires and had entered on the pathlessness of misery, they obtained permission to have a contest, so that in this way they should obtain the punishment of their wild deeds and so learn a lesson. It chanced that on that day a great number of each party had assembled. The two sides drew up in line, and first one man on each side advanced in a braggart fashion, and engaged with swords. Afterwards

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[1] Or Gur. But apparently the names represent the Kurus and Pāndūs. See Badayūnī, Lowe, 94.

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bows and arrows were used. After that the Pūrīs attacked the Kurs with stones. As the Pūrīs were few in number, H.M. signified to some men who understood fighting with stones, such as the Petamcahā,[1] of Turān, and the Cīrūs of India, to assist the Pūrīs. They joined the Pūrīs in their attack on the Kurs and so exerted themselves that the Kurs could not withstand them and fled. The Pūrīs pursued them and sent a number of the wretches to annihilation. They came up with their Pīr and head, who was called Anand Kur, and slew the miserable creature. The rest scattered. The holy heart, which is the colourist of destiny's worship, was highly delighted
288 with this sport. Next day he marched from Thānessar.

When the camp reached Delhi M. Mīrak Raẓavī, who in Lahore had been made over to Jān Bāqī Khān, and who was waiting for his opportunity, fled from prison. Jān Bāqī hastened after him, and as he did not catch him he was afraid to come to court. H.M. the Shāhinshāh visited the shrines of the saints and sought for inspiration. He also distributed abundant alms among the devotees of those places. Tātār Khān, who was the governor of the city, represented that Muḥammad Amīn Diwāna, who had fled from Lahore, had come to the town of Bhojpūr, and that Shihābu-d-din Khān Turkamān, who was the jāgīrdār thereof, had kept him concealed for some days in his house and then supplied him with a horse and money and sent him to the rebels. On hearing this terrible news the wrath of the Shāhinshāh, which never blazes forth without just cause, grew high, and he issued orders to Shāh Fakhiru-d-dīn Mashhadī to bring the wretch to court. Next day he marched on and, when he came to Palwal,[2] Shāh Fakhiru-d-dīn[3] did homage and produced the inauspicious one. He was made over to Ḥasan Caghatāī and executed at that place.

When the expectants in Agra heard the sound of the approach of the sublime cortège the Khān-Khānān and a number of loyalists

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[1] I cannot find the word Petamcahā. Apparently it is a mistake for Yetimāhā or yetmishāha, meaning young men slaves, etc. The T. Alfi has *pīādagān shamsherbāz Samarkandī*. The Cīrūs (Cheeroos) are a wild tribe in Mīrzāpūr, etc.

[2] An ancient town in the Gurgāon district. See J. II. 286 and note.

[3] B 406. He married a daughter of Kāmrān.

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went out to welcome H.M. and were exalted by doing homage. The Khān-Khanān reported the condition of the country and read a list of the crimes of Ālī Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khān, and of the other rebels who had raised their heads anew. How can I say that clemency and advice are profitable to one who is innately bad? They do harm, for such an one regards conciliation and monition as weakness and increases in his sedition. Accordingly eminent sages have seen no remedy for the inwardly bad except prison and stripes. And when even this remedy does not act upon the wicked, it is kindness to mankind and indeed to themselves to send them to the abode of annihilation. Those responsible for the affairs of the kingdom and the intimates of H.M. had not arrived at an understanding of this mystery and had on the first occasion not permitted the Khedive of the Age to make an end of those wretches. They brought the mind of H.M. over to their view, and the raising of the veil remained in abeyance. When Ālī Qulī Khān and the other rebels heard that H.M. had marched to extinguish the flames of the sedition of Muḥammad Ḥakīm Mīrzā they in their foolish thoughts considered this to be their opportunity and indulged in seditious imaginings. Ālī Qulī Khān went from Jaunpūr to the town of Sarharpūr which was the jāgīr of Ibrāhīm Khān, and Iskandar Khān came out of 289
the city of Oude (Ajūdhya) to join this rebel tyrant. All the sedition-mongers assembled in that town and agreed that Ālī Qulī Khān should, with his forces, proceed by the way of Lucknow and take possession of the whole country to the bank of the Ganges; that Bahādur Khān should proceed to Karra and Manikpūr against Āṣaf Khān and Majnūn Khān; and that Iskandar Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān should take possession of the Sirkār of Oude and its neighbourhood. After making this evil compact they separated. Ālī Qulī Khān proceeded to Sarkār Qanauj. As the fief-holders in that part of the country had no leader who could cope with him, they went off to Qanauj. When Ālī Qulī Khān reached Qanauj, M. Yūsuf Khān, who was the fief-holder thereof, took refuge in the fort of Shergarha. The people dispersed, and petitions of the loyalists arrived one after the other at court. Fortune stepped out to do her work.

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CHAPTER LXII.

March of the Shahinshah from Agra to Jaunpur, and the deaths of Khan Zaman and Bahadur Khan on the field of victory.

As the sublime office of world-rule is in reality guardianship and watching, H.M. the Shāhinshāh in consequence of his rectitude of intention, and contrary to the practice of most former sovereigns, finds his own satisfaction in the soothment of his subjects, and his own joy in the peace of mankind. Assuredly, the unique pearl of the Caliphate fitly adorns the diadem of such a crowned one who, in spite of so much majesty and glory, keeps himself at the Court of the Eternal and is strenuous in the administration of justice, and who considers the repose of mankind to be his own ease. Certainly, whoever withdraws himself from obedience to such a sovereign, works destruction to himself with his own hands. Especially if he be one who has been nurtured by the sublime family, and has gathered by its means the materials of outward grandeur! What inhumanity and baseness, and folly, are in those who use those materials of grandeur in rebelling against their benefactor! Whenever there is such a sovereign, and such opposition, the Divine favour assists the former and gives victory in every campaign. The affair of Ālī Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khān, and the uprooting of those two haughty wretches are a specimen of this. The abridged account is as follows. When the sublime cortège returned successful from the Panjab campaign to the capital, and the rebellion and crimes of Ālī Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khān and the other leaders of sedition had been reported to H.M., he resolved to proceed to the eastern pro-
290 vinces and to extinguish the flames of sedition. He appointed Munʿim Khān Khān-Khānān to the charge of Agra, and chose out 2,000 war-elephants to accompany the troops. Before the army marched, he ordered Moẓaffar Moghal, M. Qulī, Qulīj Khān, Saiyid Muḥammad Maujī, Hājī Yūsuf, to proceed quickly to succour M. Yūsuf who was shut up in Qanauj. He himself put the foot of intent into the stirrup of dominion on the day of Ashtad 26 Ardībi-

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hisht, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday, 26 Shawwal, 6 May, 1567.

When he arrived at the town of Sakīt,[1] Ālī Qulī Khān, who was engaged in stirring up strife at the Qanauj ferry on the banks of the Ganges, fled as soon as he heard of the expedition of H.M., and went towards Manikpūr where his brother, Bahādur Khān was confronting Āṣaf Khān and Majnūn Khān. The royal army advanced from Sakīt to the bank of the Ganges and next day it crossed that tempestuous river and went on stage by stage. When it reached Mohān,[2] Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās was made leader and there were sent with him Moẓaffar Khān, Rajah Todar Mal, Shah Budāgh Khān, his son 'Abdu-l-maṭlib Khān, Ḥasan Khān, Qiyā Khān, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī, Āādil Khān, Khwāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn Āli Bakhshī, and other brave men on the day of Dībādīn 23 Khurdad, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday, 24 Ẕī-l-Qāda, 2 June, 1567, against Iskandar Khān, who had opened out the hand of sedition in Oudh. H.M. himself went on towards Karra and Manikpūr. When he came to Rai Bareilly, reports were received from Āṣaf Khān and Majnūn Khān to the effect that Ālī Qulī Khān and his brother intended to make an attack on Gwālīār, and wished to cross the Ganges. Immediately upon hearing this, H.M. resolved to make a rapid march. Most of the officers, some from cowardice, some from sloth, and some from regard to their bodies, and some because they did not want the rebels to be disposed of until their own ends had been served (lit. until the market of their selling of themselves was brisk), did not approve of this rush. The wise Shāhinshāh did not strip the veil from the behaviour of any of them, but committed his design to God, and on the night of Zamiyād 28 Khurdād, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday, 29 Ẕī-l-q'ada, marched rapidly from the town aforesaid.

A wonderful circumstance was that H.M. left the usual road on account of its length and took the middle road, which was shorter, in 291
spite of its being stated that it was without water, and that owing to the springs of secret aid which yielded abundance to the Shāhinshah's army, plenty of water was found on the way. For before this the

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[1] Sakīta in text. Ancient town in Etah district.

[2] In the Unao district of Oude, 18 miles from Lucknow.

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rain of mercy had fallen and filled the ponds. He marched the whole night and half of the next day and reached Mānikpūr where Muḥibb 'Alī, the jāgīrdār, rendered his services. As the march had commenced at the beginning of the night, and few were aware of the route, and a forest intervened, the troops got dispersed and missed the right track, and only a few kept in touch with H.M.'s stirrup. But what fear of paucity of followers is there for him whom Almighty God vouchsafes to keep? On the way, Āṣaf Khān did homage near Mānikpūr and was graciously received. He was immediately sent on ahead in order that he might hasten to his own camp which was opposite Khān Zaman's. Nor had any long time elapsed when Hatwā Mēwrah[1] who was a swift courier and a trustworthy intelligencer, brought news that Ālī Qulī and Bahādur had made a bridge over the Ganges in pargana Singraur[2] and had crossed. When H.M. received this information, he at once mounted, and though but few men were in attendance, he went on trusting to the armies of the grace of God. He left Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Khwāja Jahān, and others in charge of the camp in order that they might conduct it to the town of Karra, and be on the watch. He went from the village of Shaikhān, which is a dependency of Mānikpūr, and at the end of the day, on Sunday, he crossed the Ganges on an elephant. As it was the beginning of the rainy season, and the river was in flood, a strange agitation and outcry arose from the people when H.M. drove his elephant into the water. For the crossing of such a destructive river was an impossibility and it was only by the miraculous power of the Shāhinshāh that this swelling ocean gave a passage to that mine of holiness. He crossed without trouble by fording the river, and the spectators knew that this was a proof of victory! At the time when the sublime cortège crossed there were not more than eleven persons in attendance, *viz.*, M. Koka, Saif Khān Koka, Dastam Khān, Shujā'at Khān, Khān 'Aālam, Khwāja 'Abdullah, Darbār Khān, Shahbāz Khān, Saiyid Jamālu-d din, 'Aādil Khān, Dilāwar
292 Khān. There were also several elephants. On the day when

[1] The Mewṛahs were natives of Mewāt. See B. 252.

[2] Singraur is the old name of Nawābganj. The town of Singraur is still extant on the left bank of the Ganges, a few miles above Allahabad. Elliot Supp. Gloss. II. 105 and J. II. 161.

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the cortège crossed the Ganges and the river-bottom was trodden by the elephants, two of them, Khudā Bakhsh and Bāl Sundar were raging and roaring in their impetuosity. These two were noted for their courage, swiftness, fighting and rank-breaking qualities, but when the sublime cortège had crossed the river and had approached the rebels, the elephant Khuda-Bakhsh abandoned his fierceness and became cautious. The drivers and faujdārs were saddened on seeing this condition, but H.M. the Shāhinshāh said with the inspiration of fortune that the circumstance of such a fierce elephant's becoming cautious was an announcement of victory, for victory and success accompanied the cautious and intelligent. Moreover, by the elephant's becoming cautious his reliance was no longer upon elephants and their fierceness. He was confined to reliance upon the assistance of God and whosoever was confined to reliance upon the Divine favour and goodness was bounded by victory. In truth two[1] lofty points were made by that exhibition of marvels which were fitted to be the illuminated books of an inspired treatise. When night came on they reposed by the side of the river, while the rebels were one *kos* off. H.M. in reliance on the Divine aid ordered that they should halt here. At the same time Majnūn Khān and Āṣaf Khān came and did homage. Majnūn Khān and a number of others were of opinion that they should, without delay, fall upon the camp of the wretches that very night. Āṣaf Khān represented that they had taken up a strong position and encompassed it, and that it was not proper to attack at this time. Moreover in the day-time men fought better on account of their conduct being visible. His view was approved of and H.M. dismissed the arrivals after giving them exalted admonitions. He ordered that they should report to him twice in each watch, and that they should arrange for scouting, lest the rebels should hear of his having come and should depart.

'Ālī Qulī and Bahādur in their pride and arrogance were utterly careless and got no information. That night, when the sublime army had arrived, they spent in drinking, and with their

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[1] The Lucknow ed. explains that one point was the omen derived from the elephant's becoming cautious or serious, and the other was that the change in the elephant's condition showed that they were to rely solely on God.

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paramours, and had grand feasts (*bishkan*[1] *bishkan*), by which very phrase they drew an omen for their defeat. More wonderful still, on that night a man went near the rebels' tents and cried out "O all ye doomed ones, know that H.M. the king has crossed the Ganges with an innumerable host to destroy you." As the cup of their life was full, they considered the report of the arrival of the royal standards to be an artifice of Āṣaf Khān and Majnūn Khān and so waxed more presumptuous. It would seem that this warning came from an ignorant loyalist. He was apprehensive that as H.M. had crossed that river with a small force, while the enemy had 3,000 or 4,000 experienced horsemen, he might by this device cast a stone of dispersal among them so that they should not engage. He did not know that hidden armies were marching along with the world's lord.

In fine, on the morning of day of Mārisfandr 29 Khurdād, Divine month, corresponding to Monday the lst Ẕī-l-ḥajja, which was in truth the first day of royal victory and the last day of the lives of the wretches, H.M. called for his cuirass and stepped
293 out in the armour of the mystic aid. He placed the helmet of fortune on the head of majesty, and all the gallant men of the company prepared for war. The centre was dignified by the presence of the Shāhinshāh, the right wing was commanded by Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, and the left wing by Āṣaf Khān. Muḥibb Ālī Khān and a number of heroes formed the vanguard. H.M. rode on the elephant Bāl Sundar, and M. Koka rode in the canopy on the same elphant and thereby his position transcended the skies. At sunrise H.M. proceeded against the camp of Khān Zamān. It appeared that the blackhearted rebels had begun to march off. An order was issued that Majnūn Khān should quickly advance with his troops, and not let them get away. Having such a strong support they pressed forward and engaged the enemy's rear. After some time Āṣaf Khān was also ordered to advance quickly. As the air was

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[1] A. F. puns here on the word *bishkan* which means revelry, etc., but which may also be read as *bashikan*, i.e., "Defeat us, defeat us." See the note of the Lucknow editor. *Bishkan-Bishkan* is explained in the Bahār 'Ajam as a great feast accompanied with singing and dancing. Possibly the word is *ba-shikan ba-shikan*, fold on fold, or curl on curl.

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very warm, and the elephants were slow in moving, the world-conquering prince got down from the elephant and mounted a horse. The wretches did not believe that H.M. the Shāhinshāh was himself present, and thought that the fight was due to the rashness of Āṣaf Khān and Majnūn Khān. When there was much contest and they saw the majesty of the army and the onset of the elephants, they understood that it was the sublime cortège of the Shāhinshāh, and that H.M. in person had set the foot of victory in the stirrup of conquest, 'Alī Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khān set their hearts on death and stood in the plain of rebellion, and as eternal renegades determined upon war. With this evil idea they drew up their forces and sent a number of their best men against the imperial vanguard and bowmen (*ūqci*). At this time the whole force of the imperial army which was with the Shāhinshāh was about 500 men, and about 500 elephants. The distance between H.M. and the vangard was now less, and Bābā Khān Qāqshāl, who was in command of the bowmen, joined this body (where Akbar was). A hot engagement with swords and arrows took place, and by the aid of the Shāhinshāh's fortune the enemy was driven off. The victorious troops pursued them and drove them up to 'Alī Qulī Khān's line. The rebels got confused in their flight and could not distinguish head from trunk, or front from behind. It was an instance of fortune that, in that flight, the horse of one of the fugitives struck 'Alī Qulī Khān's horse so that his turban fell off. 'Alī Qulī Khān was astonished and dispatched Bahādur Khān against Bābā Khān Qāqshāl. Bahādur Khān came up with the bowmen and made a hot fight. From time to time 'Alī Qulī got reports from Bahādur and sent him fresh reinforcements. Babā Khān saw that the enemy were full of force and retreated. Bahādur Khān pursued him and advanced as far as Majnūn Khān. Just then **294** his horse was struck by an arrow and reared and flung Bahādur Khān on the ground. The brave men of the army of fortune fell upon him. Wazīr Jamīl[1] seized him; but from wickedness and greed took something from him and let him go. Naẓar Bahādur, a loyalist and a servant of Majnūn Khān, threw himself upon him and captured him. The victors surrounded Bahādur Khān's comrades and shot them with arrows.

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[1] Blochmann 473.

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During this joyful time while the lord of the world was moving rapidly about on horseback, and the combatants were putting their hands on the collars of the foe and slaying them, and 'Alī Qulī Khān was standing in the pride of his disloyalty and was inquiring after the position of Bahādur Khān, a *mast* elephant called Citrānand, which was one of the royal elephants, rushed against the elephant Gaj Bhanwar, which was one of the special elephants and which had ceased to be *mast*. Gaj Bhanwar did not withstand him, but fled, followed by Citrānand. Gaj Bhanwar's driver drove his elephant among the ranks of the rebels, and the latter opposed to Citrānand the elephant Ūdiya. Citrānand left Gaj Bhanwar and ran at Ūdiya and with one mountain-breaking blow stretched him on the dust of destruction. A great discomfiture ensued among the rebels, and many of their leaders became the harvest of the sword. The weeds and stubble of their existence were burnt up by the fire of Divine wrath and the lightning of the Shāhinshāh's power. A number who fled from the field of battle were killed on the roads by the peasantry, whose animosity had been excited by their oppression. The spring-breeze of victory blew upon the nursling of fortune, and the Naisān cloud of victory scattered pearls over the garden of dominion. The field of battle was cleansed from the dust of the sedition of the rebellious, and the figure of victory emerged from the curtain of Divine favours and gloriously established herself on a lofty dais. H.M. the Shāhinshāh was on horseback and was making inquiries about 'Alī Qulī and Bahādur. At this time Naẕar Bahādur appeared before H.M., with the captured Bahādur Khān mounted in croup behind him. H.M. the Shāhinshāh opened the lips of commiseration and said, "Bahādur,[1] what evil had we done to you that you have been the cause of all this strife and sedition?" Confusion and shame laid hold of him, he hung down his head and said nothing. After being questioned many times there came from his ungrateful lips the expression,[2] "God is to be praised, whatever happens." It would seem that the wretch did not at his latest breath perceive his faithlessness and wickedness. Otherwise words of repentance would have come

[1] The text has Bahadur-i-mā "our Bahādur."

[2] According to the T. Alfī, Bahādur thanked God for seeing Akbar at the end of his (Bahādur's) life. B.M.M.S. Or. 465, p. 630*a*.

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upon his tongue. But whoever turns away from such a mighty lord is ruined temporally and spiritually, and becomes bad outwardly and 295
inwardly. In spite of such sedition, H.M. the Shāhinshāh did not wish to send him to the hollow of annihilation. After urgent solicitations from the officers, Shāhbāz Khān and Bansī Dās Kambū were ordered to relieve his neck of the burden of his head by the edge of the sword. Just then the warriors captured and brought Shahriyār Kul, who was one of 'Alī Qulī's confidants. The servants cast his vexing head also to the dust. H.M. the Shāhinshāh inquired about 'Alī Qulī Khān. A number of persons said that he had left the field, and another set were agreed that he had been killed. Meanwhile they brought Bātū who was 'Alī Qulī's *faujdār*. When they examined him, he said that he had seen 'Alī Qulī killed by a royal elephant with one tusk, and gave the marks of the elephant and the driver. By order, all the elephants of the vanguard were produced, and that man pointed out the one-tusked elephant Nain Sukh (delight of the eyes), saying that this was the elephant that killed 'Alī Qulī. Thereafter an order was issued that whoever brought a Moghul rebel's head should get a gold mohar, and whoever brought a Hindustani's head should get a rupi. The crowd ran off after heads and brought them in, and were paid. Physiognomists examined them. At last one brought the head of 'Alī Qulī which had been lying under a tree. There was a doubt about its genuineness. Meanwhile a Hindu named Arzānī, who had been all-powerful with Alī Qulī, and who was one of the prisoners, heaved a deep sigh on seeing the head. He came forward and took it, and then smote his own head severely.

It now appeared that a mysterious arrow had struck 'Alī Qulī, and M. Beg Qāqshāl claimed that it was his arrow which had struck him. In fact the rebel was in the agonies of death from this arrow when the driver Somnāth drove his elephant Nain Sukh against him. 'Alī Qulī said to him, "I am one of the leaders of the soldiers, take me before H.M. and you will be rewarded." The driver took this to be idle talk, and drove his elephant over him. He was trampled under the foot of the elephant, or rather, under the weight of his sins and ingratitude. A contemptible wretch severed the head in order to get the ashrafī, and was bringing it away. On the road a slave [1]

[1] The Iqbālnama says he was one of Akbar's *chelahs*. Blochmann 253.

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named Ghālib carried off the head from him, and brought it before H.M. and asked for the reward. Thereafter H.M. dismounted from his horse and placed the face of supplication on the ground of thanksgivings. The great officers and others who had distinguished themselves were rewarded by promotion, and the heads of 'Alī Qulī and Bahādur were sent, along with bulletins of victory, by the hands of 'Abdulla, son of Khwāja Murād Beg of Qazwīn, who had been for a
296 time Diwān of H.M. Jahānbānī Ashiyānī, to Agra, Delhi, Multan and other parts of the dominions. Thus the imperial servants' stock of joy was increased and advice and warning were given to the waiters upon events who had gone astray. This glorious victory, which may be considered as the masterpiece of daily-increasing fortune, took place in the territory of the village of Sakrāwal, which is in the province of Ilahābās. They made it a city and gave it the name of Fatḥpūr. The phrase *faṭh-i-Akbar*[1] *mubārak* is the date of the imperial victory.

One of the wonderful occurrences was this that when the standard of fortune marched to put down the ingrates, and Mun'im Khān was left in charge of Agra, the market of the empty-brained and talkative became active. The disobedient and disaffected exceeded all bounds. Mun'im Khān, who had faith in the father, teacher, and director of Abulfaẓl, the writer of this volume, came to him and sought for moral support from him. That mine of testifiers (shahūd) spoke lofty words about the greatness of the Lord of the Age and gave a wondrous indication about the extirpation of the opponents of his dominion. At his request (Mun'im's) it was arranged that he should hold that night a special Sufistic service and that he should come and report what transpired on the occasion. Next morning, a marvellous joy was seen on his noble forehead, and he stated that it had been intimated to him in the night that the heads of 'Alī Qulī and Bahādur would soon be brought in. Mun'im Khān was delighted on hearing this good news, and returned thanks to God. But a little time had elapsed when they brought the heads of those two faithless

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[1] Blessed be Akbar's victory. The words yield 974. The Iqbālnāma says that *du khūn shud* was the date of Shamsu-d-din and Adham Khān's deaths and *dū khūn shuda* the date of the deaths of the two brothers Ālī Qulī and Bahādur, but this last chronogram yields 975 instead of 974.

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rebels. What is strange in such a revelation being made to those who address themselves to the Divine Court and are followers of the mystic way?

When by the blessing of the heavenly aids which attend the armies of H.M. the Shāhinshāh both at home and abroad, such a dominion-adorning victory had been manifested, H.M. went off the same day to the province of Ilahabās, as sundry disloyalists were stirring up strife there. At evening that territory obtained the morning of dominion by the advent of H.M. He passed the night in that pleasant place. Some renegades from fortune who had fled and joined 'Alī Qulī, such as Shaikh Yūsuf Cūlī, were captured. H.M. spent two days there and on the third proceeded to Benares. There many of 'Alī Qulī and Bahādur's soldiers, such as Martaẓa Qulī, did homage. From the innate kindness of H.M. their offences were forgiven. The women and dancing-girls of Bahādur Khān fell into the hands of the imperial servants and Khwāja 'Aālam the eunuch there was attached to the saddlestraps of auspiciousness and promoted to near attendance on H.M. As the people of Benares had from ignorance and disloyalty shut their gates, the royal wrath decreed that they should be plundered. But he soon forgave them. Shihāb Khān and a body of troops were sent to protect and rule Jaunpūr, and Qulīj Khān was sent with a force to Sirharpūr, where the 297
families of some of the Uzbegs were. After spending three days at Benares, he proceeded to Jaunpūr, and arrived there on the second day. The lights of safety shone upon the men of 'Alī Qulī who were there and they came under the shadow of the Shāhinshāh's favour. He stayed three days in Jaunpūr and the inhabitants who had been buffeted about, were tranquillised by the Shāhinshāh's kindness. From there the royal cavalier of the steed of fortune made a rapid journey to Karra, where the great camp was. He accomplished the journey in three days and came to the bank of the Ganges at the Karra ferry. At that time not more than four or five persons had kept up with him. He crossed the river in a boat and alighted at the Karra fort. Near Manikpūr Khwāja 'Aālam absconded, but was recaught. From that city an order was issued for the attendance of Mun'im Khān Khān-Khanān, and the jagirdars of the country were allowed to go to their estates. They were exhorted to cherish their tenants. Some of the evil-disposed and seditious, who had fled from

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the holy threshold and joined the rebels, and who were always stirring up strife, and had now been caught by fortune's lasso, such as Khān Qulī Uzbeg, Yār 'Alī, 'Aālm Shāh Badakhshī, Mīr Shāh Badakhshī, Yahiya Bakhshī, Calma Khān fosterbrother of M. 'Askari, were made the subjects of wrath and trampled by *mast* elephants. M.[1] Mīrak of Mashhad, who was one of the special confidants of 'Alī Qulī, and who had fled from the imperial camp and been caught in Karra, was, along with other offenders, trussed up and brought into the plain of justice. All the other strifemongers were executed in his presence, and then an elephant was let loose against him.[2] The elephant caught him in his trunk and squeezed him and the stocks, and shoulder-boards, and flung him from one side to the other. As a clear sign for his execution had not been given (by the driver) the elephant played with him and treated him gently. For five successive days he was brought out and tortured in the place of execution. At last on account of his being a Saiyid, and on the intercession of courtiers, he was granted his life. On the same occasion Jai Tawācī brought Shāh Nāṣir Khwājā, who was a ring-leader of the disloyal, to Court, and he was capitally punished.

Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān came according to orders from
298 Agra to Karra and was exalted by doing homage. Out of the abundance of his bounty, H.M. conferred upon him all the fiefs of 'Alī Qulī and Bahādur, in Jaunpūr, Benares and Ghāzīpūr up to the bank of the Causa river, and he went off successful to Jaunpūr and

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[1] Bāyazīd tells us, 91*a*, that he was the Atka of Salīma Begam. It seems from the Iqbālnāma that the mahout was told not to kill him.

[2] The text has *ba kundha u du shākha* با کنده و دو شاخه A foot note states that most MSS. have bakundha 'i-du shākha, but that the conjunction is right as *kundha* is a large piece of wood which is put on the feet of criminals, and du shākha is something placed on their necks. But an illustration to the Clarke M.S. of the Akbarnāma, Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, by the contemporary artists Maskīnā and Banwālī Major, which has been reproduced in the Journal of Indian Art for October 1904, makes me doubt if the conjunction is right, and if a conjunction is required. The illustration refers to the passage in the text and shows the prisoners with a circular piece of wood, probably the *du shākha*, or lignum duos ramos habens of Vullers, which confines their wrists while their feet and necks are tied with cords. Probably *kundha-i-du shākha* should be rendered "manacles."

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that neighbourhood. The sublime cortège moved on towards the capital on the day of Mihr the 16th Tīr, Divine month, corresponding to Saturday 20 Ẕi-l- ḥajja, 28 June 1567. H.M. went on, stage by stage, hunting and administering justice. Every city and territory that he passed through was ennobled by his justice and the benefits of his advent. In the town of Kura[1] which was in the fief of Farḥat Khān, a great feast was held at the latter's petition, and Shujāa't Khān had similar good fortune in Etawah. Likewise other loyalists were gratified by this favour in various places. At last on the day of Khurdād 6 Amardād, Divine month, corresponding to Saturday 11 Muḥarram 975, 18 July 1567, he reached Agra. The world assumed special freshness, and mankind peculiar joy. The universe became the seat of peace and justice.

The account of the victorious forces that went against Iskandar, under the command of Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, is as follows: They marched, stage by stage, and on the day of Ardī-bihisht 3 Tīr, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 7 Zi-l-ḥajja, they arrived at the city of Oudh. Iskandar, on hearing of the arrival of the imperial army, shut himself up in the fort of Oudh. The officers besieged it and distributed their batteries. At the side of the city there is a lofty hill which bears the name of Swarag-dwārī,[2] and which is the citadel (sar-kob) of the city and the fort. Iskandar had established a number of his followers, including many musketeers, there, so that by shooting with bows and muskets they might prevent any one from coming within the city's verge.

Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās first addressed himself towards the taking of this citadel and appointed a number of brave men to attack and capture it. They drove off the rebels and got full possession of the city and the fort, so that not a single person could put his head outside of a window, and the Uzbegs became doomed men and were utterly disconcerted. Meanwhile news of the victory of the imperial army and of the slaying of 'Alī Qulī and Bahādur reached both inside and outside of the city. This strengthened the imperial servants and disheartened the enemy. Although a letter had previously come from Rai Pattar Dās to Rajah Todar Mal, telling of

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1 The Iqbalnāma has Kūra.

2 سرگه دواری Gate of heaven, said to be the place where Rāma's body was burnt.

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the victory and of the slaying of 'Alī Quli and Bahādur, and this had come before the troops reached Oudh, yet as the common people regarded those two wretches as *asses'*[1] *heads*, they considered this
299 news to have been fabricated. When at this time the news became notorious, Sikandar continued to keep it secret, and, using trick and stratagem, he sent for Raḥmān Qulī Qūshbegi saying that he had several things to communicate. The imperial servants did not agree to this. At last he sent Ḥājī Ughlan, who was one of his confidants, to the officers. They had a discussion with him, and it was arranged that Raḥman Qulī should go with Ḥājī Ūghlan and come back after settling the agreement. The two went off the same day and returned. They reported that Iskandar repented of his past deeds and was looking forward to his obtaining through the intervention of the officers the blessing of kissing the threshold. He wished that they should first, by themselves, see one another in an appointed place and confirm the agreement by oaths. It was arranged that as next morning was 'Id Qarbān, his desire should be fulfilled on that day.

In short, Iskandar vacillated and put off the imperial servants by stories and pretexts, and at night came out by the fort-gate, which was towards the river, and crossed over by means of some boats which he kept in readiness for the day of his retreat, and came out of the whirlpool of danger, half-alive. When, in the morning, the imperial servants became aware of Iskandar's flight, they immediately entered the city and beat high the drum of victory. As Sikandar (sic) had left no boats on that side, there was a delay of two or three days in pursuing him, on account of their having to collect boats from other ferries. Meanwhile Iskandar arranged for the security of his family and sent a message that he still stood by his promise,

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[1] *sir-i-khar.* This expression has several meanings, one being that of "scarecrow," but here it means an intruder or one who is always turning up unseasonably. Thus it corresponds to our phrase "bad penny," and also more nearly to the phrase, borrowed from Dickens, of "King Charles' head." The people had got so accustomed to hear of 'Alí Qulī and his brother rebelling, and then returning to allegiance, that they did not believe this time they were really dead. The phrase *sir-i-khar paida shud*, "An ass's head appeared," is similarly applied to any worthless thing coming into one's hands again, or to false news.

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and that he had crossed[1] the river on account of men's fears. He now wished that Muḥammad Qulī Khān, Moẓaffar Khān and Rajah Todar Mal should enter a boat and come into the middle of the river and that he should come with ten men and salute them, and hear directly what had been agreed upon. When his mind has been set at rest he would go to the world-protecting court. Those three magnates agreed to his proposition. Iskandar Khān came from the other side with four or five of his confidants in a boat, and held a conference which was a picture on water and a knot on the wind. The imperial servants took oaths and did what was proper in the way of conciliation. But Iskandar did not abide by his word, and said that he could not just now, when he was an example of crimes, have the courage to kiss the threshold. What was necessary was that, in forgiveness of his crimes, his *jāgīr* should be left as it was, and that he should be nominated to service in the province, so that he might by good actions make himself fit for royal favour. As his tongue did not accord with his heart, he spent the time in idle talk and in spite of the rains he went off two stages down stream and sent an untrue message, alleging the force of the current on the banks. When the 300
imperial servants perceived that nothing would come from the rogue except deceits and vulpine tricks, they crossed the river and pursued him. He, after traversing quagmires and floods, conveyed himself to Gorakpūr. There Sulaimān Qulī, an Uzbeg who had fled to the Afghans from 'Alī Qulī Khān, and who held the ferry on behalf of the Afghans, collected boats and crossed him over and his men with all rapidity, and so saved him from the billows of the wrath of the Shāhinshāh's fortune. The great officers came to the borders of the Afghan territory, but as orders for entering that territory had not come from Court, they halted and sent a report to Court, relating the facts and asking permission to enter the country. The petition arrived on the day that H.M. reached Agra, and an order was issued that as that remnant of the sword had gone out of the dominions, they should be content at this time with what they had done, and should set about arranging the distracted condition of the province.

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[1] It appears from the Iqbālnāma that he took them across with him on the first occasion, and used the time afforded by the negotiations in having them conveyed to a place of safety.

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Sirkār Oudh was made the fief of Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās and the other officers were summoned to Court. When the rescript reached the imperial servants, they established Muḥammad Qulī Khān in the government of the Sirkār and set off for the capital. There they did homage and were recipients of auspiciousness.

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CHAPTER LXIII.

Expedition for the Capture of the Fortress of Citūr.

To overthrow the neck-stretching rebel is to establish oneness, which is the choicest worship in the fore-court of plurality, and to make current the coin of peace and tranquillity. By the lord of the Age's realising this truth, the pillars of the Divine vice-regency are revealed and a stock of bliss conferred on mankind. God be praised! H.M. the Shāhinshāh, by the help of eternal favour, and the assistance of secret hosts, sees his own happiness in giving peace to mankind, and day by day increases his efforts to control and remedy the madness of the refractory and wrong-headed. The Divine aid keeps close to his holy personality and renders him successful, both in spiritual and in temporal matters. At the time when the capital was made resplendent by the lights of his justice, and when the army was not yet rested from its labours, the news came of the rebellion of the sons of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā and of their scattering the dust of dissension in the province of Malwa. When they had withdrawn their heads from bearing the burden 301
of obedience to their spiritual and temporal king, and had become vagabonds in the land of destruction, they, after long wandering with little result (*lit.* much twisting of heads and littleness of speech), had found Malwa empty and had gone there. It passed into the holy heart of the lord of the Age, who knows hidden secrets and is a mine of pity and gentleness, that if he, in consideration of the condition of his soldiers, overlooked the quelling of these sedition-mongers, he would be acting contrary to God's will, and that if an expedition were undertaken to put down this disturbance, and he personally took part in it, he would be acting contrary to the canons of reason, for the set were not of such a nature as to require his presence for their suppression. And it is an axiom of the laws of sovereignty that whatever can be done by words should not be done by the sword, and that whatever can be done by the courage of officers of middling or lower rank should not be made over to great ministers. In respect to the scale of duties, regard should

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always be had to the laws of sovereignty, which are an expression for judgment and appreciation. If in accordance with the laws of sovereignty, attendants on the threshold of fortune were nominated for this service, the first men of the country, who regarded obedience to their king as the bliss of two worlds, would in a moment gird up the loins of effort and proceed to perform it, but delay would be caused by having to collect the soldiery, whose presence was indispensable, and in this way a little affair might become a great one. Now the laws of sovereignty did not admit of delay in such matters. Accordingly the Shāhinshāh of the universe and the sage of the time resolved to dispose of this business by his own ripe understanding, and by giving attention under the guise of inattention, and care under the screen of carelessness. He in appearance overlooked the thing, and in reality applied his genius to putting down the disturbance. On the day of Rashn 18 Shahriyūr, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 25 Ṣafr, 30 August 1567, he set out to hunt in pargana Bārī, where he had often enjoyed himself in hunting deer with *citas*, in order that the loyal and devoted leaders might come without the notoriety of being sent for, while others, either their servants or not, would, seeing that there was no prohibition, readily assemble in order to pay their respects. When men should have quickly assembled, a number of them would be picked out and sent on this duty. With this judicious idea he set out from the capital, and, having encamped at Bārī, he went on hunting towards Dholpūr and Gwālyār which are in the direction of Malwa. The officers and other servants turned the face of hope towards the camp and arrived in crowds. If all the faithful servants of the court, who were associated with hunting, should be added up, they
302 would be enough to conquer a world; if all the loyal heroes were gathered together, who could count them? and if the servants of the servant were also collected, who could estimate their numbers?

When Dholpūr had been made the camping ground, Sakat[1] Singh, son of Rānā Udai Singh, was in attendance on the victorious stirrup. H.M., either from pleasantry, or in order that the presumptuous rebels of Malwa might be led by the circumstance into the slumber of negligence, said to him that though most of the land-

[1] Blochmann, 519.

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holders and great men of India had paid their respects, yet the Rānā had not as yet done so, and that therefore he proposed to march against him and punish him. H.M. also asked what service the prince would render in this case. On one occasion he spoke at large about these matters with the prince, and the latter made hypocritical proffers.

At last that crooked-minded one, from want of understanding and from taking a jest seriously, ran away. In his folly he ran away from apparent dishonour, and fell into real disgrace. For the ignorant fellow imagined that H.M. was meditating the punishment of Rānā under the pretence of hunting, and that he himself would get a bad name to the effect that he had gone and brought H.M. against his father. He did not know that it was all a joke, and that there was no reason why this powerful and God-restrained one should personally proceed against such a class of landholders. Nor did he perceive that, on the supposition that his notion was correct, his running away from such a good fortune was to throw himself into the lowest hell of destruction and to hurry from disrepute to misconduct. When the news of his flight reached the royal hearing, the Shahinshāh's wrath was stirred up, and jest became earnest. And in truth this was proper, for, from the time of the accession, most of the leading men of India who had cocked the hat of pride and had not lowered the head of obedience before any of the Sultans, had bowed down and kissed the ground, except Rānā Udai Singh, than whom there was in this country no one more foolish and arrogant. This audacious and immoderate one, in whom the turbulence of ancestors was added to his own haughtiness, was proud of his steep mountains and strong castles and turned away the head of obedience from the sublime court. His brain was heated by the consciousness of his possessing abundant land and wealth, and numbers of devoted Rajputs, and so he left the path of auspiciousness. H.M's world-conquering genius decided to chastise him. In the beginning of Mihr, Divine month, corresponding to the middle of Rabī'-al-awwal, about 19 September 1567, the expedition took place and he set off towards conquering the territory of Hindwāra. When the vicinity of the fort of Sīvī Sūpar, which is famous in that country, became the encamping ground, it transpired that the fort was empty. Before H.M's arrival the 303

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servants of Sūrjan, the governor of the fort of Rantanbūr, had become terrified and had gone off together with the peasantry. H.M. the Shāhinshāh took the evacuation of the fort as an omen of great victories and remained two days in that pleasant spot. He ordered the fort to be victualled from the neighbourhood and made it over to Naẓr Bahādur. From there he marched six stages and encamped at the town of Kotah, which is one of the strong places in that country, and then made over that fort and its territory to Shāh Muḥammad Qandahāri and left him there. Marching from thence, he halted in the vicinity of the fort of Gāgrūn.

One of the occurrences was that the acute, wisdom-gathering, enchanting, spiritually and physically elder brother (of the author) Shaikh Abu-l-faiẓ Faiẓī was exalted by being brought from the chamber of retirement to the court of service of the world-lord and was distinguished by the Shāhinshāh's favours. This new fruit of the garden of knowledge had continually been gathering wisdom in attendance on the conductor of the heavenly caravans, the garland-twiner of the pinacothek of Plurality in Unity—his honoured father—and in a short time had attained high rank in his truth-teaching school, which was the meeting of the two seas of perception and illumination, and the rendezvous of the comprehenders of theory and practice. One of the results of this association was that his tongue was loosed for word-adornment and for poetry. The renown of his excellences embraced the outer as well as the inner world. Inasmuch as it was the holy nature of his honoured father to draw his foot under the skirt of retirement and so conserve his spirit, and as he, for the sake of concealment, chose the teaching of rational and traditional sciences, he kept closed the road of intercourse with the classes of mankind. From the blessed influence of his spirit, his sons did not indulge their natural inclinations nor were affected by the sight of this deceitful world. He (Mubārak) spent all his time in adorning his soul, and in hiving wisdom and in good actions. And though that enlightened old man divined the ambushes of the spiritual and temporal Khedive, and was one of his faithful believers, he did not bring the unique pearl of love into the market. And in spite of its great value and of its being keenly sought after in the bazar, and of there being a purchaser who could appreciate it, he did not bring it into the mart of sale. And because

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the doing homage to him (Akbar) was to do homage to Plurality under the guise of Unity, he chose solitude rather than Plurality. Moreover, those attached to the unique worshipper of God (Akbar) received salaries from that fountain of truth. On this account he (Mubārak) had no intercourse with the lords of dominion and pillars of the empire. And though many of his profession spread, by the 304 instrumentality of the outwardly great, calumnies against him out of envy, and made trouble—afterwards falling into the abyss of failure through the acute perception of the truth-discerning prince—his mind was not at all disposed to have dealings with the well-meaning persons attached to the court, and did not take the customary means to remedy his affairs.

At the time when the Khedive of the world was meditating the conquest of Citūr, mention was made to him of the light-increasing lamp of perception and most excellent of brothers (Faiẓī), and an order was given for the attendance of that nosegay of ability. A party of evil-dispositioned and short-sighted persons who did not know the real facts took this gracious summons to be the prelude of censure and sent a peremptory order to the governor of the capital. ...On the night of Ābān 10 Mihr, Divine month, corresponding to the night of Wednesday 20 Rabī-al-awwal (975), 24 September 1567, when a portion[1] of the blue robe (of night) had disappeared, and that seer (dīdawar) had gone off to contemplate the new flowers of the garden, a number of Turks came and surrounded our abode. It appears that a part of evil-disposed, base people, who were the scorched centres of the sands of envy, had supplemented their wickedness by suggesting to those ignorant capturers that the Shaikh would hide his son, and seek excuses for not sending him. Their sole wish was that some harm might happen (to Faiẓī). When the real fact was known there was an increase of astonishment, but owing to the delay in the appearance of that overflowing abundance of absolute excellence, their stratagems and wickedness assumed almost the appearance of truth and they were about to commit an outrage, when my honoured brother arrived! Thereupon the disturbance was quelled, and that set was drowned in shame. As the gates of

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1 Apparently the meaning is that it was near morning, and this view is upported by the beginning of the ode.

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acquisition were closed, it was difficult to make arrangements for the journey, but this obstacle was also smoothed by the exertions of pupils and friends. But a stone of distraction fell into the skirt of that night, and all the members of the family were sunk in the whirlpool of grief.[1] He who was acquainted with the secrets of creation (Mubārak) set himself to assuage their restlessness. He said that at first the face of his heart had in consequence of human nature been saddened by the evil-natured gossips, otherwise his feelings would have been joyous. Nothing but exultation and delight could be produced and maintained from this apparently grief-causing event. Just about then the good news of promotion arrived and the bolt upon rejoicing was withdrawn. In the first instance it was a draught of pain which touched the palate of him who did not know the congregation of wisdom, and then after some days the glad tidings arrived of the kindness shown by the Cyrus of horizons. A stock of everlasting joy came to hand. The following ode was composed about this time in praise of the favours bestowed.

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[1] Presumably it was Faiẓī who at first felt pain, but possibly it means the other members of the family. Faiẓī was then 20 and A. F. 16 years old. The ode cannot have been composed or at least not completed for several years for it refers to the births of Akbar's sons, of whom Daniel was not born till 979. The troubles of Faiẓī and his family did not end with this introduction to Akbar. It was two or three years after it, *viz.*, in 979 (1669-70) that the persecution of the family occurred of which A. F. has given a long account in the Āīn. See Jarrett III. 429.

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CHAPTER LXIV.

Faiẓī's Ode.

At dawn the Solomon[1]-like messenger bearing good tidings 305
Arrived with an open brow like that of Felicity.
His face brightened the heart like a company of friends,
His lips shed pearls, like the band of the generous,
By his head he, like Genius, seized greatness,
By his feet he, like Power, gripped wide countries,
Friend and stranger gathered around him
As round a rich host on a feasting-day.
His loins were girt with alacrity and speed
As the path of the Zodiac girdles the revolving spheres
A lofty plume appeared in his cap
He seemed a gracious bird[2] with outstretched wings
An auspicious rescript bound upon his head
Showed[3] its preface atop where Reason's seal is,
A letter he had received in the glorious court
Was a summons from the prince of the Caliphate
Auspicious harbingers proclaimed, "Read
Thy letter of release, O sorrowing captive"
The distant view of the courier caused me an agitation
Worth hundreds of non-agitations
My heart fluttered at the motion of his bells[4]
As flutters the[5] Nazarene's soul at the swaying of the *nāqūs*

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1 Perhaps alluding to Solomon's being able to fly though the air on his carpet. Or possibly Solomon was the courier's name. This is the view of the Lucknow editor. A Khwāja Sulaimān is mentioned, A. N. III. 460, as having been sent on a mission to Shahbāz Khān.

2 Literally, a pheasant.

3 Apparently means that the heading or superscription was at top of the summons, and so resembled Reason which has its seat in the head. Perhaps the meaning is that the courier carried the document on his head.

4 Couriers wore bells on their caps, or on their necks or had them on their staffs.

5 An allusion to the word "*tarsī*," a trembler, which is a name for a Christian. The *nāqūs* is the wooden gong used in Armenian churches.

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I kissed his crippled feet,[1] forgetting that
This action was an impediment to his advance
His sudden call produced such ecstacy[2] in me
As the Divine attraction excites in the pilgrim,
How shall I write of that time when my heart's boat
Was tossed on the billows of the tempest,
A quickening Spring visited my words-garden
A youthful morning came to my spirits' tulip,
Whiles I was disturbed, thinking by what argument
I could raise doubts about absolute verities,
Wherefore diversity of practice in Islām?
Wherefore ambiguities in the words of the Qorān?
Why did false witness shoot out the tongue in the tribunal
Of pride and hypocrisy, and claim belief,
If such be the religion of Islam in this world
Scoffers can have a thousand smiles at the Musulman faith!
Whiles I went on, like Reason, thinking how I could comprehend
The secrets of the wisdom of Grecian sages
What ideas did the "First Master" (Aristotle) entertain?
What explanation was given by the "Second Interpreter"[3]?
What is Divine wisdom that the precepts thereof
I may engrave on the tablets of my soul?
But how shall truth's light shine upon
My heart which is not turned towards the holy lamps?
What path is there to the genius which understands
The nature of heat, cold, moisture, and the dryness of the desert and the mine?[4]
How does the sage by the touch of his forefinger

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[1] Perhaps he means that he kissed his feet so hard that he made them lame, and this is how the Lucknow editor understands the passage.

[2] *Zawq*. A Sufistic word. *Jazab*.

[3] Alfrabius, *i.e.*, Abū Naṣar. See D'Herbelot and Biog. Universelle I. 550. He died 339 A.H. It is not clear why he is called the *2nd* Interpreter. He was called 2nd Master according to D'Herbelot. He was born at Fārīb in Turkey which is the same as Otrar where Timur died. He translated the Analytics of Aristotle.

[4] Cf. Blochmann 38. Kānī perhaps means mineral here.

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Understand the condition of the heart by the arterial current?
What is the path to mathematics by whose discipline 306
I may learn the mysteries of the revolving spheres?
Why is the fifth sphere the throne of Mars?
Why the seventh the portico of Saturn?
Whiles I was taken with the weighing of the jewels of poesy
The scales of the balance were full of words and meanings
My brain was perfumed with the āṯr of Firdūsī
My fancy's ear filled with the fame of Khāqāni
Whiles I meditated on prose and belles-lettres
And turned with a smitten brain to the Gulistān's nosegay,
Whiles I was occupied with riddles,[1] since perhaps
They would act as a file upon iron,
My tongue full of wisdom's words, and yet
My head not a moment clear of secret madness
Reason showed to my exterior[2] Tayfurī's[3] asceticism
The Ṣan'aāni's[4] love impressed my brain

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[1] Faiẓī composed enigmas or riddles on the 99 names of God.
B.M.M.S. Add. 7794, p. 302.

[2] Literally "to my skin."

[3] The famous saint Ṭayfūr, b. 'Isa, commonly known as Bisṭāmī. He is also called Bāyazīd, and was born 777 A.D. See Beale, O. B, Khazīna Auliya I., 519, and Jarrett III, 352.

[4] Ṣan'aā is the capital of Yemen. The person meant seems to be 'Abdur-Razzāq b. Hammān and is commonly known as Shaikh San'aān. He is the hero of a popular story which has been told in verse by Farīdu-dīn 'Aṯṯar in his Mantīq-aṯ-taiyīr, for the reference to which I am indebted to an article by Dr. Bacher in the Z.D.M.G. for 1880, Vol. 34, p. 614. See Garçin de Tassy's edition of the poem, pp. 45-60, v. 1159-1564, 1857, and his translation, Chapter XIV., p. 64, 1863. The story is also told in a collection of stories called the Jāmī-al-ḥikayāt, I.O.M.S. 791, which, however, I have not been able to see. See Ethe's Cat., p. 524. See also the Bahar-i-'Ajam, and Vullers s.v. Ṣan'aān. It appears that Shaikh San'aān was an elderly man and in great repute for sanctity. When on his way to Mecca with several hundred disciples, he had a dream in which he was told that it was fated he should go to Rūm (Asia Minor or Greece) and worship idols. He at once started off, and in Rūm he saw and fell in love with a Christian girl, for whose sake he abjured Muhammadanism, drank wine, and herded swine. He after a time repented and was retracing his steps to Arabia, when the girl also had a dream and was induced to adopt the Muhammadan faith. She followed the Shaikh into the desert, and he too

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There was intellect prologuising demonstrative reasoning
There were rays of visionary love which burnt books
There were flowery gales of knowledge turning over their pages
Of my soul what shall I say? One soul had a hundred appetites!
Of my heart what shall I boast? One love and a hundred griefs!
The eyelashes which encircled the eyes of youthful singers
Lacerated my liver as if they were tiger's[1] hairs,
My father—may his kindly shadow long endure!
Did not suffer me to abandon study
As perchance I might by his assiduous teaching
Become, like himself, one of the Divinely learned.
His advice ever was, "O famished one of life's morning
Receive wisdom's morsels (*luqma*) from Luqman's[2] tray
Lust not after beauteous fairy-forms
Lest Satan's wings sprout from thine arms
Let not sweat[3] be aye dropping from thy brow [tion
For such floods, like heaping cotton in the fire, end in destruc-

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had a vision telling of her conversion. He turned back therefore, and the two lovers met again. But the girl was exhausted by her fatigues and only lived to obtain the Shaikh's forgiveness, and died at his feet after being instructed by him in the true creed. Mr. Ellis has kindly shown me a notice of the story in Rieu's Cat. of Turkish MSS. 185*b*, where it appears that there is a Turkish poem on the subject by Ẓiyāī Celebī who died in 992. A.H. An autograph note by Dr. Rieu states that the story has been treated in Kurdish and is referred to in Jaba's Kurdish poems, ; and that it is also mentioned in Ouseley's Travels III, 258, and in Sām Mīrzā's anthology, 149*b*. Mir 'Alī Shīr also treated of it, and Pertsch's Berlin's Cat. 674, 8, mentions a copy of the poem as an extract from Farīdu-d-dīn's Maṣnavī. Ouseley mentions in the passage referred to by Rieu that he saw a picture of Shaikh San'aān at Sārī. No doubt Faiẓī got the story from Farīdu-d-dīn.

[1] Ghazālān, antelopes, and also musicians and singers. Tiger's whiskers are supposed to be aphrodisiacs. Perhaps the meaning is, "As many tiger-hairs pierced my liver, as there are hairs in the eyelash of a fawn."

[2] Luqman or Lokman is the eastern Esop.

[3] The reference is to the sweat of shame.

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What is thy heart's condition, and what is Love ?
Be not o'ercome (by love), for glass [1] will not make an anvil
Why has thy heart opened to Indian love ? [2]
Seek [3] not the key of the K'aaba from the monkish cross"
In fine I moved between reason and madness
For wisdom was mingled with unwisdom.
The sound of the footsteps of the Sultan's courier
Roused me to wakefulness from the sleep of neglect
I know not what was the magic whereby
My mind was freed from foolish thoughts
God be praised ! that attraction flung my soul
From the stony field of sorrow into a condition of repose
All those weeds and thorns of lusts were consumed
By the sparse rays of the Divine lightnings
I become an alert rider on a swift steed
Which careered in its wisdom through the spheres,
Like Noah I traversed the tempestuous ocean 307
Like Khiẓr I went alone in the desert
In ecstasy of joy I so hastened along
That I was like a spirit freed from the body's chain
I moved like a petitioner on the highway of respect
With my heart's fist I snapped the bonds of sloth
Meanwhile all my imagination and inquiry were engaged
In considering how the affair would be arranged
On the way there came to the point of the pen of my thought
The broidery of the Shahinshāh's praises with a Saḥbānlike [4] eloquence

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[1] Faiẓī's heart is represented as being as brittle as glass.

[2] عشق هند نژادان *'Ishq-i-Hindnazhādān,* "The love treated of or felt by natives of India." I take this to refer to Faiẓī's being engrossed with tales of Indian love, and also perhaps to his having then begun his paraphrase of Nala and Damyantī. The line may also refer to Faiẓī's having been smitten by love for Hindu girls and boys. It appears from the extracts from Faiẓī's poem given by A. F., that he regarded India as peculiarly the land of love. See A. N. III. 688, line 16; id. p. 682, 1. 6; id. 694, 1. 6 from foot, which is a poem on love.

[3] Probably this is a reference to Shaikh San'aān's forsaking his religion for the sake of a Christian girl.

[4] Saḥbān b. Wāīl. An Arab famous for his eloquence. Hammer Purgstall History of Arab. Literature II., 203.

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Suddenly the blackness of his encampment[1] showed itself afar off
'Twas a blackness which made my eyes bright
It was announced to the royal tent "Lo"
The garden-bird has come to the gate of Paradise"
An order issued to treat it kindly and to bring it in.
Raising me from darkness' abyss to the sky of bliss
Fortune's lord[2] drew the rein of my star
Towards the court of the world-ruler.
First I kissed the dust of the thereshold
I reached the fountain-head which cures the thirsty
I placed my forehead on the ground in thankful adoration
I made ablution not of my body but of my soul
What shall I say of the door of his fortune's abode
'Twas a wondrous exemplar of the Divine Court
No earthly court, for in it there were
A hundred times more things of pleasure and grace.
They who dwell in the precincts of that sublime place
Are approximated to the attendants of heaven
Men of light and leading stood around.
The exalted Cyrus sate on a Grecian[3] throne
Akbar Shāh[4] the bestower of glory on India's night
Lamp of the court of dominion of Taimur's dynasty
God be praised! from the noble nature of that country
Both trees and soil yield aloes and balsam[5]

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[1] Akbar's camp before Citūr.

[2] *Qāid daulat.* Presumably means the officer at the head of the division called the "*ahl-daulat.*"

[3] I presume that the meaning is that Akbar united the splendour of the early Persian kings with the enlightenment and world-sway of Alexander. Or the reference may be to Greek philosophers.

[4] Cf. the verse in Jarrett III., 405. This line is written in red ink in several MSS.

[5] *bānī.* Apparently by *bān* is meant the fragrant *baqāīn*, or Melia Bukayun, also known as Melia sempervirens, which is also known as Persian lilac and is also perhaps the *bedmaṯhk* or fragrant willow. The reference can hardly be to "Oil of Ben" for India does not produce this, nor is it a perfume. Nor, I think, can *labān*, frankincense, be intended, for that too does not belong to India. There is the variant *Kānī*, minerals, which is perhaps more likely to be right as the poet is speaking of what the ground (*Ḫāk*) produces, but most MSS. seem to have *bānī*.

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'Twas signified that I should sit and enjoy myself.
In the antechamber of the assembly of friends
I sate down before the pedestal of the Shāh's throne
My speaking tongue ran over with encomia
Eloquent men of 'Irāq and Khurāsān
Poured out pearls of praise over my words
One was amazed and said, "Who is this magician
Whose tongue makes pearls and corals?"
One said with wonder, "This noble pearl
From what cloud of Naisan[1] was it produced?
What is this new singing-bird
That revives the notes of the nightingale?"
The tongue of the evil-thoughted was lengthened against me;
As my heart's palace had a lofty base
The moisture of my spirit did not evaporate in a hot reply
For there was on Faiẓi's lips abundance (*faiẓānī*) of cool water
My Shāhinshāh soothed me with varied kindnesses **308**
So that I gradually became less and less bewildered
He opened his mouth to ask, saying, "O parrot,
Who was the doorkeeper of your garden of speech?
Who gave brightness to the dark city of your fancy?
Who laid the foundation of your lofty rhymes?"
After paying the respect of ground-kissing I said,
"O Ruler, whose orders are obeyed by the spheres,
The peace of thy reign is my gracious teacher
And the horn-book of its instruction is a large one
If you ask the secondary cause, my father was my teacher
For truly I have no greater or purer than he,
So long as my tongue has wagged with the joy of speech
My teeth have been sharpened by my father's kindness
From the beginning of the disease of ignorance till convalescence
He administered remedies to my inward pains."
Then he (Akbar) said, "Of those profound leaders
Who placed the things of excellence in the scales

---

1 Alluding to the story that in the month of Naisān the rain-drops form pearls.

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Which one has followed the right road in verse
So that there are no wrong steps in his gait
Which one has traversed the spiritual world?
Whose vision has been disturbed by the abyss of madness?"
I humbly said to the Shāh, "O Protector of speech,
The record of the society of poets is not ignoble
The eloquent who before this have uttered speech,
From whose lips have been struck out jeux d'esprit
Were all wise and pure of heart
And kept themselves pure from iniquity
They drew true pictures by the movement of their thoughts
They revealed subtleties by the quickness of their intellects
All are present by the witness of their souls though their bodies are hidden (*i.e.* they are dead)
All exist by their divine personality, though themselves have perished
Especially that most eloquent one of Ṭūs (Firdūsi)
Who was an old husbandman of the gardens of speech
Estimate his deeds from the Shāhnāma
For Rustum of Sijistān is not his equal in strength of arm
Save this he reaped no harvest, it was loss
That he lived in the time of the slaves of Nūḥ[1] Samānī
Had he been in the appreciative cycle of the Shāhinshāh
His days would not have been dark nights.
Next comes the Ghaznī toper[2] whose spiritual wine
Gives lasting intoxication to the soul,
Ask not about that parterre-adorner of the garden
For he has made pomegranate plots in his garden
'Tis a variegated garden so that were it terrestrial
You might gather flowers from it for a hundred Springs
It would be fitting to write with the ink of the heart
The truth-showing excellencies of the Shirwānī[3]

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[1] Nūḥ b. Manṣūr, seventh king of the dynasty, succeeded his father 385 A.H., 995 A.D. His general Alpteghin was the master of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī's father.

[2] Ḥakīm Sanāī. See Jarrett III. 341 and n. 1.

[3] Khāqānī. The work referred to is his poetical description of the two 'Irāqs.

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His choicest work is the "Taḥfa-al-'Irāqīn"
It should be passed from hand to hand like a flower
Ask not after the magical work of the treasure-scattering 309
Treasurer[1]
For his pen was a dragon over hidden treasures
If another's poems are placed beside his
It is like putting a false prophet's[2] fancies by the text of the Quran
Of Anwarī what shall I write; from whose genius
Burning[3] rays flash out to highest heaven
The combination of spiritual fervour with ability
Is like nature contending with the crisis of illness
Behold the sweet-tongued Ẓahīr[4] who produced
A spiritual banquet of fresh dainties
But his excellencies were not as fully known
As is the collyrium[5] of Ispahan farmed in the world
Critics call him "the creator of ideas"[6]
You will perceive that his lofty ideas are not threadbare
God be praised for the hierophant who in the invisible world
Became a Solomon by his "Language of Birds"
From 'Aṭṭār[7] comes the medicine for lovers' pains
For when his shop was broken up, he received the Holy Ghost.
Behold the sugar-sprinkling of S'aadī whose spirit's plume
Waves o'er his sweet genius like a fly-flapping fan
He shed joy among the spiritual nightingales

---

1 Niẓāmī, who was resident of Ganj which also means a treasure. Ganj is now a Russian town and is called Elizabethpol.

2 Matnabbī. A false prophet. Also the name of an Arabian poet born in 915 A.D.

3 A play on the name Anwarī.

4 Ẓahīru-d-dīn Faryābī. See Daulât Shāh.

5 That of Ispahan was the best. Vullers s.v. surma, but perhaps the expression is merely an allusion to Kamālu-d-din b. Ismāīl, who is styled Isfahānī. D'Herbelot says the *surma* of Hamadān was the best.

6 *Khallāq-i-māānī*, "Creator of conceits" Rieu Cat. II. 580*b*. See also D'Herbelot and Daulat Shāh. His name was Kamāl Isfahānī. A translation of one hundred of his love-songs has lately been published by Dr. Gray. See Athenæum of 12 March 1904.

7 Faridu-d-din Aṭṭar, author of the Manṭīq-aṭ-ṭāīr. He was a perfumer and gave up his shop on receiving "a call."

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Who sang sweetly in his Bostān and Gulistān
Khusrū[1] of Hind is ancestor of the spiritual Khusrūs
Who wielded sovereignty over spiritual thrones
He is the admired Lord of Lords of speech's kingdoms
For his sway extends over Īrān and Tūrān
What shall I say of the exquisite conceits of Ḥāfiẓ
Men and[2] spirits know the mystic tongue,
The soft flow of the Kirmānī[3] garland-twiner
Gives fresh life to the adult brain
The eloquence of Akhsīktī[4] and Ūmānī[5]
Is not inferior to that of Isferangī[6] and Ṭabasī[6]
In fine, to number the pillars of spirituality
Unless we pass over many like Rafī' Lunbānī[7]
Requires that the equitable critic of his rivals should possess
Such rapidity as existed in the tradition of Solomon![8]
Hail to the inspired songster of Jām
Before whose eyes the spectacle of worlds was effaced
From his abundant pleasantness words mingled with subtleties
Spirituality shone forth in a beauteous form
No one after him attained to his universality
Eloquence in prose and verse closed with him

---

1 The well-known Delhi poet, who was called the Sulṭān of poets. The text and MSS. have *ma'ānī*, and apparently this must be right. If we could suppose Faiẓī to have written mughānī, the line might be translated, "Khusru of Hind is different from the fire-worshipping Khusrūs, for, etc."

2 *Jānī*. Perhaps it means animals.

3 Khwāja Kirmānī. He is known as the *nakhl band-i-sha'ra* or garland-twiner of poets. D.S. 249. Author of the Humāī Humāyūn. He died about 1350.

4 So called from Akhsikat in Farghāna. D.S. 121. He was a contemporary of Khaqānī. He is mentioned by Bābār, Erskine 5. His name was Aṣīru-d-din.

5 For 'Umānī see D. S. 172. He was Aṣīru-d-dīn 'Umānī and was a pupil of Naṣīru-d-dīn Ṭūsī. He belonged to Hamadān.

6 Saifu-d-dīn Isfarangī died 1166 A.D., D.S. 126, Shamsu-d-din Ṭabasī, son of a Qāzī, D. S. 161. He died 626 A.H.

7 Rafī-u-d-dīn Lunbānī called the 2nd Saḥbān. He belonged to the village of Lunbān near Isfahān. Daulat Shāh, 155. 'Umānī celebrated him.

8 Alluding I suppose to Solomon's governing the winds and flying through the air.

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To compare competitors with him
Would be the tale of the swift steed and the pack bullock
One by one, all have reposed on the bed of death
They have drawn over their heads the sash of concealment.
In the ear in which such profound strokes repose
What place is there for such and such's poetry ?
Now, too, there are innumerable poets
But they're set on property and the dog-keeper's board
They have a dog's hunger and in pursuit of their desires 310
And for want of bread have thrown all honour in the dust
They are blinded and are bad craftsmen of an obsolete pattern
Their darkened souls are mud-choked, deserted wells
They are captives to the buying and selling noxious goods
In the market of disgrace, which may the dust of time cover,
Sometimes they bring out rough expressions
Which look like sheets thrown over the body of the sense
Sometimes they produce frigid conceits in a hot garb
Like cold water poured in winter into a hot bath
They carve undressed potsherds and on them
Affix the price of Badakhshān rubies
Their compositions are so rugged that they won't stick
To the heart even if you fasten them with glue
If you dip their poems in the Seven Seas
They will come out dry as dust-scattering sand
They have robbed a hundred volumes from the masters
So what they have pillaged cannot be counted,
To the fancy the inky pages of their writings
Look like the black blanketed, asinine Multanīs [1]
With iron pen, nay, with diamond pen
The've drawn useless lines on truth's pages
A heart that looks for the colour of truth in their poems
Asks from the rattan the flower of the anemone

---

1 Multānī is a contemptuous name given to Hindus by the Turks as the first Hindus they encountered came from that quarter. See Vullers s.v. *gilīm*—goshān was the name of a race of men with immense ears, and perhaps the expression *siyah gilīma* "black-blanketed" refers this.

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'Tis best to shut the garden-door in their faces
For this ragged[1] crew would throw the flowers into the dust?
As no one (else) was in the world, I this day am he
Who makes speech new in a new *divān*
I'm a stranger from the spiritual country in this station
Of the caravan of speech and have all its equipment
Now has heaven granted me the key of speech [me
The aperture is from the heart, the turning of the key is from
The angelic ones of the pleasant home of fancy
Have made all my meanings *hourīs* and pages
They have watched over the beauteous tablet and writing
And preserved my pen from the scraping of calumny.
My interview with the slave-cherishing Shāhinshāh
Was like the conversation of Moses with God
He said, "Rise and draw wisdom from your pen
For to-day the world of speech-knowing is entrusted to you
Set your pen to subtleties for in the wonders of verse
Farazdaq[2] is mean beside you, and so is Hissānī[3]
What magic is there in the tricklings from your pen
That it should surpass in colour the masterpiece of Mānī?"
The order was, "Present to us of your subtle poetry
Whatever amount you can, in future
Any poet who contends with you in speech
Should have his neck twisted by you with correction's hand"
What shall I say of the golden dress of red silk
Of me the naked being clothed in gold from head to foot?
What shall I say of how when drawn up from the dust
I was exalted by receiving a swift horse (*caugānī*)?

---

1 *Cāk dāmān*, slits made on right and left sides of skirt for ornamental purposes. B. 'Ajam. But here the allusion seems to be to torn slits.

2 Farazdaq. An early Arabian poet who wrote panegyrics. See Daulat Shāh, 22-23.

Farazdaq bin Ghālib. Wrote satires also.

3 Ḥissanī Hassān son of Sābīt, born 563 A.D., a poet who sang the praises of Muḥammad. He was a companion of the prophet and was given by the latter, Mary the Coptic girl's sister Shīrīn in marriage. Daulat Shah, 7. He is also called Ḥusāmī from ḥusām a sword. See Beale art. Hissān and Hammer Purgstall I. 406.

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What shall I say of the treasures of his favour 311
Of white and red money I gathered in purses ?
What shall I say of how I received
All that befitted a Khān and a *Tarkhān ?*
Two blessings showed themselves to me from fortune's door,
My evil horoscope[1] was changed to a good one
One was, I was made a tutor to the great princes
Who were branches of the tree of honour
1st, There was H.M. Sulṭan Selīm the ocean-hearted
The bridal chamber of whose intellect is the billowy ocean
2nd, Shāh Murād the winged broidery of Hope
Who makes the skirt of heaven his collar
3rd, The courteous Daniel whose happy stars
Have bestowed on him brotherhood
But in truth I was when beside them
Like a schoolboy before his old Instructor
Hail heaven-minded ones who in their perfect wisdom
Are joined with the spheres in world-government
'Tis a mistake to turn to letters the eyes of him
Whose heart-eyes are opened to Reason's tablets
For why should a head lighted by the rays of guidance
Deposit the blackness of ink in its heart's[2] core ?
The other blessing was the prostration of discipleship
Whereby I lowered the strength of sensuality,
By heaven's kindness each of those two great boons
Is a bounteous favour to my star,
World-protecting Shāh, Sun of mighty power
Who is to-day the life of the world, and the world of the living
I speak the truth, for the seven[3] moulds
You impart the soul; and the soul which is the soul of souls,
Together with the glory of fortune, majesty of nature, and height of power

---

[1] The Lucknow ed. has a useful note, which states that the terms *ankīs* and *laḥyān* are two figures used in geomancy; one being indicative of evil and the other of good.

[2] A play on *sawād* blackness (of ink) and *suwayatī* the blackness or core of the heart.

[3] *haft qalab.* The seven heavens, or the seven climes.

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Give a thousand times more than all that reason can comprehend.
On the feast day of thy birth it would be proper
To sacrifice celestial dromedaries
Thou hast no option as regards kindness and grace
What can come from the sun but sunshine?
Repentance brings back with the acme of entreaty
Him who on leaving your door's safety binds on the load of the litter
Let it not displease if for the glorious hearing
I tell a new tale with confirmatory oaths.
By that God who hath implanted in the Shāh's nature
Princely graces and perfect humanity
By the heavens by observing whose motions
The acute philosopher governs nature
By the division of the stars into Fixed and Planetary
All which are drops of existence in heaven's ocean
By the order of the elements which on Being's page
All form feet[1] (metrical) in the poem of Existence
By the conjunction of organisms whose dissolution
Works the overthrow of progeny
By the talisman of man's body which is a microcosm
Before which the senses and the intellect are confounded[2]
By the zeal of the pure souls who have never made
An untrue oath for the sake of eternity (?).
312 By the forehead-adorning dust of the performers of *sijda*
Who excel the devotion of the saints of Lebanon[3]
By the road-dust of the travellers to the holy station
By the guides of the path of certitude
By the acute unitarianism of the son of Arabī[4]

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[1] There is a play on the word arkānī, which means both pillars and poetic feet.

[2] *buldānī*. It apparently means "to render stupid."

[3] cf. A. N. III., p. 84, line 11. Perhaps the Druses are meant.

[4] Muḥiyū-d-dīn Ibn 'Arābī. See D'Herbelot under Arabi Mohieddin. He was a native of Spain, and flourished about 1229. He wrote the Faṣūṣ al ḥukām and also the Kīmiyā-i-Sa'ādat, which was a favourite book of Akbar. B. 103. This last is a book about the unity of God.

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By the austere cloak of the Pir of Kharqān [1]
I became not (I swear) from pelf a believer in
Thy Majesty glorious in fortune and throne
Whom the glorious Deity has placed in splendour.
That thou mightest henceforth be the *qibla* of me the beggar
'Tis worship to prostrate oneself before thy face
For as regards worship thou art the world's altar.
Enough! The God-knower knows thy perfections
Thou art the altar of the hopes of the pious
The prostration of service toward thee is right for men
In this matter there is no conflict of faiths
Why should thy shrine not be my fortune's *attār*
When judge and sage turn their heart-faces to thee
Every hair of me speaks in praise of thy favours
To me the charge of impiety is preferable to that of ingratitude
Who can describe the niceties of thy favours
The things of ecstacy come not within the bounds of words
To put the woof of words and thoughts o'er the full moons [2] of thy justice
Were to place cotton raiment on the moon's shoulder
When I put [3] on the pilgrim's robe to visit thy throne's shrine
The rose of paradise became a thorn in comparison therewith
From eve till morn my bosom is pricked
By the budding-breasted bride of my heart;
My pen-bow has pointed word-arrows
For piercing the hearts of the envious
A holy strain is poured forth by the birds of my fancy
When my pen's palm-tree swells with sap
All their pens do not equal the movement of mine

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1 The person meant is Abul Ḥusain who wrote a book about Sūfism and died 986 A.D. Kharqān is the name of a place near Bistām in Persia.

2 I presume that *badūr-i-'adal* means full moons of justice. The euxt line refers to the idea that muslin or cotton is burnt up if exposed to the moon's rays.

3 I confess I do not fully understand the next four lines. I presume Faiẓī means to say that in comparison with his pilgrim's dress the rose of paradise is a thorn.

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There is a difference between the Shāh's ensign and the shepherd's staff
From the Attic salt which I sprinkle from my pen
My inkstand can claim to be a salt-cellar
From the glorious morsels at the Shāh's banquet
What comes to my soul is like balmy wine
If grace and favour assist me
I'll ascend hundreds of steps above Hope's summit
My tongue's wish does not exceed the bounds of respect
Grant my desire such as Thou knowest it!
This is the end of my request.
On Thee is my trust!

Where was I? Whither has the plenteous flood of words carried me? In fine, as the design of the lord of the world in undertaking this expedition was based upon benevolence to all, the great officers, who regarded service as the substance of their religion, gathered together for their duties without any arrangements having been made for the forming of camps. The great encampment assumed another appearance from the assemblage of a victorious
313 soldiery. H.M.'s innate dignity demanded that he should proceed in person to chastise the Rānā, while a number of officers should be dispatched to Malwa in order to cleanse that province from the dust of the rebellion of the sons of Muḥammad Sulṭan Mīrzā. The lot of this service fell upon Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān; Shāh Budāgh Khān, Murād Khān, Hājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī and others who had received fiefs in Malwa, undertook the preparations. They set out from the fort of Gāgrūn and did not draw rein till they reached Ujjain. The Mīrzās fled to Gujrat. The details of this are that when they heard that the grand army had left the capital and was advancing stage by stage, Ulugh M., who was the eldest brother, and whose head itched with contumacy, departed and went to Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. and Muḥammed Ḥusain M., who were in Ujjain, in order to join them and plot his own destruction. When those wretches got the news of the arrival of the imperial forces at Gāgrūn, they were amazed and went off to Māndū. There Ulugh M. quitted his body (*i.e.*, died) on the uplifting of the noise of the drums of fortune. The other brothers perceived that to resist the royal army was

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beyond their power and fled towards Gujrāt. There they joined Cingīz Khān, who had been a slave of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt, and who, after his death, had seized several of the forts of Gujrāt, such as Cāmpānīr, Broach and Surāt. There, too, they misconducted themselves and spread dissension until they threw the dust of destruction on their own heads after the conquest of Gujrāt. An account of that masterpiece of good fortune will be given in its proper place. In short, the victorious troops cleansed Malwa from the dust of those ill-fated ones, and then went to repose in their fiefs. They sent to Court reports of their success and of the abandonment by the rebels of the imperial territories.

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CHAPTER LXV.

(This chapter has been translated by Major Price. Miscell. Translation, O. T. F. Vol. II.

H.M.'s Siege of the Fortress of Citūr.

At the time when the sublime camp was pitched in the environs of Gāgrūn, on account of making arrangements for the Malwa campaign, Āṣaf Khān and Wazīr Khān, who had fiefs in this neighbourhood, went off in accordance with orders to attack the fortress of Māndal. It was one of the strong forts of the Rānā, and was defended by the valour of Rawat Balvī Solangī, but by the prestige of the Shāhinshāh they conquered it. After the completion of the arrangement for the Malwa army, though the imperial forces were in
314 appearance few in number, yet H.M. relying on the Divine aid, and being contented to have secret auxiliaries, ordered a march forward with the idea that perhaps the Rānā might hear that the army was small, and so might come out of the defiles, and be thus easily disposed of. But as that ill-fated one knew that the army had not much of a siege-train with it, and thought that on that account H.M. would not attempt to take fortresses, he strengthened the fort of Citūr, which, in the opinion of the short-sighted, was such a place that the lasso of conquest could not attain to its battlements, and supplied it with provisions sufficient for several years. He also left in it five thousand gallant Rājpūts, and devastated the surrounding country so that there did not even remain grass in the fields, and himself retired to the defiles of the hill-country. When the sublime army encamped in the neighbourhood of Citūr, H.M. did not judge it proper to pursue that doomed one, and to enter the heart of the hills. By Divine inspiration he decided to capture the fort of Citūr, which was the foundation of the Rānā's power, and the centre of his dominions; and on the day of Ābān 10 Ābān, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday 19 Rabī-'al-akhir, 20 October 1567, he arrived at the outskirts of the fort and pitched his camp. At this time there was a great storm of wind, accompanied by thunder and lightning, so that the earth was

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shaken. But after an hour the sky became clear, the world was revealed and the fortress appeared in the distance.

Verse.

A fort on the face of that mountain
Reared its head up to the fourth heaven
The bird of the imagination could not reach it
No one knew its nature and condition.

The world-conquering mind decided upon besieging that sky-high fortress and upon hemming in the garrison. Accordingly he next day marched from that station, and encamped on the skirt of the mountain, on the summit of which was the fortress. He then rode out, accompanied by some of his courtiers and made the circuit of the mountain. The surveyors, who are always in attendance on the royal stirrup, found by measurement that the circumference was more than two *kos*, while it was five *kos* at the part used by the general public. H.M. applied himself to the task of taking the fortress and directed the Bakhshīs to set out the batteries. The troops who had come along with H.M. went to their batteries, and those who came up afterwards had separate batteries. In this way the whole circuit of the fort was encompassed in the space of one month. During the same time some of the officers were sent to devastate the Rānā's territorry, and to punish the contumacious. Āṣaf Khān with a number of officers was sent off to Rāmpūr, and 315
he opened it with the key of the sword, and received the applause of the Shāhinshāh. As the Rānā was pointed out as having gone to Udaipūr and Kombalmīr, Ḥusain Qulī Khān was sent with a large force to lay hold of him. Ḥusaīn Qulī Khān arrived at Udaipūr, which was the Rānā's capital, and slaughtered the rebellious. Wherever he heard of any gathering of rebels of Udaipūr, or the hill-country of Kombalmīr, he consumed them with the lightning of the fiery sword. He obtained much booty and made great search for the Rānā. But as he could get no trace of that vagabond, he, in accordance with the royal command, returned and was exalted by the bliss of doing homage.

Whilst the army was engaged in besieging the fortress, it came to the royal hearing that I'tmād Khān of Gujrāt had been defeated

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by Cingīz Khān and the Mīrzās, and had come to Dongarpūr. About this time I'tmād Khān's petition, accompanied by suitable presents, was received. Among the latter was a sea-elephant[1] which had exceedingly long ears, and had strange motions. H.M. the Shāhinshāh received the envoys graciously and dismissed them along with Ḥasan Khān Khazāncī and a conciliatory rescript. At this time he (I'tmād) had not the good fortune to come and kiss the threshold. Ḥasan Khān came to Agra from Gujrāt and there had the felicity of doing homage.

As H.M. was very desirous of taking this fort, which was famous for its height and strength, the gallant spirits of the army were continually rushing upon it and daringly attacking it. Thus acted Khān Aālam and 'Ādil Khān. But as terrestrials cannot reach celestials, so these efforts were abortive. H.M. was very solicitous about this and was continually forbidding those intrepid men and saying that such mode of attack should not be called courageous. Rather it was to be called rashness which the wise regarded as remote from moderation, and as blameable. But those men were overcome by rashness and did not give ear to these wise counsels and were continually rushing to the ambit of the fort, with the result that many had the cheek of their courage stained with red wounds. Many also drank the wholesome cup of martyrdom, for the arrows and bullets which those rank-breakers discharged passed off after grazing the surface of the walls and battlements, while those which the ill-fated garrison discharged reached men and horses. Accordingly an order was issued that proper spots should be selected
316 and that there the walls and bastions of the fort should be mined, and that then these mines should be filled with gunpowder and set on fire. When the walls and bastions had thus been destroyed, brave men could enter. Also that at one place a covered way (*ṣabāṭ*) should be made. The servants of the Court girded up their loins of effort for these two works. Though there were many batteries, for

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[1] *Fīl-i-dariāyī*. Major Price thinks this must have been a hippopotamus, but in reality it was an African elephant. This species has very long ears, and the epithet dariyāi, which means river, ocean, refers to its having been brought by sea. The hippopotamus has short ears. Jahangir mentions the animal as an elephant in his Memoirs. Tūzuk, p. 158.

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the holy warriors had made various shelters and enclosures for their protection all round the fort, there were three principal batteries. One was the Shāhinshāh's special battery and was opposite the Lākhūta Gate, and was in charge of Ḥasan Khān Caghatāī, Rai Pattar Dās, Qāẓī Ālī Baghdādī, Ikhtiyār Khān Faujdār and Kabīr Khān; it was here that the miners worked. The second battery was in charge of Shujā'at Khān, Raja Todar Mal, Qāsim Khān Mīr Barr-u-Baḥr. In this battery they constructed, in the height of the rains, a covered way of the length of a bowshot, from the middle of the hill, on the summit of which the fort was situated. The third battery was in the charge of Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Majid Āṣaf Khān and Wāzir Khān and many other noted heroes. As to send for large mortars from the magazines would cause great delay, a large mortar which could throw a ball of half a *man* was cast in H.M.'s presence. When the garrison became aware of this fact, which never had entered into their ideas, the smoke of astonishment suffused their obfuscated brains, and they recognised that the foundation of their destruction had been laid, and that there would be daily progress to this consummation. As they were helpless, they had recourse to craft and sent, firstly Sāndā Silāḥdār, and secondly, Ṣaḥib Khān, and made use of entreaties and lamentations. They offered to enrol themselves among the subjects of the sublime court, and to send a yearly present. Several of the officers approved of this offer and made representations to this effect to H.M. They advised that in accordance with this agreement they should withdraw from this difficult task, but the sovereign dignity did not accept this view, and made the coming in of the Rānā a condition of release from the siege. Although the great officers were brought into straits by the long contest and endeavoured to get away from the dangerous place, they were not successful; and as the defenders did not know the bliss of service, they assembled on the walls and bastions and waged hot war. There were many dexterous artillerymen among them and they continually showered balls on the trenchers and other workmen. The latter protected themselves by shields of raw hides and laboured hard at making the covered way. But, in spite of all precautions nearly two hundred men were killed daily. Day by day the *sābāṭ* was pushed forward, and the mines advanced. The coin of presents was poured into the lap of the workmen's hopes, and silver and gold

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were reckoned at the rate of earth. On two[1] sides they produced a broad, mud wall such that balls could not penetrate it, and it was sinuous in shape as being for the destruction of those viperous and scorpion-like natures. The miners also drove their mines and
317 brought them up to the foot of the fort. They made two excavations contiguous to each other under the wall and in one they put 120 *mans* and, in the other, 80 *mans* of gunpowder. An order was given that the brave and enterprising should stand armed, and in readiness, and be on the watch so that when the mines were fired, and the wall broken down, they should rapidly take possession of the fort. On the day of Isfandārmuẕ 5 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 15 Jamāda-al-akhirī, 17 December 1567, the gunpowder was set fire to. The bastion was pulled up from its foundation and sprung into the air with all the ill-fated soldiers who were on it. The match of the second excavation had not taken fire when the assailants, seeing that the wall had been demolished, rushed on heedlessly to the breach in order to enter by it. All at once the second mine exploded, and the troops who were entering, and also a body of their opponents who were preparing to prevent them, were involved in the catastrophe and their souls severed from their bodies by the fierce storm. Their limbs were blown here and there, and stones were carried for leagues. The report of the explosion extended to fifty *kos* and more, and astonished those who heard it. The cause of this accident was that there was one train for both mines and so it was fired from one place. One mine took fire after the other, and the brave men made their attack without noticing this and without reflection. Before this, when it was reported to H.M. that the mines were ready, he had observed that they should be fired from two places lest there

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[1] I understand the "two sides" referred to here to be the two side walls of the *ṣābāt* or covered way. But Niẓāmu-d-dīn Elliot V. 326, speaks of "two sides of the fort" as if there were two *ṣābāts* one on each side of the fort. My friend, Mr. Irvine, in his learned work on the army of the Indian Mughals, p. 276, considers a *ṣābāt* to be mainly a trench, but from what Niẓ-amu-d-dīn and others say it seems to me that there was not much excavation of the ground and that the *ṣābāt* was mainly a covered way above the surface of ground. It had earthen walls on each side and a roof of planks, etc., which was strong enough to carry a sentry box or other house from which a man could fire.

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should be delay in the ignition of one of them. Thus he had foreseen the accident with his far-reaching vision. Kabir Khān and the other superintendents of the work formed their own ideas, and the fire ran quickly from one point to two places. But as the thing was fated to occur, planning was of no avail, and that took place which took place. Nearly 200 of the victorious troops ascended to heaven, and among them there were about 100 men of note. About twenty of the latter were known to the king, and among them were Saiyid Jamālu-d-dīn son of Saiyid Aḥmad, one of the Saiyids of Bārha, and who was distinguished by H.M.'s favour. Others were Mīrak Bahādur, Muḥammad Ṣālḥ son of Mīrak Khān Kūlābī who was in his early youth a fiery spark of valour, Ḥayat Sulṭān, Shāh 'Alī Ishak Āqā, Yezdān Qulī, M. Bilūc, Jān Beg and Yār Beg, brothers of Sher Beg Yesāwal-bāshī and Mīrak Bahadūr. A number of about forty who were, as they thought, protected in the defiles of the mountain and were waiting **318** their opportunity, were overwhelmed by earth and bricks from the fort. After the taking of the fort it was ascertained how they had been destroyed. Of the enemy, about forty were consumed by the wrath of God and sent to the abode of annihilation. When the catastrophe became known to the other combatants they advanced and engaged in battle. Their opponents sacrificed their lives in one place, and in the other exerted themselves in raising up a wall, till in a short time they succeeded in building another broad wall as high as the former one. On the same day a mine was exploded in the battery of Āṣaf Khān, but it did not take fire properly. About thirty of the garrison were killed, but, though no injury was sustained by the imperial army, the progress of the siege was not advanced. Although the situation was such as might have opened the eyes of the doomed garrison and have led them to supplication and lamentation, yet as something had occurred to the besiegers which the superficial might regard as a subject of exultation, the besieged made it an adminicle of presumption and pride. The genius of the sovereign recognised the catastrophe as a cause of increased exertion, and strove more and more. Though some of the assailants had been slain, the devotion of the others increased, and though the garrison shewed exultation, H.M. the Shāhinshāh was tranquil, for he knew that there had been a want of plan and gradual progress in regard to the siege, and he pointed out to the eager spirits that haste

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was not effective in matters of this kind. Patience and planning were necessary. For first, there was the strength of the position, secondly there was the strength of the fortifications, and thirdly there was the large supply of provisions and the number of fighting men. His mind fixed upon the completion of the covered way, which was the best mode of capturing a fortress, and he devoted himself more and more to this work. He frequently visited the *sābāṭ* and went close to the fort and used to fire at those of the garrison who showed themselves. One day that tiger of the mighty forest was going round the fort. When he came near the Lākhuta battery the holy warriors were engaged in prosecuting the seige under the protection of the wall. H.M. stood under the wall and fired from the loop-holes. His servants were in attendance. Jalāl Khān was standing two removes from H.M. and had placed his shield on the top of the wall, and was watching from behind it the shooting by the garrison. The devoted men who were in the battery were admiring the skill and rare failure of one of the musketeers of the fort who had injured many of the *ghāzīs*. Suddenly that seldom-erring marksman aimed at Jalāl Khān's head and fired. He shot him through the flesh but did not do him much harm.
319 H.M. the Shāhinshāh remarked, "Jalāl Khān, that mārksman does not show himself, if he would do so, I'd avenge you." He aimed at the musket which projected from the loop-hole and said, "We shall this very instant take revenge for you on his gun." The firing and the passing of the bullet through the aperture and its striking the marksman were all one and the same thing. Though it could not be exactly ascertained at the time, yet the lowering of the musket indicated that its owner had been hit. Afterwards it was found that the royal gun had finished the wretch, and that he was named Ismā'īl and was the head of the musketeers. The king's good fortune calmed the men of the battery. Similarly, H.M. killed many of the noted members of the garrison and sent them to the sleep of annihilation. One day he came to the battery towards Citūrī, which is a little hill near the fort, and was superintending the work. He was going slowly along at a place where many bullets and cannon-balls were coming, and as he had perfect reliance on the Divine protection and assistance, no dust of apprehension entered his mind. Suddenly a large cannon-ball fell near him and

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martyred twenty of the brave combatants. On another day a bullet struck Khān 'Aālm, who was standing near the King; it passed through his cuirass but when it came to his under-garments it was, by the Divine favour, cooled by his sweat. This, too, increased the confidence of the leaders of the holy war. One day a bullet struck Moẓaffar Khān, but eventually did no harm. During the siege many such instances of the Divine protection occurred, and were a cause of guidance to the simple, and increased the devotion of the loyal.

A lofty genius is the key to difficult enterprises, and a lamp of the mysteries of destiny. Especially, wherever such a lord of fortune put his heart into an arduous task, he easily accomplishes it in spite of the apprehension of worldlings. Thus it was by the lofty genius of the Shāhinshāh, which is the interpreter of the Divine aid, that the work of the *sābāṭ* was accomplished under the supervision of Rajah Todar Mal and Qāsim Khān Mīr Barr-u-Baḥr. Excellent quarters were constructed on the top of the sābāṭ, and H.M. stayed in them for two nights and one day before the work was completed, and directed the operations. The fortunate combatants strung up their hearts to the taking of the fort and destroyed its walls. The besieged also displayed bravery. H.M. personally put his heart into the conflict, and kept up a fusillade. He took up a place on the *sābaṭ* and watched the spectacle of the brave-hearted and of the chain-breaking tigers. During these two nights and a 320
day those gallant men so engaged in conflict that they took neither sleep nor food. The strength of both sides was exhausted. At length on the morning of Daibamihr 15 Isfandarmāz, corresponding to Tuesday 25 Sh'abān, 23 February 1568, that sky-based fortress was conquered. The account of this glorious event, which might serve as the bulletin of fortune, is that on the previous night an attack was being made on the fort from all sides, and several breaches were made in the walls. There were manifest indications that the fortress was ruined. Near the *sābāṭ*, brave men of the conquering army had pressed forward and had destroyed much of the solid wall of the fort. Half of the night had passed when the garrison crowded into the breach and, while part of them gave themselves up to destruction, the other brought muslin, cotton, wood and oil and were filling up the breach so that when the *ghāzis* should approach they should set fire to the heap and prevent anyone from

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entering. At this time H.M. perceived that a person clothed in a cuirass known as the *hazār mīkhī* (thousand nails) which is a mark of chieftainship among them, came to the breach and superintended the proceedings. It was not known who he was. H.M. took his gun Sangrām, which is one of the special guns, and aimed it at him. To Shujā'at Khān and Rajah Bhagwant Dās he said that, from the pleasure and lightness of hand such as he experienced when he had hit a beast of prey, he inferred that he had hit the man. The Khān Jahān represented that the man had been continually there during the night and been directing the operations; if he did not come back it was evident that he had been killed. An hour had not passed when Jabbār Qulī Diwānā reported that the enemy had all disappeared within that space of time. Just at the same time fire broke out at several places in the fort. The courtiers had various ideas about this, but Rajah Bhagwant Dās represented that the fire was the *johar*. For it is an Indian custom that when such a calamity has occurred a pile is made of sandalwood, aloes, etc., as large as possible, and to add to this dry firewood and oil. Then they leave hardhearted confidants in charge of their women. As soon as it is certain that there has been a defeat and that the men have been killed, these stubborn ones reduce the innocent women to ashes. And in fact on the morning when the breeze of victory and dominion arose, it was ascertained that the Shāhinshāh's musket had reached Jaimal, the governor of the fort, and had at once destroyed both him and the fort. The fires were the *johar*, and they took place in the house of the Pata who belonged to the Sīsūdia clan and was one of the Rānā's principal servants, and in the house of the
321 Rāthors, of whom Ṣaḥib Khān was the chief. There was also a great *johar*-fire in the house of the Cūhān-s whose chief was Aissar Dās. As many as three hundred women were burnt in the destructive fire of those refractory men. Though on that night no one remained in the breach and though every one had given up heart on the killing of Jaimal, and withdrawn to a corner of retreat, yet the rules of precaution were observed and the heroes and *ghāzīs* were collected from every side and directed to enter the fort at dawn. When the morning-breeze of dominion arose, the active young men and the bold warriors came from the batteries and entered the fort, and engaged in killing and binding. The Rajputs gave up the

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thread of deliberation and fought and were killed. An order was issued that the active and experienced elephants should be brought in from the front of the *sābāṭ*. First, Girdbāz Dhokar was brought and stationed at the head of the wall. Then came Madhukar, and then Jangīā, Sabdaliya and Kādira. Each of them did things which surpassed imagination.

Verse.

Two armies raised their lances
They formed ambuscades, and drew up in line
They were all iron-fisted, biters of steel,
All were famous and were clad in iron
The heroes brandished swords red with blood
One was yielding up his life, another was flying,
They mowed down with swords the elephant-trunks
[1] You'd say serpents were being rained down from the clouds
The Commander on a mighty, raging elephant
[2] Continually assailed the bow string
One paid off his debt of hate with lance and sword
Sometimes the heart was riven, sometimes the breast was consumed
Tulips were painted by his dagger
There was a rain of rings from the heroes' armour.

At the white dawn, which was the morning of fortune for the imperial servants and the evening of destruction for the enemy, H.M. the Shāhinshāh mounted on an elephant, majestic as heaven, and proceeded to the fort. Several thousand devoted men accompanied him on foot. A wonderful thing was that Aissar Dās Cohān, who was one of the brave men of the fort, saw the elephant Madhukar and asked its name. When they told him he, in a moment, with daring rashness, seized his tusk with one hand, and struck with his dagger with the other and said, "Be good enough to convey my respects to the world-adorning appreciator of merit." The elephant Jangīā displayed great deeds. One of them was that a Rājpūt ran

[1] Referring to the number of elephant-trunks that were cut off.

[2] I presume this means that he continually used his bow. There are various readings.

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and struck his trunk with his sword and cut it off. Though his trunk was severed, which makes life difficult, it made wonderful
322 conflicts before it died. It had killed thirty distinguished men before it was wounded, and it slew fifteen afterwards. The elephant Madhukar also displayed wonderful deeds. A wonderful thing was that the elephant Kādira ran away inside the fort on account of the noise and tumult, driving before it a number of doomed men who were coming to the breach. The lane was narrow, and it trampled and scattered them all. It was by the Divine aid that such a great boon was conferred. 'Aẕmat Khān, who was riding on the elephant, was wounded, and died of his wounds a few days afterwards. H.M. used to state that, at this time, he was standing on the wall of the fort and contemplating the Divine aids. The elephant Sabdiliya came inside the fort and was engaged in casting down and killing the Rajpūts. A Rajpūt ran at him and struck him with his sword inflicting a slight wound. The elephant, however, did not regard it and seized him with his trunk. Just then another Rājpūt came in front of him and Sabdiliya turned to him while the first man escaped from his grasp and again daringly attacked him from behind, but Sabdiliya behaved magnificently. H.M. also said that in the very heat of the conflict a hero, whom he did not recognise, came under his observation. A Rājpūt who was separated from him by a low wall challenged him to combat, and he joyfully went towards him. One of the imperial soldiers, whom also H.M. did not recognise, ran to the assistance of the other hero, but the latter forbade him saying that it was contrary to the rules of chivalry and courage that he should come to his aid when his opponent had challenged him. He did everything to prevent him from helping him, and engaging personally with his opponent he disposed of him. H.M. used to say that, though he endeavoured to find out this brave and chivalrous man, he did not succeed. Presumably he was one of the mysterious men who put on a bodily form in order to help the spiritually and temporally august one. In the beginning of the fight there were fifty elephants, and at the end as many as 300 entered the fort and trampled down the enemy. H.M. related that he had come near the temple of Gobind Syām when an elephant-driver trampled a man under his elephant. The elephant rolled him up in his trunk and brought him before H.M. The driver said that he did not know

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the man's name, but that he appeared to be one of the leaders, and that a large number of men had fought round him with sacrifice of their lives. At last it came out that it was Patā who had been trampled to death. At the time he was produced, there was a breath of life left in him, but he shortly afterwards died. There were 8,000 fighting Rajpūts collected in the fortress, but there were more than 40,000 peasants who took part in watching and serving. When the standards entered the fort some of the garrison squeezed themselves into the temples, thinking that they were holy places and 323
and that the idols would help them, and awaited the sacrificing of their lives. Others awaited their doom in their own houses. A number lifted up their swords and shortened their lances and came forward to face the holy warriors. The latter disposed of those evil-fated ones by their swords and lances. A number of those who were in the temples and in their houses came out on seeing the *ghāzīs*, but were struck down before they could reach them.

Verse.

No one ever saw such battles
Nor ever heard of such from the experienced
What shall I say of that battle and engagement
I cannot mention one item out of a hundred thousand.

From early dawn till midday the bodies of those ill-starred men were consumed by the majesty of the great warrior. Nearly 30,000 men were killed. The reason of so many being killed was that on the former occasion on 3 Muharram 703, 16 August 1303, when Sulṭān 'Al'aū d-dīn took the fort after six months and seven days, the peasantry were not put to death as they had not engaged in fighting. But on this occasion they had shown great zeal and activity. Their excuses after the emergence of victory were of no avail, and orders were given for a general massacre. But a large number were made prisoners.

One of the wonderful things was that the Shāhinshāh's wrath had been greatly excited against the skilful musketeers, but though much search was made no trace of them could be found. At last it transpired that those evil-doers had, by means of the disguise of trickery, carried off their lives in safety from the fort. The way

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they got out was[1] this: When the victorious army was hotly engaged in plundering and capturing, these musketeers, who were a thousand in number, bound their wives and children as if they were prisoners and set off with them. The truth remained concealed from the searchers, and they thought that they were royal troops carrying off their prisoners. The stratagem was effectual at such a time and they escaped. Though on that day there was no house or lane, or passage where there were not heaps of dead, yet there were three places where the numbers of the slain was very great. A large number of Rājpūts had collected in the house of the Rānā in the fort. They came out by twos and threes, and threw away their lives. A large number collected in the temple of Mahādeo, who was much reverenced by them, and gave their bodies to the winds in the Rām-
324 pūra gateway. A glorious victory, such as might be an embroidery of increasing dominion, displayed itself from the ambuscades of fortune, and the fumes of pride at once departed from the heads of the contumacious ones of India, and they adopted submission after a special fashion. Except Ẓarb Ālī Tuwācī no one of the armies of fortune drank the cup of martyrdom on that day. H.M. the Shāhinshāh offered thanksgiving and after midday proceeded towards the camp. He remained there for three days arranging affairs, and made over the whole of the *Sarkār* to Khwāja 'Abdu-l-majīd Āṣaf Khān. As, at the commencement of this great enterprise, he had vowed that after the achievement of victory he would go on foot to the shrine of Khwāja Muīnu-d-dīn Cistī in Ajmīr, he, when he returned from the fort, in accordance with his vow, walked back to the camp. On the day of Farwardīn 19 Isfandārmāz, Divine month, corresponding to Saturday 29 Sh'abān, 28 February 1568, the drum of return beat high, and he set off on foot as before and went on stage by stage over the burning desert-sands and while the wind was extremely hot. Although the order was that the troops should come on, mounted, yet the courtiers did not fail to do as he did, and many of the ladies

[1] The Iqbālnāma says that the musketeers were natives of Kālpī, and that the way they escaped was that their leaders bound them and brought them out of the city, and put to death everybody that they met. They also said that Akbar had ordered them to take the men outside and kill them, and then make a pyramid of their heads.

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of the harem travelled on foot under the shadow of H.M.'s protection. When he reached the town of Māndal, Shagūna Qurāwal, who had gone in advance to Ajmīr and had conveyed the good news of H.M.'s approach, came quickly and brought representations from the ascetic hermits of the shrine to the effect that his holiness the Khwāja had appeared in a vision and had announced that the spiritual and temporal king had, from feelings of religion and righteous endeavour, formed the intention of visiting the shrine of his humble self on foot, and had directed them to restrain the caravan-conductor of Truth's way from his design by every means in their power. "If he knew the amount of his own spirituality he would not bestow a glance on me the sitter-in-the-dust of the path of studentship." When this representation reached the royal hearing, he allowed himself to be conveyed from that stage, and on the day of Āsmān 27 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 7 Ramzān, 6 March 1568, made the district of Ajmīr fortunate by his advent. The last stage he, in accordance with his vow, performed on foot, and, without going to his quarters, at once proceeded to circumambulate the holy shrine. He encompassed all the attendants on the shrine with liberal favours. He stayed there for ten days, intent on the worship of the Author of all good.

Among the fortunate things which occurred during the siege of Citūr there was this, that Sulaimān, the governor of Bengal, again recited the Khuṭba in the name of H.M. the Shāhinshāh. He also had **325** an interview with Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khānan, and made an insincere peace with him (gurg āshti). The account of this is, that at the time when Mubāriz Khān, who was known as 'Adili, became an ingrate and a claimant of rule, Tāj Khān Kararāni fled with his brothers and came to Bihār, and continuously practised hypocrisy and feline stratagems, both while Muḥammad Khān the ruler of Bengal was lifting up the head of dissension, and also after him, during the time of Bahādur. At last after 'Adili had been killed in battle with Bahādur, the latter died of a natural death, and his younger brother Jalālu-d-dīn laid claim to the sway of Bengal and Bihār. Tāj Khān and his brother were sometimes at strife with Jalālu-d-din, and sometimes were on friendly terms with him. They also laid the foundation of a friendship with the Khān Zamān and behaved in a hypocritical manner. After many adventures Jalālu-d-dīn also died, and the rule

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of Bengal and Bihar fell to Tāj Khān. After a short time, during which Tāj Khān had, by fraud and deception, obtained possession of Bengal and Bihar, he too died, and his younger brother Sulaimān obtained the power. He formed a friendship with the Khān Zamān and strove to make his own position secure. He acquired strange power and the brainless Afghans all gathered round him. He collected treasure and a large number of elephants. When the Khān Zamān got his deserts by being punished, and H.M. the Shāhinshāh had returned after granting Jaunpūr, etc., to Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānan, as has already been narrated, Asad Ullāh Khān was holding Zamāniya, which had been founded by the Khān Zaman, on the latter's account. When the Khān Zamān was killed, Asad 'Ullāh, from weakness of intellect, sent a person to Sulaimān and asked for an appointment. He proposed to make over Zamānya to him and to become unfaithful to his salt. When the Khān-Khānan became aware of this, he sent men to him and conciliated him. As he had some goodness in him he hearkened to the advice, and made over Zamānya to Qāsim Mashki, the Khān-Khānan's agent, and personally appeared before the Khān Khānan. The Afghan army which had come for Zamānya returned unsuccessful. Lodī, who was distinguished among the Afghans for wisdom and goodness, and was Sulaimān's prime minister, was on the bank of the Son. As he knew the Khān-Khānan to be a sedate man and a lover of peace, he made friends with him and planned by this means to save his country from the impact of the Shāhinshāh's troops. Presents and messages passed between him and Mun'im Khān, and close relations were thus established. When the world-conquering standards marched against Citūr, Sulaimān was engaged in extirpating the Rajah of Orissa, and Ibrāhīm. As he was not at ease about Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānan he, at the opportune time
326 when H.M. was engaged in taking Citūr, endeavoured through Lodī to come to terms with him, and laid the foundations of friendship. After a friendly correspondence it was arranged that the Khān-Khānan should come to visit him, so that by coming face to face alliance might be confirmed, and that the Khuṭba and the coinage might be adorned by the lofty titles of the Shāhinshāh. The Khān-Khānan decided upon visiting Sulaimān and so completing the outward arrangements. Though far-seeing well-wishers endeavoured to dissuade him from this unsound idea, he did not listen to them and

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set off for Patna with 300 chosen men of his own and with Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, Ibrahīm Khān Uzbeg, L'al Khān Badakhshī, Kucak 'Alī Khān son of Mīr Sultan Wais Qibcāq, Mīr Hāshim, brother of Abū-l-máālī, Hāshim Khān, and their dependants who might altogether amount to 1,000 men. Lodī came and paid his respects, and after him came Bāyazīd the eldest son of Sulaimān. When they were five or six *kos* from Patna, Sulaimān came to welcome him and respectfully embraced him. First, the Khān-Khānan had a feast and invited Sulaimān to his quarters, and had a brilliant assembly. Next day Sulaimān exercised hospitality and exalted the pulpit by the holy name (of Akbar). He also glorified the coinage by the sacred stamp and offered suitable presents. A number of his strife-mongering nobles urged the seizure of Mun'im Khān. They represented that the sublime standards were engaged in conquering Citūr, and many of the great officers were there. If they disposed of the Khān-Khānan there was no one between them and the throne who could oppose them. When Lodī heard of this perfidy he spoke wise words and said that it was far from wisdom to make an enemy of such a lord of fortune, the lights of whose power shone more powerfully year by year over countries. Moreover the Khān-Khānan was only one of the slaves whom H.M. had reared. Whatever humble individual fell under the glance of the God-assisted one could be a Khān-Khānan? What benefit would result from killing those few men? Then they had an opponent such as Ibrāhīm lying in wait for them. How could such a plan (as that of seizing Mun'im Khān) be successful? Though Sulaimān accepted these views, the other Afghans, who were drunk with the wine of ignorance, did not listen and plotted mischief. When Mun'im Khān heard this news he, by a clever stratagem, left his camp and, by Lodī's advice, came away quickly with a few men. The black-hearted Afghans only heard of it after he had gone a long way. As the business was at an end, they could only behave in a soothing manner. Bāyazīd and Lodī came rapidly to the Khān-Khānan, and after doing him honour they returned. Mun'im Khān had crossed the Ganges and made two or three marches when the bulletin of the victory of Citūr arrived. This increased the confidence of the imperial servants a thousand times. Sulaimān went with a tranquil mind towards Bengal, and engaged in the disposal of his own business. He by fraud got possession of Orissa, where the

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327 temple of Jagannath is, and perfidiously put the Rajah to death. He also, by oaths and deception, got Ibrāhīm into his hands, who had taken refuge with the Rajah and indulged in ideas of sovereignty. Him also Sulaimān sent to the abode of annihilation. Mun'im Khān engaged on his duties with a mind at rest.

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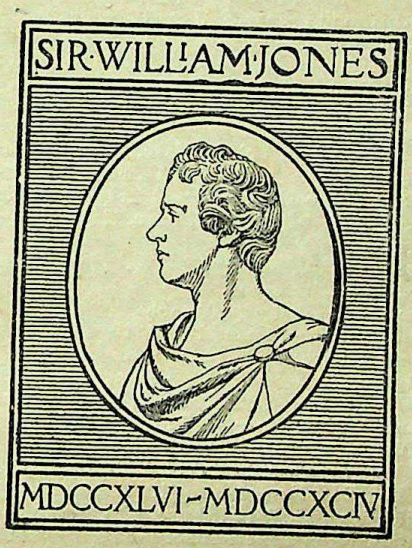

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ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

P. 4, Notes wrongly numbered. In line 3 the note should be 2, No. 3 refers to Kalānūr, 4 to "screens," and 5 to last line of poetry.

P. 37, l. 19. For Ali read Abū.

P. 72, No. 1, for Hatch read Hata. Five lines from foot insert 2 after Hājī K., and also prefix to note n. For Annotations in, read Annotations on, and for Rai Kaapatar read Rai Kalapatar.

P. 73, three lines from foot, no. 2 should be 1, No. 2 refers to last line, and 3 belongs to p. 74.

P. 81, n. 2, second sentence belongs to p. 82 and refers to Shāh Qandahārī.

P. 82, n. 1, belongs to p. 81.

P. 87, l. 17, Backotī read Bachgotī.

P. 97, n. 4, should be 3, and 3 should be 4, and n. 3 is continued on p. 98.

P. 98, n. 1, refers to Chagānīān. The Pāsha n. belongs to p. 97.

P. 99, add to note about Selīma's age. "The B. M. copy, Or. 171, of Kāmgār Ḥusainī's Jahāngīrnāma, p. 72*a*, has a note stating that Selīma was 76 at her death. See also B. M. MS. of T. Muḥammadī, Or. 1824, p. 140, and note in A.S.B.J. for December, 1906, p. 509.

P. 103—Insert Sayid Maḥmūd Bārha before Shāh Qulī. n. 1, for "wooden" read "woollen."

P. 129, n. 2. See R.A.S.J. for 1905, pp. 131 and 364, and do. for 1909, p. 165.

P. 130, l. 9, for capre, read cup.

P. 135, l. 9, for Bahlūl read Ghauṣ, do. n. for Ghans read Ghauṣ.

P. 136, l. 16, several MSS. read Mubāriz, and this is right.

P. 143, l. 21, for Missron read summon.

P. 157, l. 5, Shāh Budāgh K.'s name should be inserted before Majnūn.

P. 192, top line, for M, read Mīr.

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P. 208, l. 16, for Ḥabīb Qulī read Habīb 'Alī.

P. 325, for Amān read Aman.

P. 344, for Ranad read Ranūd.

P. 352, for Nālcha read N'alcha.

P. 362, top line, dele "and."

P. 377, for Nīmkhar read Nīmkār.

P. 381, dele dot in Maḥapattar.

P. 386, n. 2, for Ahū-i-karan read Ahū-i-ḥaram.

P. 415, n. 1, for 42 read 424.

P. 436, l. 3, line of text omitted here, insert after Yār 'Alī "and Khūshḥāl Beg who for a time was in Humāyūn's body-guard."

P. 455, ten lines from foot, for "farmed" read "famed."

Çatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā, Part I, Fasc. [illegible]

*Caturvarga Chintāmani Vol. [illegible] Fasc. 1–25; Vol. III, Part I. [illegible]

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